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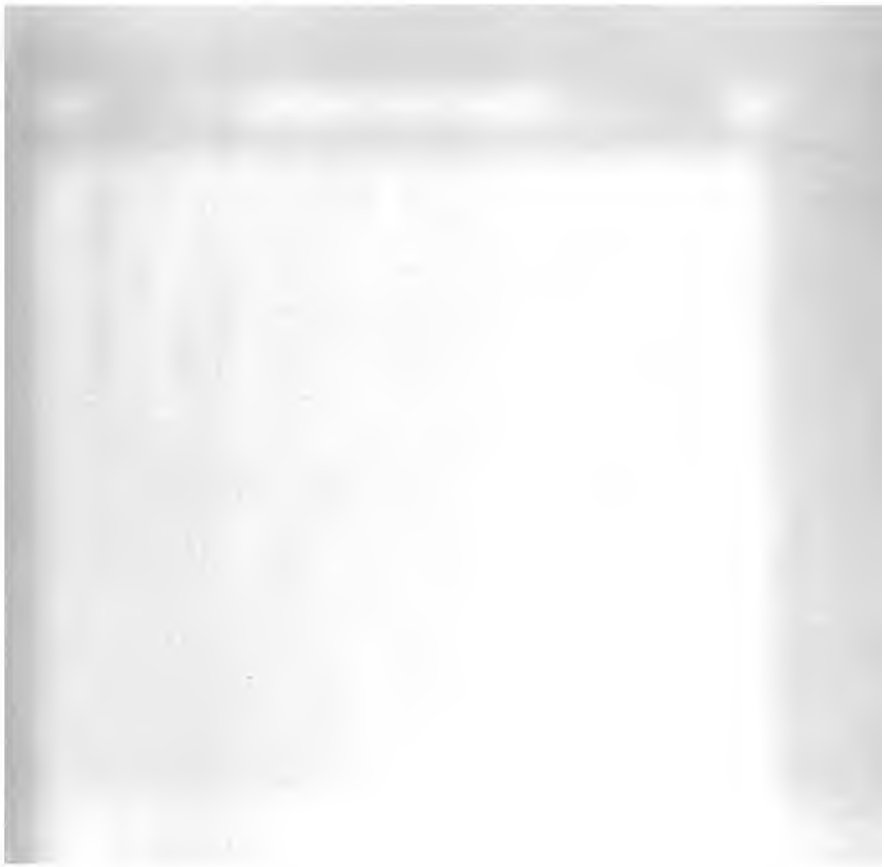
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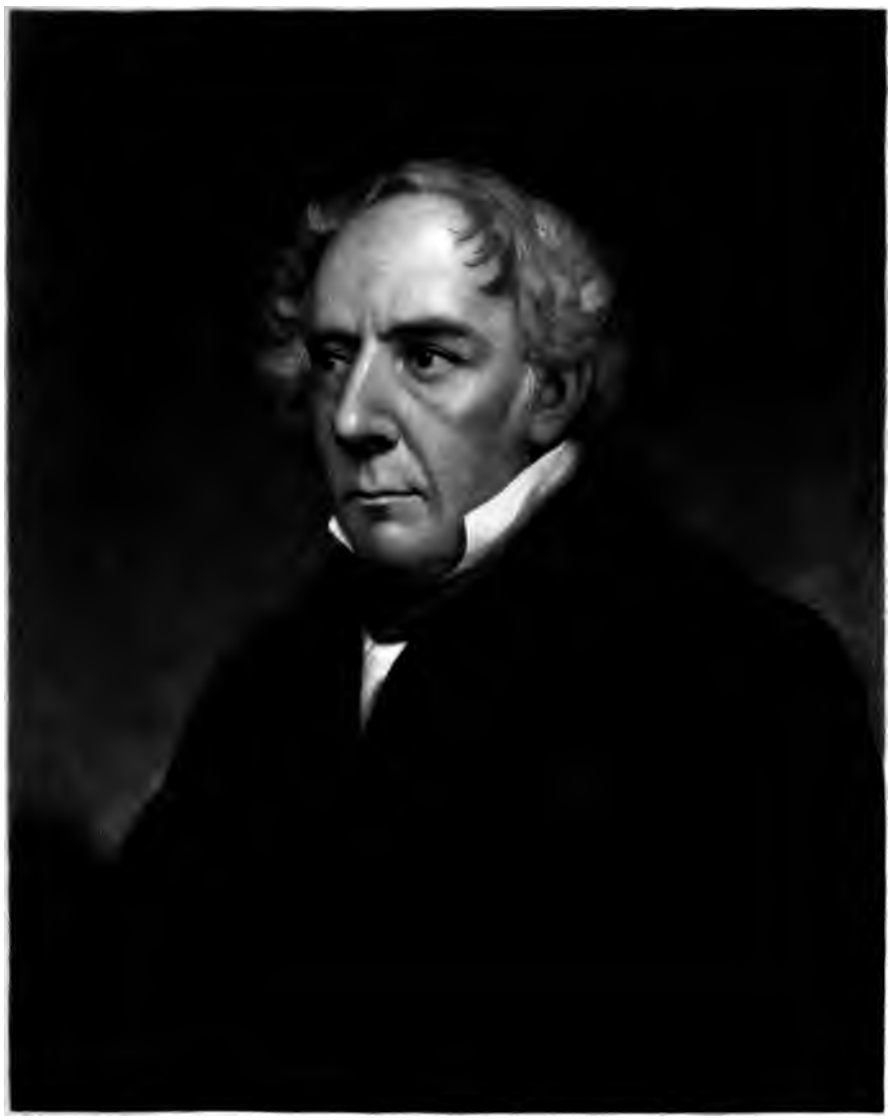






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W. Hamilton

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.



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SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.

THE

AMERICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

EDITED BY

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American Theological Review.

No. IX.

CONTENTS OF THE JANUARY NUMBER, 1861.

A Portrait of Sir William Hamilton.

I. Essays and Reviews.

Article I.—Julian the Apostate. By Prof. Philip Schaff, D.D. - - 1
II.—The English Tongue a New Speech. By Prof. Francis A. March, 18
III.—New England Theology: The Edwardean Period. By Prof. E. A. Lawrence, D.D., - - - - - - - - - - 36
IV.—Isaac La Peyrere and his Book, The Prædamites, - - - - 68
V.—Jourdain's Philosophy of Aquinas. By Prof. J. F. Astié, of Switzerland, - - - - - - - - - - - - 81
VI.—Olshausen on a New Probation after Death. By Rev. John Woodbridge, D.D., - - - - - - - - - - - 93
VII.—Sir William Hamilton's Theory of Knowledge. By Prof. H. B. Smith, D.D., - - - - - - - - - - - 121
VIII.—The Ante-Nicene Trinitarianism. By Prof. R. D. Hitchcock, D.D., 161

II. Theological and Literary Intelligence.

General. Tischendorf's Sinai Codex—Society of Northern Antiquaries—Ancient Flint Implements—Chowlson's Babylonian Literature. Greece. Denmark. Holland. France, Germany, Melancthon, Schopenhauer, etc. The recent German Theological Periodicals. England. United States, - - - - - 178–191

III. Literary and Critical Notices of Books.

Theology: Hodge's Outlines of Theology—Cowper's Codex Alexandrinus—Tholuck's Sermon on the Mount—Paleario's Benefit of Christ's Death—Lange's Bibelwerk—Pryce's Is it not Written?—Clark on God's Purposes—Parkerism—Arnold on the Lord's Supper. History of the Church and of Doctrines: Huber's Philosophie der Kirchenväter—Milman's Latin Christianity—Kurtz's Church History—Paya, Origine de la Papauté—Tefft's Methodism Successful—Thornton's Pulpit of the Revolution. General Literature: Dressel's Prudentii Carmina—Macaulay's Essays—Porter's Commonplace-Book—Rice's Moral and Religious Quotations—Atkinson's Travels in the Regions of the Amoor—Memorials of Eliza Hessel—Tom Brown at Oxford—Abbott's Southern Colonies—Miss Maloch's Our Year, 192–203

IV. News of the Churches and of Missions.

United States: Aid to Europe—German Reformed Church—Episcopal Societies—American Missionary Association—New York Evangelical Alliance—Southern Aid Society—Germans in New York—Dutch Reformed Church—American Bible Union—Baptist Statistics—Free-Will Baptists—Southern Baptists—Welsh Congregationalists in the United States—Churches in the North-Western States—Universalists—Infidel Convention. Canada. South-America, Missions in. Europe. England: Bishoprics—Wesleyan Statistics—Methodist New Connection—Independents—Swedenborgians—Society for the Propagation of the Gospel—Roman Catholics—Hostels at Cambridge—Dr. Wolff's Mission—Anti-Pew Society—Ragged Schools—English Press—Temporalities of the Church—Sale of Churches—Religious Meetings in Edinburgh—Baptists in Wales. Ireland: General Assembly—Presbyterian Statistics. Italy: Church in Two Sicilies—Confiscation in Naples—Italian New Testament—Waldenses. France: Kneeling at the Host—Monastic Orders—Gazette of Lyons—A Great Change. Swiss Anniversaries. Belgium. Sweden. Germany: Church Diet. Bohemia. Moravia. Bulgaria, 204–214

American Theological Review.

No. X.

CONTENTS OF THE APRIL NUMBER, 1861.

Essays and Reviews.

ARTICLE I.—ANNIHILATION. By Prof. Enoch Pond, D.D. - - -

II.—SLAVERY AMONG THE ANCIENT HEBREWS. By Dr. M. Mielziner, of Copenhagen, - - - - - - - - - - 232

III.—ROTHE'S ADDRESS ON PHILIP MELANCTHON. Translated by Rev. E. N. White, - - - - - - - - - - - 261

IV.—THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE NEW. By Rev. Lyman Whiting, - 283

V.—CHRISTIAN ZEAL. By Rev. S. D. Clark, - - - - - - 291

VI.—THE NEW LATITUDINARIANS OF ENGLAND. By Prof. H. B. Smith,

VII.—THE SINAITIC MANUSCRIPT, - - - - - - - - -

Theological and Literary Intelligence.

GERMANY: *Necrology:* Baur — Bunsen — Von Wessenberg — Kosegarten — Theiner. *Theological Reviews.* New Works, etc. GREECE: The Star in the East—Ellisen's Analecta—Oikonomos, etc. SWEDEN: New Works. HOLLAND. SWITZERLAND. FRANCE: Journal des Savants — New Works — Protestant Works, etc. ITALY: Savonarola—Tasso—Mazzarella. SPAIN: Archives of Simancas. ENGLAND: Contents of Reviews—Notes from *Notes and Queries*—The Infidel Press—The India Library—New Works, etc. SCOTLAND: Puritan Divines—Dr. Robertson—North British. UNITED STATES: Brownson's Review — Methodist Quarterly, etc. — Libraries, - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 37.

Literary and Critical Notices of Books.

BIBLICAL LITERATURE: Codex Alexandrinus — Bengel's Gnomon — Bunsen's Bibelwerk — Lange's Bibelwerk — Ebrard on John — Alexander on Matthew. THEOLOGY: Maclaurin's Works — Colee, God's Sovereignty — Berg. Second Advent—Adams, Evenings with the Doctrines — Litton, Church of Christ — Bushnell, Christian Nurture, and Character of Jesus. PRACTICAL RELIGIOUS LITERATURE: Hall's Contemplations — Horne's Psalms — Candlish, Two Great Commandments — Martin, Christ's Presence — Watson, Prayers — Alexander — Plain Paths—Moore's Sermons—Macduff, Grapes of Eshcol, and Cities of Refuge—England's Yeomen—Alexander, Thoughts on Preaching—Hymns and Choirs. HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY: Dixon's Lord Bacon—Carlyle's Autobiography—Ramsay, Scotch Reminiscences—Alexander's Notes—Motley's Netherlands—Hagenbach's History of Doctrines—Milman's Latin Christianity—Legends of the Madonna—Herzog's Theological Encyclopedia. GENERAL LITERATURE: Guesses at Truth — Ackermann's Plato — Emerson's Conduct of Life—Prime's Coins, Medals—Chambers's Encyclopædia—Homer's Odyssey—Herodotus—Bausman's Sinai and Zion—Murdoch's Dutch Dominie—Lever's One of Them—Studies from Life—Harper's Children's Books: Peterchen & Gretchen, - - - - - - - - - 398

News of the Churches and of Missions.

Progress of the Gospel—Missions of the American Board. EUROPE: Protestantism in the Latin Race—Universal Israelite Alliance—The Jews in France—Papal Missions—British Subjects in Spain. SWEDEN: Order of Citizens—The Russian Census—German Missionary Conference—Gustavus Adolphus Society—Revival Meetings in Germany. AUSTRIA: Concordat Discussion—Manifesto of the Emperor—Methodist Mission in Bulgaria. AUSTRALIA: International Congress—Church Society. INDIA: Ahmednuggar Mission—Romish Mission—Church Missionary Record—Revival in Tinnevelly—Malay School in Singapore. SANDWICH ISLANDS: The National Revenue. POLYNESIA: Missionary Visit. CHINA: Taiping-wan's Insurgent Movement. SYRIA: Executions in Damascus. TURKEY: Protestant Ambassadors—Armenian Missions—Laity of the Greek Church, - - 418

American Theological Review.

No. XI.

CONTENTS OF THE JULY NUMBER, 1861.

I. Essays and Reviews.

Article I.—Slavery among the Ancient Hebrews. By Dr. M. Mielziner, - - 423
II.—Powell on the Evidences. By Daniel R. Goodwin, D.D., - - 438
III.—The Unity of the Race. By Rev. J. G. Wilson, - - - - - 457
IV.—Criticism of New Testament Texts. By Prof. Howard Crosby, D.D., 472
V.—Renan on Job and Canticles, - - - - - - - - - 478
VI.—Fisher's Sermons and Addresses, - - - - - - - - 486
VII.—The Codex Alexandrinus, - - - - - - - - - 495
VIII.—The Ante-Nicene Trinitarianism. By Prof. R. D. Hitchcock, D.D., - 512

II. Theological and Literary Intelligence.

The Oxford Essays and Reviews: Debate in Convocation—Pusey's Letter—Books on the Essays. Great Britain: Reviews and Periodicals—New Works—Donaldson's Works—Gladstone's Translations—T. H. Horne—Works in Scotland. Germany: Necrology—Jost—Bunsen—Baur—Dahlmann—German Theological Reviews—New Works—Prussian Universities. Holland: Society of the Hague—Teyler Society. Denmark: Literary Societies. Russia: Russian Press. Switzerland: Academy of Geneva. Italy: Libraries in Rome—New Works. France: Guizot's Address—Annales de Philosophie—Migne's Collections—New Works. United States: Reviews and New Works—Prof. Gibbs—President Humphrey—Libraries, - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 527

III. Literary and Critical Notices of Books.

Theological and Biblical Literature: Wm. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible—Lange's Bibelwerk—Bodemeyer's Kenosis—Thompson's Principles of Natural Theology. Church History: Hagenbach's History of Doctrines—Graul's Age of Irenæus—Allen's Hebrew Times—Jameson's Legends of the Madonna—Chowlson's Tammuz—Matthes Chronik—Moore's Digest of the Acts of the Assembly—Parker's Presbyterian Hand-Book—The Churchman's Calendar. General History: Macaulay's History of England—Milman's Latin Christianity—Motley's United Netherlands—Maclay's Chinese—Sewell's Ordeal of Free Labor. Philosophy: Hickok's Rational Psychology—Ackermann's Christian Element in Plato—True's Logic—Holyoake's Public Speaking—Kingsley's Limits of Science applied to History—Mann's Sermons. Practical Religious Literature: W. Smith's Select Sermons—Woodbridge's Sermons—Müller's Life of Trust—Memorial of George B. Little—Vincent's Bible Lands—Leaves that never Fade—Words for the Hour. General Literature: Harper's Greek and Latin Texts—Silas Marner—Curtis, Trumps—Wharton, Wits and Beaux—Catlin, Mal-Respiration, - - - - - - - 553

IV. News of the Churches and of Missions.

United States: *Statistics*—Census of 1860; Slave Population; Fugitive Slaves; Immigration of 1860; Church Membership of Slaves—Increase of the Ministry—Presbyterians—Congregationalists and Baptists—Lutherans—Welsh Calvinistic Methodists—Roman Catholics—Mormons—*Anniversaries:* American and Boston Tract Societies; Foreign Christian Union; Bible Society; Home Missionary Society, etc.—The General Assemblies, New and Old School—United Brethren in Christ. Canada: Church Statistics. Hayti. Jamaica. Demerara. Europe: Wappæus on Increase of Population. Great Britain: Religious Societies, Receipts, etc.—Convocations of Canterbury and York—Ragged Schools—Italian Mission—Church Rates—Quakers—Roman Catholics. Ireland: Religious Statistics. Scotland: Endowment Fund—Cardross Case—United Presbyterians. Wales. France: New Census—Numbers in various Professions—Popular Education—Monasteries—Abbé Mallett—French Clergy—Bp. of Poitiers—Abp. of Lyons—Protestantism—Anniversaries. Italy: Bishoprics—Population—New Sees—Papal Allocution—Naples—The Jesuits—Protestantism, - - - - - - - - - 579

American Theological Review.

No. XII.

CONTENTS OF THE OCTOBER NUMBER, 1861.

I. Essays and Reviews.

Article I.—The Homeric Doctrine of the Gods. By Prof. Wm. S. Tyler, D.D., 593

II.—The Life and Character of Emmons. By Enoch Pond, D.D., - - 632

III.—The Will in its Normal and Abnormal States. By Rev. J. R. Herrick, - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 669

IV.—The Constitutionality of the Sunday Laws: Judge Allen's Opinion, - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 697

V.—The Moral Aspects of the Present Struggle. By Rev. Jonathan F. Stearns, D.D., - - - - - - - - - - - - 716

VI.—The Calvinism of the Church of England, - - - - - - 734

II. Theological and Literary Intelligence.

The Oxford Essays and Reviews: Proceedings in Convocation. Germany: Athanasius—Studien und Kritiken—Stahl—Mone's Laws of Society—Theologische Quartalschrift—Zeitschrift f. die hist. Theologie—University Students. France: Revue Chrétienne—New Works—Cochin on Slavery—Guizot's Address. England: British Quarterly—Journal of Sacred Literature—Eclectic Review—London Review—Sir Francis Palgrave—Westminster Review, etc. United States of America: Evangelical Review—Church Review—Bibliotheca Sacra—New Englander—Mercersburg Review—Prince Gallitzin—Henri de Courcy, - - - - - - 754–760

III. Literary and Critical Notices of Books.

Theology and Philosophy: Calderwood's Philosophy of the Infinite—Shields, Philosophia Ultima—Green's Hebrew Grammar—Vidal, Theologie de la Religion Naturelle. History: Davis, Carthage and her Remains—Hauréau, Singularités Historiques—Memorial Volume of the American Board—Gasparin's Uprising of a Great People. Geography and Travels: Du Chaillu's Equatorial Africa—Lamont's Sea-Horses—Life in South Pacific. General Literature: Recreations of a Country Parson—Smith's Edwin of Deira—Trollope's Framley Parsonage—The House on the Moor—Harper's Monthly—The Eclectic Magazine—National Preacher. Science and Education: Faraday's Chemical History of a Candle—Calkins's Object Lessons—Willson's Fifth Reader—Collord's Latin Accidence, - - - - - - 761–766

Index, - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 767–768

THE

AMERICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

No. IX.

JANUARY, 1861.

ART. I.—JULIAN THE APOSTATE.

By PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., Prof. in Theol. Seminary, Mercersburg, Pa.

THE reign of Julian the Apostate is a brief but most interesting and instructive episode in the history of the Roman Empire and of the ancient Church. It was a systematic and vigorous effort to dethrone Christianity and to restore Paganism to its former supremacy. But in its entire failure it furnished an irresistible proof that Christianity had accomplished a complete intellectual and moral victory over the religion of Greece and Rome.

Julian, a nephew of Constantine the Great, was born in 331, and educated in the Arian court-Christianity of his despotic and suspicious cousin Constantius. He was even intended for the priesthood against his secret wish and will, and ordained a reader of the Scriptures in public worship. But the despotic and mechanical force-work of a repulsively austere and violently polemic type of Christianity roused the vigorous and

independent spirit of the highly gifted youth to rebellion, and drove him over to Paganism which, although deprived of its former vitality and power, was by no means extinct, and by its literature continued to exert its influence upon the higher classes of society. The pseudo-Christianity of Constantius, the persecutor of the heathen and of the orthodox Christians, produced by way of natural reäction the anti-Christianity of Julian; and the latter was a well-deserved punishment of the former. A similar example history furnishes us at a more recent period, in the case of Frederick the Great, whose infidelity must be explained to a great extent from the forced character of his injudicious Christian training.

With enthusiasm and untiring diligence the young Roman prince secretly read Homer, Plato, Aristotle, and the Neo-Platonists. The partial prohibition of such reading gave it double zest. He secretly obtained the lectures of the celebrated rhetorician, Libanius, afterwards his eulogist, whose productions, however, represent the degeneracy of the heathen literature in that day, covering emptiness with a pompous and tawdry style, attractive only to a vitiated taste. He became acquainted by degrees with the most eminent representatives of heathenism, particularly the Neo-Platonic philosophers, rhetoricians, and priests, like Libanius, Ædesius, Maximus, and Chrysanthius. These confirmed him in his superstitions by sophistries and sorceries of every kind. He gradually became the secret head of the heathen party. Through the favor and mediation of the empress Eusebia, he visited for some months the schools of Athens (A.D. 355), where he was initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, and thus completed his transition to the Grecian idolatry.

This heathenism, however, was not a simple, spontaneous growth; it was all an artificial and morbid production. It was the heathenism of the Neo-Platonic, pantheistic eclecticism, a strange mixture of philosophy, poesy, and superstition, and, in Julian at least, in great part an imitation or caricature of Christianity. It sought to spiritualize and revive the old mythology by uniting with it oriental theosophemes and a few Christian ideas; taught a higher, abstract unity above the mul-

tiplicity of the national gods, genii, heroes, and natural powers; believed in immediate communications and revelations of the gods through dreams, visions, oracles, entrails of sacrifices, prodigies; and stood in league with all kinds of magical and theurgic arts. Julian himself, with all his philosophical intelligence, credited the most insipid legends of the gods, or gave them a deeper, mystic meaning by the most arbitrary allegorical interpretation. He was in intimate personal intercourse with Jupiter, Minerva, Apollo, Hercules, who paid their nocturnal visits to his heated fancy, and assured him of their special protection. And he practised the art of divination as a master.* Among the various divinities he worshipped with peculiar devotion the great King Helios, or the god of the sun, whose servant he called himself, and whose etherial light attracted him already in tender childhood with magic force. He regards him as the centre of the universe, from which light, life and salvation proceed to all creatures.† In this view of a supreme divinity he made an approach to the Christian monotheism, but substituted an airy myth and pantheistic fancy for the only true and living God and the personal historical Christ.

His moral character corresponds with the preposterous nature of this system. With all his brilliant talents and stoical virtues, he wanted the genuine simplicity and naturalness, which are the foundation of all true greatness of mind and character. As his worship of Helios was a shadowy reflection of the Christian monotheism, and so far an involuntary tribute to the religion he opposed, so in his artificial and ostentatious asceticism we can only see a caricature of the ecclesiastical monasticism of the age which he so deeply despised for its humility and spirituality. He was full of affectation, vanity, sophistry, loquacity, and a master in the art of dissimulation. Every thing he said or wrote was studied and calculated for

* Libanius says of him, Epit. p. 582: . . μαντέων τε τοῖς ἀρίστοις χρώμενος, αὐτός τε ὢν οὐδαμῶν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ δεύτερος. Ammianus Marcellinus calls him, XXV, 4, praesagiorum sciscitationi nimiae deditus, superstitiosus magis quam sacrorum legitimus observator. Comp. Sozom. V, 2.

† Comp. his fourth Oratio, which is devoted to the praise of Helios.

effect. Instead of discerning the spirit of the age and putting himself at the head of the current of true progress, he identified himself with a party of no vigor or promise, and thus fell into a false and untenable position, at variance with the mission of a ruler. Great minds, indeed, are always more or less at war with their age, as we may see in the reformers, in the apostles, nay, in Christ himself. But their antagonism proceeds from a clear knowledge of the real wants and a sincere devotion to the best interests of the age; it is all progressive and reformatory, and at last carries the deeper spirit of the age with itself, and raises it to a higher level. The antagonism of Julian, starting with a radical misconception of the tendency of history and animated by selfish ambition, was one of retrogression and reäction, in addition, was devoted to a bad cause. He had all the faults, and therefore deserved the tragic fate of a fanatical reäctionist.

His apostasy from Christianity, to which he was probably never at heart committed, Julian himself dates as early as his twentieth year, A.D. 351. But while Constantius lived, he concealed his pagan sympathies with consummate hypocrisy, publicly observed Christian ceremonies, while secretly sacrificing to Jupiter and Helios, kept the feast of Epiphany in the church at Vienne as late as January, 361, and praised the Emperor in the most extravagant style, though he thoroughly hated him, and after his death all the more bitterly mocked him.* For ten years he kept the mask. After December, 355, the student of books astonished the world with brilliant military and executive powers as Cæsar in Gaul, which was at that time severely threatened by the German barbarians; he won the enthusiastic love of the soldiers, and received from them the dignity of Augustus. Then he raised the standard of rebellion against his suspicious and envious imperial cousin and brother-in-law, and in 361 openly declared himself a friend

* Comp. Jul. Orat. I, in Constantii Laudes; Epist. ad Athenienses, p. 270; Cæsares, p. 335 sq. Even heathen authors concede his dissimulation; as Ammianus Marc. XXI, 2, comp. XXII, 5, and Libanius, who excuses him with the plea of regard to his security, Opp. p. 328, ed. Reiske.

of the gods. By the sudden death of Constantius in the same year, he became sole head of the Roman empire, and in December, as the only remaining heir of the house of Constantius,* made his entry into Constantinople amidst universal applause, and rejoicing over escape from civil war.

He immediately gave himself, with the utmost zeal, to the duties of his high station, unweariedly active as prince, general, judge, orator, high-priest, correspondent, and author. He sought to unite the fame of an Alexander, a Marcus Aurelius, a Plato, and a Diogenes, in himself. His only recreation was a change of labor. He would use at once his hand in writing, his ear in hearing, and his voice in speaking. He considered his whole time due to his empire and the culture of his own mind. In the eighteen short months of his reign (Dec. 361–June, 363), he made the plans of a life-long administration and composed most of his literary works. He practised the strictest economy in public affairs, banished all useless luxury from his court, and dismissed with one decree whole hosts of barbers, cup-bearers, cooks, masters of ceremonies, and other superfluous officers, with whom the palace swarmed; but surrounded himself instead with equally useless pagan mystics, sophists, jugglers, theurgists, soothsayers, babblers, and scoffers, who now streamed from all quarters to the court. In striking contrast with his predecessors, he maintained the simplicity of a philosopher and an ascetic in his manner of life, and gratified his pride and vanity with contempt of the pomp and pleasures of the imperial purple. He lived chiefly on vegetable diet, abstaining now from this food, now from that, according to the taste of the god or goddess, to whom the day was consecrated. He wore common clothing, usually slept on the floor, let his beard and nails grow, and, like the strict anchorites of Egypt, neglected the laws of decency and cleanliness.†

* His older brother, Gallus, for some time emperor at Antioch, had already been justly deposed by Constantius in 354, and beheaded, for his entire incapacity and his merciless cruelty.

† In the Misogogon, his witty apology to the refined Antiochians for his philosophical beard, p. 338 sq., he boasts of this cynic coarseness, and describes, with

This cynic eccentricity and vain ostentation certainly spoiled his reputation for simplicity and self-denial, and made him ridiculous. It evinced, also, not so much the boldness and wisdom of a reformer, as the pedantry and folly of a reäctionist. In military and executive talent he was not inferior to Constantine; while in mind and literary culture he far excelled him, as well as in energy and moral self-control; and, doubtless to his own credit, he closed his public career at the age at which his uncle's began; but he entirely lacked the clear and sound common sense of his great predecessor, and that practical statesmanship, which discerns the wants of the age, and acts according to them. His greatest fault, as a ruler, was his utterly false position towards the paramount question of his time, that of religion. This was the cause of that complete failure, which made his reign as trackless as a meteor.

The ruling passion of Julian, and the soul of his short but most active, remarkable, and in its negative results instructive reign, was fanatical love of the pagan religion and bitter hatred of the Christian, at a time when the former had already forever given up to the latter the reins of government in the world. He considered it the great mission of his life to restore the worship of the gods, and to reduce the religion of Jesus first to a contemptible sect, and at last, if possible, to utter extinction from the earth. To this he believed himself called by the gods themselves, and in this faith he was confirmed by theurgic arts, visions, and dreams. To this end all the means,

great complacency, his long nails, his ink-stained hands, his rough, uncombed beard inhabited (horribile dictu) by certain θηρία. It should not be forgotten, however, that contemporary writers give him the credit of a strict chastity, which raises him far above most heathen princes, and which furnishes another proof to the involuntary influence of Christian asceticism upon his life. Libanius asserts in his panegyric, that Julian, before his brief married life and after the death of his wife, a sister of Constantius, never knew a woman; and Mamertinus calls his lectulus, "Vestalium toris purior." Add to this the testimony of the honest Ammianus Marcellinus, and the silence of Christian antagonists. Comp. Gibbon, c. XXII, note, 50; and Carwithen and Lyall: History of the Christian Church, etc. p. 54. On the other hand the Christians accused him of all sorts of secret crimes; for instance, the butchering of boys and girls (Gregor. Orat. III., p. 91, and Theodor. III., 26, 27), which was probably an unfounded inference from his fanatical zeal for bloody sacrifices and divinations.

which talent, zeal, and power could command, were applied; and the failure must be attributed solely to the intrinsic folly and impracticability of the end itself.

1. To look at the positive side of his plan, the restoration and reformation of heathenism:

He reinstated in its ancient splendor the worship of the gods at the public expense; called forth hosts of priests from concealment, conferred upon them all their former privileges, and showed them every honor; enjoined upon the soldiers and civil officers attendance at the forsaken temples and altars; forgot no god nor goddess, though himself specially devoted to the worship of Apollo, or the Sun; and notwithstanding his parsimony in other respects, caused the rarest birds and whole herds of bulls and lambs to be sacrificed, until the continuance of the species became a subject of concern.* He removed the cross and the monogram of Christ from the coins and standards, and replaced the former pagan symbols. He surrounded the statues and portraits of the emperors with the signs of idolatry, that every one might be compelled to bow before the gods, who would pay the emperors due respect. He advocated images of the gods on the same grounds, on which afterwards the Christian iconolaters defended the images of the saints. If you love the emperor, if you love your father, says he, you like to see his portrait; so the friend of the gods loves to look upon their images, by which he is pervaded with reverence for the invisible gods, who are looking down upon him.

Julian himself led the way by a complete example. He displayed on every occasion the utmost zeal for the heathen religion, and performed with the most scrupulous devotion the offices of a pontifex maximus, which had been altogether neglected, although not formally abolished, under his two predecessors. Every morning and evening he sacrificed to the rising and setting sun, or the supreme light-god; every night, to the moon and the stars; every day, to some other divinity. He prostrated himself devoutly before the altars and the ima-

* Ammianus Marc., XXV, 4 innumeras sine parsimonia pecudes mactans ut æstimaretur, si revertisset de Parthis, boves jam defuturos.

ges, not allowing the most violent storm to prevent him. Several times in a day, surrounded by priests and dancing women, he sacrificed a hundred bulls, himself furnishing the wood and kindling the flames. He used the knife himself, and, as haruspex, searched with his own hand the secrets of the future in the reeking entrails.

But his zeal found no echo, and only made him ridiculous in the eyes of cultivated heathen themselves. He complains repeatedly of the indifference of his party, and accuses one of his priests of a secret league with Christian bishops. The spectators at his sacrifices came not from devotion, but from curiosity, and grieved the devout emperor by their rounds of applause, as if he were simply a theatrical actor of religion. Often there were no spectators at all. When he endeavored to restore the oracle of Apollo Daphneus in the famous cypress grove at Antioch, and arranged for a magnificent procession, with libation, dances, and incense, he found in the temple one solitary old priest, and this priest ominously offered in sacrifice—a goose.*

At the same time, however, Julian sought to renovate and transform heathenism by incorporating with it the morals of Christianity; vainly thinking thus to bring it back to its original purity. In this he himself unwittingly and unwillingly bore witness to the poverty of the heathen religion, and paid the highest tribute to the Christian; and the Christians for this reason not inaptly called him an "ape of Christianity."

In the first place he proposed to improve the irreclaimable

* Misopog. p. 362 sq., where Julian himself relates this ludicrous scene, and vents his anger at the Antiochians for squandering the rich incomes of the temple upon Christianity and worldly pleasures. Dr. Baur, l. c. p. 17, justly remarks on Julian's zeal for idolatry: "Seine ganze persönliche Erscheinung, der Mangel an innerer Haltung in seinem Benehmen gegen Heiden und Christen, die stete Unruhe und schwärmerische Aufregung, in welcher er sich befand, wenn er von Tempel zu Tempel eilte, auf allen Altären opferte und nichts unversucht liess, um den heidnischen Cultus, dessen höchstes Vorbild er selbst als Pontifex maximus sein sollte, in seinem vollen Glanz und Gepränge, mit allen seinen Ceremonien und Mysterien wiederherzustellen, macht einen Eindruck der es kaum verkennen lässt wie wenig er sich selbst das Unnatürliche und Erfolglose eines solchen Strebens verbergen konnte."

priesthood after the model of the Christian clergy. The priests, as true mediators between the gods and men, should be constantly in the temples, should occupy themselves with holy things, should study no immoral or skeptical books of the school of Epicurus and Pyrrho, but the works of Homer, Pythagoras, Plato, Chrysippus, Zeno; they should visit no taverns nor theatres, should pursue no dishonorable trade, should give alms, practise hospitality, live in strict chastity and temperance, wear simple clothing, but in their official functions always appear in the costliest garments and most imposing dignity. Then, he borrowed from the constitution and worship of the church a hierarchical system of orders and a sort of penitential discipline, with excommunication, absolution, and restoration, besides a fixed ritual embracing didactic and musical elements. Mitred priests in purple were to edify the people regularly with sermons; that is, with allegorical expositions and practical applications of absurd and immoral mythological stories. Every temple was to have a well-arranged choir, and the congregation its responses. And finally, Julian established in different provinces monasteries, nunneries, and hospitals for the sick, for orphans, and for foreigners without distinction of religion, appropriated to them considerable sums from the public treasury, and at the same time, though fruitlessly, invited voluntary contributions. He made the noteworthy concession, that the heathen did not help even their own brethren in faith; while the Jews never begged, and "the godless Galileans," as he malignantly styles the Christians, supplied not only their own, but even the heathen poor, and thus aided the worst of causes by a good life.

But of course all these attempts to regenerate heathenism by foreign elements were utterly futile. They were like galvanizing a decaying corpse, or grafting fresh scions on a dead trunk, or sowing good seed on a rock, or pouring new wine into old bottles, bursting the bottles and wasting the wine.

2. The negative side of Julian's plan was the suppression and final extinction of Christianity.

In this he proceeded with extraordinary sagacity. He ab-

stained from bloody persecution, because he would not forego the credit of philosophical toleration, nor give the church the credit of a new martyrdom. A history of three centuries also had proved that violent measures were fruitless. According to Libanius it was a principle with him, that fire and sword cannot change a man's faith, and that persecution only begets hypocrites and martyrs. Finally, he doubtless perceived, that the Christians were too numerous to be assailed by a general persecution without danger of a bloody civil war. Hence he oppressed the church "gently," * under show of equity and universal toleration. He persecuted not so much the Christians, as Christianity, by endeavoring to draw off its confessors. He thought he could obtain this result of persecution without incurring the personal reproach and the public danger of persecution itself. His disappointments however increased his bitterness, and had he returned victorious from the Persian war, he would probably have resorted to open violence. In fact Gregory Nazianzen and Sozomen, and some heathen writers also, tell of local persecutions in the provinces, particularly at Anthusa and Alexandria, with which the emperor is, at least indirectly, to be charged. His officials acted in those cases not under public orders, indeed, but according to the secret wish of Julian, who ignored their illegal proceedings as long as he could, and then revealed his real views by lenient censure and substantial acquittal of the offending magistrates.

He first, therefore, employed against the Christians of all parties and sects the policy of toleration, in hope of their destroying each other by internal controversies. He permitted the orthodox bishops and all other clergy, who had been banished under Constantius, to return to their dioceses, and left Arians, Apollinarians, Novatians, Macedonians, Donatists, and so on, to themselves. He affected compassion for the "poor, blind, deluded Galileans, who forsook the most glorious privilege of man, the worship of the immortal gods, and instead of them worshipped dead men and dead men's bones." He once even suffered himself to be insulted by a blind bishop,

* Ἐπιεικῶς ἐβιάζετο, as Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. IV, expresses it.

Maris of Chalcedon, who, when reminded by him, that the Galilean God could not restore his eyesight, answered: "I thank my God for my blindness, which spares me the painful sight of such an impious apostate as thou art." He afterwards, however, caused the bishop to be severely punished.* So in Antioch, also, he bore with philosophic equanimity the ridicule of the Christian populace, but avenged himself on the inhabitants of the city by unsparing satire in the Misopogon. His whole bearing towards the Christians was instinct with bitter hatred and accompanied with sarcastic mockery.† This betrays itself even in the contemptuous term, Galileans, which he constantly applies to them after the fashion of the Jews, and which he probably also commanded to be given them by others.‡ He considered them a sect of fanatics, contemptible to men and hateful to the gods, and as atheists in open war with all that was sacred and divine in the world.§ He sometimes had representatives of different parties dispute in his presence, and then exclaimed: "No wild beasts are so fierce and irreconcilable as the Galilean sectarians." When he found, that toleration was rather profitable than hurtful to the church, and tended to soften the vehemence of doctrinal controversies, he proceeded, for example, to banish Athanasius, who was particularly offensive to him, from Alexandria, and even from Egypt, calling this greatest man of his age an insignificant manikin,‖ and reviling him with vulgar language, because through his influence many prominent heathen, especially heathen women, passed over to Christianity. His toleration, therefore, was neither that of genuine humanity, nor that of religious indiffer-

* Socrates: H. E. III, 12.

† Gibbon well says, ch. XXIII: "He affected to pity the unhappy Christians, . . . but his pity was degraded by contempt, his contempt was imbittered by hatred; and the sentiments of Julian were expressed in a style of sarcastic wit, which inflicts a deep and deadly wound whenever it issues from the mouth of a sovereign."

‡ Perhaps there also lay at the bottom of this a secret fear of the name of Christ, as Warburton (p. 35) suggests; since the Neo-Platonists believed in the mysterious virtue of names.

§ *ἀσεβεῖς, δυσσεβεῖς, ἄθεοι.* Their religion he calls a *μωρία* or *ἀπόνοια.* Comp. Ep. 7 (ap. Heyler p. 190).

‖ *Ἀνδρωπίσκος εὐτελής.*

entism, but a hypocritical mask for a fanatical love of heathenism and a bitter hatred of Christianity.

This appears in his open partiality and injustice against the Christians. His liberal patronage of heathenism was in itself an injury to Christianity. Nothing gave him greater joy than an apostasy, and he held out the temptation of splendid reward; thus himself employing the impure means of proselyting, with which he reproached the Christians. Once he even advocated conversion by violent measures. While he called the heathen to all the higher offices, and, in case of their palpable disobedience, inflicted very mild punishment, if any at all, the Christians were every where disregarded, and their complaints dismissed from the tribunal with a mocking reference to their Master's precept, to give their enemy their cloak also with their coat, and turn the other cheek to his blows. They were removed from military and civil office, deprived of all their former privileges, oppressed with taxes, and compelled to restore without indemnity the temple property with all their own improvements on it, and to contribute to the support of the public idolatry. Upon occasion of a controversy between the Arians and the orthodox at Edessa, Julian divided the church among his soldiers, and confiscated the property, under the sarcastic pretence of facilitating the entrance of Christians into the kingdom of heaven, from which, according to the doctrine of their religion, riches might exclude them.

Equally unjust and tyrannical was the law, which placed all the state schools under the direction of heathen, and prohibited Christians to teach the sciences and the arts.* Julian would thus deny the Christian youth the advantages of education, and compel them either to sink into ignorance and

* Gregory of Naz., Orat. IV, censures the emperor bitterly for forbidding the Christians what was the common property of all rational men, as if it were the exclusive possession of the Greeks. Even the heathen Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII, 10, condemns this measure: "Illud autem erat inclemens, obruendum perenni silentio, quod arcebat docere magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos, ritus Christiani cultores." Gibbon is equally decided. Directly, Julian forbade Christians only to teach, but indirectly also to learn classical literature; as they were of course unwilling to go to heathen schools.

barbarism, or to imbibe with the study of the classics in the heathen schools the principles of idolatry. In his view the Hellenic writings, especially the works of the poets, were not only literary, but also religious documents to which the heathen had an exclusive claim, and he regarded Christianity as irreconcilable with genuine human culture. The Galileans, says he in ridicule, should content themselves with expounding Matthew and Luke in their churches, instead of profaning the glorious Greek authors. For it is preposterous and ungrateful, for them to study the writings of the classics, and yet despise the gods, whom the authors revered; since the gods were in fact the authors and guides of the minds of a Homer, a Hesiod, a Demosthenes, a Thucydides, an Isocrates, and a Lysias, and these writers consecrated their works to Mercury or the muses.* Hence he especially hated the learned church teachers, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzen, Apollinaris of Laodicea, who applied classical culture to the refutation of heathenism and the defence of Christianity. To evade his interdict, the two Apollinaris produced with all haste Christian imitations of Homer, Pindar, Euripides, and Menander, which were considered by Sozomen equal to the originals, but soon passed into oblivion. Gregory also wrote the tragedy of "The suffering Christ," and several hymns, which still exist. Thus these fathers bore witness to the indispensableness of classical literature for a higher Christian education, and the church has ever since maintained the same view.†

Julian further sought to promote his cause by literary assaults upon the Christian religion; himself writing, shortly before his death, and in the midst of his preparations for the Persian campaign, a bitter work against it, of which some fragments are left in the refutation by Cyril of Alexandria. Julian repeated

* Epist. 42.

† Dr. Baur (l. c. p. 42) unjustly charges the fathers with the contradiction of making use of the classics as necessary means of education, and yet of condemning heathenism as a work of Satan. But this is only the one side, which has its element of truth especially as applied to the heathen religion; while on the other side they acknowledged, after Clement and Origen, the working of the divine Logos in the Hellenic philosophy and poetry preparing the way for Christianity.

the arguments of Celsus and Porphyry, expanded them by his larger acquaintance with the Bible, and breathed into all a bitter hatred. He calls the religion of "the Galilean," or "the dead Jew," as he called Jesus, an impious human invention and a conglomeration of the worst elements of Judaism and heathenism without the good of either. Hence he compares the Christians to leeches which draw all impure blood and leave the pure. He puts the Bible far below Hellenic literature. The first Christians he styles most contemptible men, and the Christians of his day he charges with ignorance, intolerance, and superstitious worship of dead persons, bones and the wood of the cross.

3. To the same hostile design against Christianity is to be referred the favor of Julian to its old hereditary enemy, Judaism.

The emperor, in an official document, affected reverence for that ancient popular religion and sympathy with its adherents, praised their firmness under misfortune, and condemned their oppressors. He exempted Jews from burdensome taxation, and even encouraged them to return to the holy land and to rebuild the temple on Moriah in its original splendor. He appropriated considerable sums to this object from the public treasury, intrusted his accomplished minister Alypius with the supervision of the building, and promised, if he should return victorious from the Persian war, to honor with his own presence the solemnities of reconsecration, and the restoration of the Mosaic sacrificial worship.*

His real purpose in this undertaking was certainly not to advance the Jewish religion; for in his work against the Christians he speaks with great contempt of the Old Testament, and ranks Moses and Solomon far below the pagan lawgivers and philosophers. His object in the rebuilding of the temple was rather, in the first place, to enhance the splendor of his reign and thus gratify his personal vanity; and, then, most probably to put to shame the prophecy of Jesus respecting the

* Jul. Epist. 25, which is addressed to the Jews, and is mentioned also by Sozomen, V, 22.

destruction of the temple (which, however, was actually fulfilled three hundred years before once for all), to deprive the Christians of their most popular argument against the Jews, and to break the power of the new religion in Jerusalem.*

The Jews now poured from east and west into the holy city of their fathers, which from the time of Hadrian they had been forbidden to visit, and entered with fanatical zeal upon this great national religious work, in hope of the speedy introduction of the Messianic reign and the fulfillment of all the prophecies. Women brought their most costly ornaments, turned them into silver shovels and spades, and carried even the earth and stones of the holy spot in their silken aprons. But the united power of heathen emperor and Jewish nation was insufficient to restore a work, which had been overthrown by the judgment of God. Repeated attempts at the building were utterly frustrated, as even a contemporary heathen historian of conceded credibility relates, by fiery eruptions from subterranean vaults;† and perhaps, as Christian writers add, by a violent

* Gibbon, c. XXIII: "The restoration of the Jewish temple was secretly connected with the ruin of the Christian church."

† Julian himself seems to admit the failure of the work, but, more prudently, is silent as to the cause, in a fragment of an epistle or oration, p. 295 ed. Spanh., where he asks: Τί περὶ τοῦ νεὼ φήσουσι, τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς τρίτον ἀνατραπέντος ἐγειρομένου δὲ οὐδὲ νῦν: "What will they (i.e., the Jewish prophets) say of their own temple, which has been three times destroyed, and is not even now restored? This I have said (he continues) with no wish to reproach them, for I myself, at so late a day, had intended to rebuild it for the honor of Him who was worshipped there." According to the words next following, he seems to have seen in the event a sign of the divine displeasure with the religion of the Jews, but intended, after his return from the Persian war, to attempt the work anew. The impartial Ammianus Marcellinus, himself a professed pagan, a friend of Julian and his companion in arms, tells us more particularly, lib. XXIII, 1: Quum itaque rei fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciae rector, *metuendi globi flammarum* prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes fecere locum exustis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum; hocque modo elemento destinatius repellente cessavit inceptum. ("Alypius therefore set himself vigorously to the work and was seconded by the governor of the province; when fearful balls of fire, breaking out near the foundations, continued their attacks, till the workmen, after repeated scorchings, could approach no more, and thus the fierce element obstinately repelling them, he gave up his attempt.") Michaelis, Lardner, Gibbon, Guizot, Milman (note on Gibbon), Gieseler, and others, endeavor to explain this as a natural phenomenon, resulting from the bituminous

whirlwind, lightning, earthquakes, and miraculous signs, especially a luminous cross, in the heavens;* so that the workmen either perished in the flames, or fled from the devoted spot in terror and despair. Thus, instead of depriving the Christians of a support of their faith, Julian only furnished them a new argument in the ruins of this fruitless labor.

The providential frustration of this project is a symbol of the whole reign of Julian, which soon afterwards sank into an early grave. As Cæsar he had conquered the barbarian enemies of

nature of the soil, and the subterranean vaults and reservoirs of the temple hill, of which Josephus and Tacitus speak. When Herod, in building the temple, wished to penetrate into the tomb of David, to obtain its treasures, fire likewise broke out and consumed the workmen, according to Joseph. Antiqu. Jud. XVI, 7, § 1. But when Titus undermined the temple, A.D. 70, when Hadrian built there the Ælia Capitolina, in 135, and when Omar built a Turkish mosque in 644, no such destructive phenomena occurred so far as we know. We must therefore believe, that Providence itself, by these natural causes, prevented the rebuilding of the national sanctuary of the Jews.

* Gregory Nazianzen, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Philostorgius, Rufinus, Ambrose, Chrysostom: all of whom regard the event as supernatural, although they differ somewhat in detail. Theodoret speaks first of a violent whirlwind, which scattered about vast quantities of lime, sand, and other building materials, and was followed by a storm of thunder and lightning; Socrates mentions fire from heaven, which melted the workmen's tools, spades, axes and saws; both add an earthquake, which threw up the stones of the old foundations, filled up the excavation, and, as Rufinus has it, threw down the neighboring buildings. At length a calm succeeded the commotion, and, according to Gregory, a luminous Cross surrounded by a circle appeared in the sky, nay, crosses were impressed upon the bodies of the persons present, which were shining by night (Rufinus) and would not wash out (Socrates). Of these writers, however, Gregory alone is a contemporary witness, relating the event in the year of its occurrence, 363, and that with the assurance, that even the heathen did not call it in question (Orat. IV, p. 110–113). The Greek and Roman church historians, and Warburton, Mosheim, Schrœckh, Neander, Guericke, Kurtz, Newman, Robertson, and others, of the Protestant, vindicate the miraculous, or at least providential character of this remarkable event. Comp. also J. H. Newman (since gone over to Romanism): Essay on the Miracles recorded in Ecclesiastical History, prefixed to the Oxford Tractarian translation of Fleury's Eccles. Hist. from 381–400 (Oxf. 1842) pp. CLXXV–CLXXXV. Warburton and Newman defend even the crosses, and refer to similar cases, for instance one in England in 1610, where marks of a cross of a phosphoric nature, and resembling meteoric phenomena, appeared in connection with lightning and produced by electricity. In Julian's case they assume that the immediate cause which set all these various physical agents in motion, as in the case of the destruction of Sodom, was supernatural.

the Roman empire in the West; and now he proposed, as ruler of the world, to humble its enemies in the East, and by the conquest of Persia to win the renown of a second Alexander. He proudly rejected all proposals of peace; crossed the Tigris at the head of an army of sixty-five thousand men, after wintering in Antioch, and after solemn consultation of the oracle; took several fortified towns in Mesopotamia; exposed himself to every hardship and peril of war; restored at the same time, whenever he could (not every where), the worship of the gods; but brought his army into a most critical position, and in an unimportant nocturnal skirmish, received from a hostile arrow a mortal wound. He died soon after, on the 27th of June, 363, in the thirty-second year of his life; according to heathen testimony, in the proud repose and dignity of a Stoic philosopher, conversing of the glory of the soul (the immortality of which, however, he considered at best an uncertain opinion);* but according to later and somewhat doubtful Christian accounts,† with the hopeless exclamation: "Galilean, thou hast conquered!"

So died, in the prime of life, a prince, who darkened his brilliant military, executive and literary talents, and a rare energy, by a fanatical zeal for a false religion and opposition to the true; and earned, instead of immortal honor, the shame of an unsuccessful apostate.

With Julian himself fell also his artificial, galvanized heathenism "like the baseless fabric of a vision, leaving not a rack behind," save the great lesson, that it is impossible to swim against the stream of history or to stop the progress of Christianity.

* Ammianus, l. XXV, 3. He was himself in the campaign, and served in the body guard of the emperor; thus having the best opportunity for observation.

† Sozomen, VI, 2; Theodoret, III, 25 (*Νενίκηκας Γαλελαῖε*); then, somewhat differing, Philostorgius, VII, 15. Gregory Nazianzen, on the contrary, who elsewhere presents Julian in the worst light, knows nothing of this exclamation, to which one may apply the Italian maxim: Se non è vero, è ben trovato. The above-named historians mention also other incidents of the death, not very credible; e. g. that he threw towards heaven a handful of blood from his wound; that he blasphemed the heathen gods; that Christ appeared to him, etc. Sozomen quotes also the groundless assertion of Libanius, that the mortal wound was inflicted not by a Persian, but by a Christian, and was not ashamed to add that he could hardly be blamed who did this "noble deed for God and for his religion."

Art. II.—THE ENGLISH TONGUE A NEW SPEECH.

By Francis A. March, Prof. of the English Language and Comparative Philology, Easton, Pa.*

His mother tongue is the scholar's true foster mother. She takes him as soon as the light of consciousness shines in his eyes; teaches him how to analyse and name the indefinite apparitions of sense; leads him on to reason, and supplies him with instruments; moulds his passions and sentiments to sympathy with the great hearts and souls whose words of fire she loves to repeat; raises his religious feelings to supernatural elevation by her utterance of the revealed Word; and ever present to his consciousness, like the light which surrounds us, or the air we breathe, or the blood in our own proper veins, quickens us, develops us, leads us, serves us with an ever active attention which may be fitly compared to the providence of God. We are about to speak of the English language, our most noble foster mother; and what we have to say is in the form of an illustration of the proposition that the English is a new speech. A new speech! It is not, as it used to be called, a mixture of Anglo-Saxon and Norman. It is not, as it is now pronounced by Teutonic scholars, a development of Anglo-Saxon. In opposition to the mixture doctrine, it is a living unity, an organic whole; having its final causes within itself, its laws peculiar to itself, its beauty of part, its beauty as a whole; its vitality, growth, and symmetry. In opposition to the development statement, it is a new being. It is not the Anglo-Saxon grown. It may be called a son of Saxon and Norman parents. But then it should be said that this son is a genius. Some sons are only copies of their father or mother;

* This article was prepared for an oration before the Society of the Alumni of Amherst College, at the Commencement of 1860; and is now printed as delivered, with an occasional change of the form of address. It is hoped this may sufficiently explain its peculiarities of style.

but this son is a Shakspeare, whose wonderful gifts come from neither father nor mother. And it should further be said that it is the founder of a new line, and not the flower of an old race. Its look is to the future, not to the past. The Greek had its genius, sovereign, unapproachable. It is the foremost and the greatest of the languages of its class. It has a peculiar quality and flavor, the mysterious vitality and charm which belong to the rarest favorites of nature. But the Greek is the flower of the Indian languages. It is many-doubled, lustrous, fragrant, but the stamens and pistils are all turned into petals. It will bear no seed, will have no successor. Such a language could never be spoken except by such a people; and such a people could not live except in such a country, beneath that clear sky, within hearing of those laughing waters. There could be no hope of daughters more beautiful than this most beautiful mother. It is a possession for all time, but only for the choice spirits of all time. It may be felt by those who love it, but its historical position can be understood only from the side of the Sanskrit, and the kindred eastern dialects. The qualities which are strangest to us are those which are common to the East—the abundance, the flexibility, the smoothness, the flow. In these qualities it is surpassed by the Sanskrit; it is identical in kind, and surpassed in degree. It is like the eastern serpent, winding, involved, many-jointed, flexible, smooth, brilliant in color; or a tropical forest, with its palms and vines and flowers interlocked and interwreathed, but shot through to its depths with the sunlight. Seen from our side, these seem miracles of nature; from the eastern side, they are the common heritage of the Arian race. The Greek is the bright consummate flower of the Eastern languages, not the tough seed whence new forests were to spring in the West.

What we have said of the Greek is true of the German, the flower of Teutonic tongues; and of the French, the flower of Romance languages; but the English looks to the future, not to the past. The Teutonic hen which hatched this eagle's egg looks with increased amazement at the gnarled muscles, the talons, the beak, the terrible eye of this proud bird, and cackles

confusedly at his scream. He looks to the future, the true lord of nations.

As an element in history, then, when we compare its relations to the past and to the future, the English language stands forth as new.

This is not the place to develop a complete classification of languages, and assign its place to the English with scientific precision.

We proceed, however, to characterize it as well as we can. And we begin with the very general statement that it is the most analytic of languages. Language, like knowledge, begins with the indefinite, and proceeds by analysis to the more definite. Sound is still more indefinite than speech. Sound seems to be an original function of matter, already from its creation prophesying and prepared for the hearing ear and the human soul which were to come after so many ages. In sound, as in so many other respects, there is seen a resemblance in the progress of the world to the growth of a man. In the infancy of the earth, before ever a crust was spread over its fluid mass, it lay hushed in the murmurs of a myriad ripples and dimples, the most indefinite of possible sounds.

It used to be the habit in our college days to spend summer evenings on the chapel steps, watching the glories of the setting sun, and the coming on of twilight. As the sounds of day died away, and the college and town were whist, there used to arise in the dusk a faint, low murmur, like the rustling of the garments of night, swelling gently, falling away into silence, never loud, never distinct. Whether it was some strange vibration about the buildings, the soughing of the evening air in pine trees, or the faint murmurs of some far-off stream, we never could agree, and when we heard the President's eloquent discourse, which told us that the universe was one vast sounding-gallery,* we were well content to say that our music was what it surely symbolizes—the reverberation of the voice of total nature.

Lulled by this very strain, the infantile world lay dreaming

* See *Religion of Geology*, by President Hitchcock, p. 410.

through its early ages—dreaming who knows what prophetic dreams of pine trees in which wind is soughing, of the summer bees and brooks, of the far-off hum of populous cities.

Then came boyhood, which rejoices in the explosive—the banging of guns, the cracking of fire-works; and the hardening shell of the world resounded like a bomb with the bursting of volcanic bubbles, and the far-off rumble of earthquakes. The demiurgus celebrated a long independence day with a perpetual sound of fire-works. Sound was become more definite.

The animals came in time. Their cries are more definite in their expression than the sounds of lifeless things, but they still speak the whole character or the general wants of the being that utters them, apparently without analysis—the utterance of life, but of life which does not discriminate, of instinct, not of thought. We say *apparently* without analysis, because we know not how definite the cries of animals are to their own kind. To the ear of man they have the indefiniteness of a strain of music—pleasing, elevating, seeming just on the point of saying what never is heard. "Away! away!" cried Jean Paul's immortal tenant of earth, when he heard the sound of music, "thou speakest to me of things which in all my endless life I have found not, and I shall not find." The poets have been always searching for this secret relation of sound to sense, have always been striving to articulate the song of birds, and the ripple of river or wind. Some philologist perhaps, with a poet's heart, may sometimes catch the key, and tell us what the nightingale sang

> "To the sad heart of Ruth,
> When sick for home, she stood in tears amid the alien corn;"

put in fitting words the hymn which the wood-thrush caroled for the drooping Audubon, storm-drenched in the primeval forests, when "as the first glimpses of morning gleamed doubtfully among the forest trees, there came upon his ear, thrilling along the sensitive chords which connect that organ with the heart, the delightful music of this harbinger of day," inspiring feelings that were thoughts, and raising the thoughts of the fresh old man to Him who sent the bird.

Finally came man, whom all preceding ages looked for and sung for, gifted with reason and the coördinate power of speech. We shall not enter on the question of the origin of language. It is certain that the world was shapen and fitted up for a hearing and speaking tenant. It is certain that speech is as natural to man as reason. It is plain that the languages with which we are acquainted are in different stages of development. My purpose lies wholly in the open field of science; it is only to show that development proceeds from the indefinite to the more definite. Though our first parents were at once inspired to speak a language for which ages of development would have been needed in the ordinary course of things, it is yet true that a great part of the world now speaks just about such a language as we see must be the natural product of their faculties.

The language of miracle has so long ago been degraded to the level of the savage tribes, that they now speak languages which are substantially adjusted to their unripe reason. Man begins with the indefinite in thought and feeling, with a speech indefinite and unsteady in articulation, indefinite and unsteady in the functions of its words. Every confused volume of sound, in comparison with the parts of speech of refined languages, seems like one of those animals of the lower orders, who are nothing but a cell, a sack—one indefinite mass, where stomach, brain, and limbs are undistinguished, and digestion, sensation, and locomotion are all in the whole, and all in every part. So when man speaks an undeveloped speech, a succession of utterances come forth which are neither noun, verb, adjective, adverb, pronoun, nor preposition, neither notional nor relational, but indefinitely all of these.

The speech of the aborigines of America, as described by the earliest observers, may serve as an illustration. These tribes had the senses developed in their highest perfection for observation and imitation; but even abstraction, the first movement of reason, seems to have been in a rudimental state. They could speak of things only as they are found in nature with their relations and surroundings. They could not say *tree* or *house*, for example. They must put something in every

word to indicate *what* tree or house. They did not even say oak-tree; their most general designation still indicates the particular species, if not the individual oak. There are no such words as adjectives and nouns distinct from each other; but the same utterance designates indefinitely things and their qualities.

A pronominal sense is also mingled in the same indefinite mass. They cannot say father, son, master separately. They must say whose father, or what father. The missionaries, therefore, cannot translate the Doxology literally, but teach them to chant: "Glory be to *our* Father and to *his* Son and to *their* Holy Ghost."

Nor is this pronomino-, adjectivo-substantive utterance the extent of indefiniteness. This agglomerate of sounds takes another modification of utterance, and expresses an assertion or activity—becomes a sort of verb, which has a sort of conjugation.

By inserted or supplementary sounds are expressed or suggested times, modes, voices of all sorts, passive, middle, animate, inanimate, negative, frequentative, causative, so that the forms of a verb are five or six thousand in number. And this assertive form is indeed a *verb*, the *word* by eminence, for it swallows up all others.

Besides all the mass which has already been mentioned, the verb expresses its *object* in the same word and the adverbial modifications.

What we mean by parts of speech remains undistinguished in these languages of nature. Speech is with them a perpetual creation of utterances to image indefinitely the total picture in their minds exactly as it is impressed by nature. "The Indian does not analyze his thoughts or separate his utterances," as Bancroft expresses it; "his thoughts rush forth in a troop. His speech is as a kindling cloud, not as radiant points of light." To take a figure from an art not then known, it is like a daguerreotype of a landscape, where every leaf is quivering in the breeze, struck off at once in a blur by the sunbeams, not like an ideal landscape drawn in distinct and imperishable colors by the successive touches of the pencil of Turner.

These general traits are given only in generals to illustrate the indefiniteness of the languages of nature. They would, of course, need qualification, and the statement of many exceptions, if a description of any particular dialect were intended. Like other products of nature, language answers only generally to a general description.

The first great step, which I shall mention in the development of language, gives us what are called the inflected languages.

In these, the noun, verb, adjective, and adverb, are analyzed and definitely separated from each other, but the syllables merely indicative of relation are still left in a state of fusion with the words indicative of notions; utterances equivalent, in an indefinite and little precise manner, to pronouns, prepositions, and auxiliary verbs, expressing or suggesting the prominent relations in space and time, and those of cause, measure, degree, mode, and the personal relations, remain fused with the roots standing for the ideas between which they express or suggest the relations. The notional and relational are two in the spontaneous consciousness, but only one in reflection and in grammar.

These are the peoples to whom our civilization dates back, the languages which have been studied as models ever since language has been studied at all—the Hebrew, the Greek, the Latin, the German, the Anglo-Saxon. If scholars had directed the world, the development of speech would have stopped here, and language would have kept its wings forever; but true hands, with all the fingers and thumbs, were to come. Prepositions accumulated. The general indefinite designation of relations by case-endings became useless and embarrassing. The analysis of mode and time became more and more refined. Separate words were adopted to express these refinements, and the comparatively indefinite designation of tense, mode, and person by inflection-endings became useless and embarrassing. Languages were becoming more analytic all over Europe and Arian Asia.

Just at the most favorable moment there were thrown together on the island of Great Britain picked men of two great

peoples, speaking representative languages of two great stocks, the Romanic and Teutonic. They had already been prepared for mutual interaction. The Anglo-Saxon had newly combined the dialects of many tribes, and had not yet grown into literary consciousness. The Normans still felt their Scandinavian blood, and had northern tongues, as well as northern arms. They could the more readily fuse with Angle or Saxon, Celt or Gaul.

Here, then, was the aboriginal Briton, with a speech abundant, flexible, artificial, still telling of his home in the mystic East, but with the weird and solemn tones and idiom which become the children of the old oak forests of the North—the nation of the mistletoe and the Druid;—a wonderful tongue, a faint echo of which, in the imitations of Ossian, has since sighed and moaned through all Europe. This grand old stock had the traits of the primitive races; it was proud and unyielding, hard to develop or mix, but softened somewhat by the story of Christ.

Here were the Saxons, with their large and well-formed hands,* crafty hands, full of nerves as the heads of another race;—the race of intellectual manual labor; the race of freedom, tall and strong; the fair-haired, blue-eyed, shapely race, who love home, and one wife to rule it as lady and mother.

They spoke a language of the heart, rich in dear brooding tones of warm affection—in simple hearty words for home things and feelings, for every dimple that smiles on the face of home; rich in simple hearty words for the nature in which they lived, their flocks, and herds, and crops, the sun, moon, stars, the clouds, the seasons, the weather, the tides; for this was a people at one with nature, and they kept in their purest forms the sounds which are the audible representative of nature —the common heritage of the Arian races. Come what might, here were sounds that could not die, while the love of nature and of home was warm in the hearts of the race.

* Sir Gareth had "the fairest and the *largest hands* that ever man saw."—*Mort d'Arthure*, 1,232.

"The German's wit is in his fingers."—*George Herbert, Jacula Prudentum*, p. 302.

And here too were the Normans—every man a prince—the born rulers of the world, the knights of old romance, whose marrow grew in open boats on the stormy northern seas, who fought with the heart of lions, who loved as they fought, and sung their own combats and loves to the music of the language of sunny France. They spoke a language which was the queen of the Romanic languages, the language of chivalry, of compliment, of courtesy, the language of the camp, the joust, the court. The last stage of the Latin, with half its strength shorn, and divorced from simple nature, it was yet fit to be the speech of gallant chevaliers and fair dames all the world over, as well as on the soil of *la belle France*. The immediate result of throwing these nations together, was a chaos of language, hissing, sputtering, bubbling like a witch's caldron. For a century, every man blurted out the sounds which suited his whim, and explained himself with his sword. The laws of the Saxon tongue were broken. The laws of the Norman tongue were broken. The Celtic would not mix.

But apparent chaos is the condition of a new Cosmos. One who had watched this chaos of language after the Norman conquest, might have seen gradually emerging a new life, as the smoke that had poured from the coffer of the fisherman in the Arabian tale, cloudy and shapeless, thickened slowly into a gigantic shape, and one of the genii stood before him.

Perhaps the first fact which would strike the observer of this new being—this infant language, is its prodigious appetite and digestion. It is a man-child, and has the stomach of an ostrich. It is a universal imbiber. No words come amiss to it; whether it is the home-made, week-day, Saxon or Celt, festival Norman, the Sunday Latin and Greek of the Church, foreign dainties brought in by the merchant Portuguese, or strange knicknacks found in the East by Crusaders—nothing comes amiss to the new speech; it will try its jaws on all utterances. And its digestion proves equal to its appetite. The *sesquipedalia verba* of Greek and Roman are taken up if expressive to his sensitive ear, analyzed if they have an expressive root; or, it may be, he craunches them, as Swift's lady

does the wing of lark, bones and all, between his teeth, and grinds them to monosyllables in a trice.

It imbues all words with its own spirit. By some modification of articulation, adjusting it to its own laws of sound, by some variation of meaning or association, each word is given a new citizenship, and becomes obedient to the laws of the new language—a loyal member of the new body; just as when some powerful helix, connecting the poles of an electrical battery, stands ready with its hollow coil, and every bar of steel which is dropped through receives at once a new power, and becomes henceforth a magnet.

In this respect, the English differs from the Anglo-Saxon and other Germanic languages; they like home-made words and cannot away with foreign manufactures. This quality fits the English to be a universal language—to be the exponent of a race, who are to be the freemen of the world, and to extend their citizenship to all nations. Here is already a prophecy of our great republic.

The second fact which would strike the observer of the new language is, that it is a root-speaker. It drops the terminations of the Saxon, and the Latin, and uses the simple fundamental syllables common to all the Arian race, which are naturally expressive to them of substantive thought. It rejects the various indefinite relational syllables, and takes up or makes separate words to express each shade of relation. Relations and notions are at last on the same footing in speech. This people is not content to speak the substantive ideas, and leave you to guess their relations from a few indefinite articulations for cases, or modes; they will be as precise about relations as any thing else; they will say just what they mean every time they speak, to the minutest shade of relation.

Grammar and logic become one to this people, and both are at one with nature. They will not be obliged by mixing up notions and relations in the same word to say what they do not mean. They cease to use grammatical gender, for example, which mixes up men, women, and things, on the hint of a sound. They will not be made to call their women things, as the Germans do every time they call them wife. Here at last

is a language with hands. Here at last is a people who do not fly along on the wings of verbal suggestion, but have true hands and fingers, and an edged brain, and shape speech with art to suit their ever active thought. In this respect also the English differs from the Anglo-Saxon.

The observer might notice a third fact about the new language; it ceases to compound its words. The Saxon compounded freely like the German, and the rejection of the habit is the strongest mark of the despotic dominance of the analytic spirit in English. For it is the desire of all thinkers, especially of all poets, and orators, to fix the permanent stamp of their own thought upon every object they speak of. A compound is such a stamp. But the same cause which prevents our new language from using permanent indefinite terminations for inflections, prevents also the formation of new permanent compounds. This distinguishing mind, ever alert, chooses to say, each time it speaks, exactly what it then and there wishes to say. It will not take up an indefinite general descriptive, nor will it mix in one what it knows to be two, and means to keep two. It had rather split the one, than glue the two. In this radical point the English differs from the Saxon, and agrees with the Norman.

The observer might notice a fourth fact in regard to the new language. It uses a new gamut of sounds. There is a stable adjustment of mind and vocal organs in the Arian races, so that an idea naturally expresses itself every where by the use of the same organs. The consonants of the root syllables, and the relational consonants, remain letters of the same organ through all ages of all languages of the Arian stock. But there are smooth, middle and rough letters of each organ. New speech begins with the vigorous, the broad, and loud, and strong, and rough, and gradually becomes more refined and attenuated. The consonants of any radical sound change. The vowels change also. Diphthongs attenuate into vowels; the broad sounds flatten; the harsh sounds soften; the strong sounds weaken; all runs into whispers and i s (ees). The Greek, for example, which must have run and roared with every sonorous variety of musical utterance in the time of Homer, has in-

sensibly thinned away, until the modern Greek has nothing but ee (i) to give us for three of the vowels and three of the diphthongs of the written tongue. The new life and vigor of the English shows itself in reversing this course of attenuation. It gives the weak strength; the flat, roundness; makes the thin vowels broad; delights in new and sonorous diphthongs, and decisive strong consonants, nor does it fear a masculine harshness. It has the phonology of a vigorous youth.

It has moreover a peculiar gamut of vowels. It took up the Anglo-Saxon sounds for the objects of nature, and of home, and the heart; it took up the Norman sounds for artificial manners; but in adjusting them to each other, so as to make a scale of sounds, each was varied by the new instrument which sounded them—the vocal organs of the Englishman; and inspired with a new quality and tone, to render them expressive of the new soul which was speaking, in them, the vital spirit of the English race. The result has been strongly stated by Grimm. He says that in the richness and fulness of its free middle tones, it has a real power of expression, such as perhaps no other human speech could ever command. He adds, that these tones cannot be taught—they may be caught.* The separate sounds of single words may be caught, but to speak English is one of the fine arts. The same letters in different words—the same words in different connections, vary freely by shades of tone so delicate, that no notation could give them—no teacher could repeat them as a matter of artifice, without the life and soul to inspire them. To read a page of Milton to the height of the great argument, or a scene of Shakspeare, with its proper harmony and spirit, demands a happy genius and organization, and could never be taught or caught. While the capacities of the language for harmonious and powerful expression are not used to the full by either of these mighty masters of it. It has combinations of sound grander than ever rolled through the mind of Milton; more awful than the mad gasps of Lear; sweeter than the sighs of Desdemona; more stirring than the speech of Antony; sadder than the plaints of Hamlet; merrier than the mocks of Falstaff.

* "Nicht einmal lehrbaren, nur lernbaren." Ursprung der Sprache, p. 50.

Our observer might perceive, in the fifth place, that the syntax of the new language was as new as its etymology and phonology, and a further expression of the same analytic spirit. It flings away all that is complex and artificial in languages, like the Latin and Saxon, where sentences are made by an adjustment of final sounds, where every word has its mortise or tenon, and a whole sentence is dovetailed, so that speaking is like putting a Chinese puzzle together, or a perpetual game of dominos. The syntax turns on the thought, not on the sounds, and in its general laws is a pure logic carried to the limits of the most refined analysis. No language has ever been spoken where words did the reason so much and obstruct it so little; so little impose their laws on thought and wrest reason from its natural processes. These remarks apply only to the general laws of syntax.

For our observer who is watching the growth of the new language, will, in the sixth place, see gradually taking their places in it, idiom after idiom of every variety and shade of structure, the ganglions of the linguistic body. This is the field where the free will of the individual man does its freest work in language. In its general laws a language is the result of the relation between the general traits of a race and the nature in which they live; but free will disports itself in the idioms. These are the contributions which genius makes to its national tongue: genius, whose motions always hover on the verge of mystery, basks in idioms.

The inexplicable coils of words instinct with electrical life, which send a thrill to the people's heart no one knows how; hard knots of words where the soundest sense is tied up the tightest; touches of nature that make the whole world kin; leaps of thought which grammarians balk at; every means, simpler or more vivid than reason can command, which poetic genius, or patriotism, or any breathing or beaming of the free soul has found to convey thought or feeling; every form of speech which the linguistic sense of the people recognizes as a stroke of genius which it cannot willingly let die, adds to the stock of idioms, and to the peculiar treasures of a national language.

It is the glory of the English speech that its idioms speak for truth and freedom, and law and religion. It grew up in the midst of struggles for religion,—in the midst of the contests of freemen,—in the midst of a people fond of nature and home. Its idioms have been dyed in the blood of martyrs, or taken their festive colors in the secret heart of patriots or poets; they are tinted less in the colors of fancy than in the veritable hues of sky and cloud, wood and field, and ocean, wrought into unity of meaning under the solemn and earnest gaze of imagination.

We shall only mention further, in the seventh place, that the English language may be known as new by its stamp and flowering in literature.

A people do not come to consciousness until they have a classic language. Barbarians have feelings, instincts, sentiments, but not reflections or ideas to be the basis of literature; the people is still unorganized, public spirit is still to be born. As soon as it is born, it will make itself heard in a speech which is then and there classic. Now, to use our old figure of the birth of an animal, the first organ that is seen in the embryo is the heart. Some book, written or unwritten, must be the heart of a classic language. Homer was the heart of the Greek language; the laws and ballads of Rome, the heart of the Latin. The Bible was the heart of the English.

We yield to no one in love for Homer. College recollections of it still hallow the memory of him whose enthusiasm gave life to the antique lines. We are told that tropical fruits must be eaten under the trees to know their proper taste; but I am sure that when our Greek Professor visited the classic shores of the Mediterranean, neither orange, nor date, nor olive, gained in flavor, as did the songs of Homer. Years ago, while fresh from this bracing air, stricken by sickness, with the heart of an exile, I spent solitary months beneath the palm trees under the tropical sun, on the beach of a tropical sea. Day by day as I walked the beach, I heard again the song which Homer sang; and it gleamed and flashed with a new light, as I gazed on the strange brilliancy of that tropical sea and sky; and it rippled, and ran, and roared with new music,

as I listened to that many-voiced sea. A new love and sympathy for this wondrous song grew up in my mind. It seemed the very echo of nature from the seat where beauty and music sit enthroned in the heart of genius. It is worthy to be the heart of the language of Greece. But the Bible was the heart of the English.

The laws and ballads of Rome (the heart of the Latin language) have been stronger food for heroes than the hearts of lions. The trumpet blast which rings through the pages of Livy and Plutarch has roused the heroism of all succeeding generations. Here are the stories of heroes whom Shakspeare rejoiced in more than in all the great names of Greece. Here are the heroes whose trophies gave the old knights of France no sleep,—who inspired the men and women of the first Revolution, when Madame Roland carried Plutarch's Lives to church, and wept that she was not a Roman. This has been called the Bible of France, and it is worthy to be the heart of its courtly language.

But our Bible was the heart of the English. A thousand years this book had been waiting the advent of the English race. As in the geological eras, so in the history of man, in the progress of redemption, advance is not in the continual development of a single race. Singularly developed individuals of a race give promise of a higher type; a new race springs up and realizes the type, while the old race decays. To the Jews, for example, the Christian Apostles came as the harbingers of a new type. The new race came, but not from the Jewish or other Shemitic stock. A new and different race were to embody the advancing ideal, while the Shemitic stock, having borne its flower and fruit, stands barren and decaying, as if exhausted by the ripening of such a fruit. In the English at last came the race which was to be the race of the Bible.

It was in no spirit of scholarship or literary enthusiasm that the English Bible was made. The Saxon race had received Christianity with an intensity of feeling like their old Berserker madness. Not Dante had such appalling visions of hell, or such rapt musings of heaven. Wyckliffe and his fellows wrote

to save the men of their own blood from everlasting burnings, to show them the way to everlasting joys. They put their whole souls in the work. The spirit of the English race was in them. The Spirit of the living God was with them. The special providence which guided its growth may be considered a kind of inspiration. It is more than accurate. It is felicitous and moving. It is full of living idiom, which no scholastic art, no unconsecrated genius could suggest, idiom instinct with devotion, full of harmony and a majestic simplicity. It is no copy of the common speech. It was always above it, an ideal, which the English heart has recognized from the first. These true prophets laid themselves so closely to the heart of the Bible, that the yet plastic language which they spoke, run in the moulds of the Hebrew and Greek, repeated the idioms, and caught the spirit of inspiration. Far as the throbbings of this mighty heart were felt, so far the language grew into organized English, so far the English grew into strength; and to this day every part of the language is pervaded by its influence. No one has ever yet known how to move the English people, whose style has not its life-blood from this great heart of the English speech.

If we choose to carry on in a loose fashion the figure of growth,—in Chaucer we see the senses complete. His lungs are in full play. He shouts as he walks afield, and greets the rising sun. His eyes see, his ears hear. He knows the smell of clover and new hay, and the taste of the tankard.

> "And always roaming with a hungry heart,
> Much had he seen and known, cities of men
> And manners, climates, councils, governments;
> Himself not least, but honored of them all:
> And drunk delight of battle with his peers."

> "Ever with a frolic welcome took
> The thunder and the sunshine, and opposed
> Free heart, free forehead."

> "Since Chaucer was alive and hale,
> No man hath walked along our roads with step
> So active, so inquiring eye, or tongue
> So varied in discourse."

But Shakspeare is the exponent of the English language in its ripe manhood.

We need not try to point out the merits of Shakspeare. We only remark in pursuance of our theme, that this genius of Shakspeare was a new gift to the world. It is not to be found in Saxon. It is not to be found in Norman. It is no development of Saxon or Norman. It is not classical. It is not romantic. It is new. It is Shakspearian. It is English. Criticism which long stood aghast before him, has now made itself new laws from the study of him, and judges all genius by its relations to him. Again, this genius of Shakspeare is marked by the same characteristics which have been pointed out in the English language. The unbounded stomach, under the craving of which we have seen the language taking up words from every quarter, is equally plain in Shakspeare. Nothing comes amiss to him. All moods of both sexes of all ranks of all nations in all ages are food for this hungry heart. Spirits are his familiars. Nature has no mood strange to him. No animal or green thing but has its speech for him; there are books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in every thing.

The same analytic spirit which in the language uses only roots, and dissects and displays every relation of things, and refuses to stereotype compound associations, is also prominent in Shakspeare. He lays open the finest movement of all human hearts and minds. Landseer did not enter more intimately into the innermost nature of a dog. All things in his pages, as Goethe says, are like watches with crystal faces, through which every cog of every separate wheel is displayed.

We saw that the English has a new gamut of sounds, unrivalled in their compass and nearness to nature. It is Shakspeare who has best proved this. This master musician best knows how to "run with a quivering hand in a thousand moods over all the chords of the soul." His syntax and his idioms are characteristically English. Simplicity and fitness rule every general syntactical combination, while an all-pervading and transforming imagination creates at every line some wonderful plexus of words, which seems, like a ganglion of nerves,

not simply to transmit, but concentrate and intensify the action of the mind. And finally the great heart of the English speech, the Bible, sends its vital currents through every page, through every phase of his speech.

The glory and influence of Shakspeare are not bounded by the shore of Britain. A great German Philosopher of History, Baron Bunsen, pronounces him: "The great prophet of human destinies on the awakening of a new world. His histories are the only modern Epos, as a poetical relation of the eternal order in a great national development. They are the Germanic Nibelungen, and the Romanic Divina Commedia both united and dramatized, and the dramatic form was the natural organ of the Epos of an age ripe for the realities of life and full of action."

And the greatest master of language,—its most profound historian, and its most trustworthy prophet, I mean of course, Jacob Grimm, has said: "It is not without significance that the greatest and most transcendent poet of the new time, in distinction from the old classics, used the English speech. This speech of his may, with full right, be called a speech for the world. It will go on with the people who speak it, prevailing more and more to all the ends of the earth. In richness, reason, and compression no living speech can be put beside it."

Such is our birth-right. The treasures of this prevailing tongue are ours. This noblest development of ideal language, this grand daguerreotype of the English race, the study of philologers and philosophical historians, this language of the Bible and of the Protestant religion, this tongue of freedom is ours. We speak the tongue which Shakspeare spake, and Chaucer, and Milton, and Bacon, and Locke, and Sidney, and Webster. The glories of these great names, the glories of this conquering language, are ours. Let us acknowledge ourselves debtors to our mother tongue. Let us study it with earnestness, and treat it with reverence and love. The English scholars have been the worst enemies of the English language. They have studied Latin and Greek till they have lost command of the English idiom; some of them till the free English heart has left them, and they have gone over to Rome altogether.

How many of our colleges even now study the English Bible, and Shakspeare, and Milton, as they do Homer and Horace?* And yet these English books are infinitely more worthy to be known, and this language a better field for philological study. May it not be said, when the historian of this language sums up the proud story of its progress, that the last and most difficult of its conquests was that of the brotherhood of American scholars?

Art. III. — NEW ENGLAND THEOLOGY: THE EDWARDEAN PERIOD.

By E. A. Lawrence, D.D., Professor in East Windsor Theological Seminary, Ct.

The Edwardean Period in the history of New England Theology, forms its negative character in a practical and doctrinal Protest against the three great mistakes or errors of the preceding period. Of these, some notice was taken in a former number of this Journal.

The first is the Half-way Covenant, sanctioned by the Synod of 1662. The second is the converting efficacy of the Lord's Supper, as maintained by Mr. Stoddard in his sermon published in 1707. "In this sermon," says the biographer of Edwards, "he attempted to prove that the Lord's Supper is a converting ordinance." This is what President Edwards called Mr. Stoddard's "particular tenet about the Lord's Supper." The third error is, what was termed the "acceptableness of unregenerate doings." The first led to the second, as the second did to the third. The three were in part the cause, and in part the effect of that decline in practical godliness to which the "Great Awakening" under Ed-

* The philological study of Milton and Shakspeare is a regular part of the course for the Junior year in Lafayette College, and it is pursued to some extent in Columbia College. The experience of these two institutions has abundantly established the practicability and value of the study.

wards and Whitefield was a salutary check. When the life of piety begins to fail in the churches, they will naturally begin, first to question the truth of the doctrines, and then to discard them. Christian doctrine and an unchristian life are moral opposites, of which each seeks to exclude the other. The Edwardean Theology places itself fully on the Christian side.

The movement, both in its practical and polemical bearing, stands in our history as a check to these lapsing and sub-lapsarian tendencies of the time. It was *the reäction of the pure old New England Theology against an enfeebling amalgam of Pelagian, Socinian, and Arminian elements.* This will appear from a cursory view of the external history of the period, and a brief analysis of the chief productions of its master-mind.

The representative men were President Edwards, and Drs. Bellamy and Hopkins. Edwards was the oldest. He had been thirteen years in the pastoral office when Bellamy entered it, and sixteen when Hopkins was ordained. Both were the pupils of Edwards. Their views and character were shaped not a little by the moulding influence of the Northampton pastor and his excellent wife. Mr. Edwards' mind, strong in native endowments, had come to its maturing point, and his influence was growing into a powerful provincial force, just as these youthful coädjutors came into circumstances to be guided by it.

Mr. Edwards entered the pastoral office at Northampton, 1727, at the age of twenty-four, as a colleague with his grandfather, Mr. Stoddard. He had no preärranged dialectic or scholastic system to unfold, no favorite "five points" of any theology to repeat. "He had studied theology," says his biographer, "not chiefly in systems and commentaries, but in the Bible, and in the character and mutual relations of God and his creatures." One of his resolves made during his preparation for the ministry was: "To study the Scriptures so steadily, constantly, and frequently as that I may find and plainly perceive myself to grow in the knowledge of the same."

This study was coupled with an abiding abnegation of self,

and an entire consecration to God, which, in a mind like his, are the never-failing conditions of success. "I have been before God and have given myself, all that I am and have to God, so that I am not in any respect my own. I can challenge no right in this understanding, this will, these affections which are in me. Neither have I any right in this body, or any of its members, no right in this tongue, these hands, these feet; no right in these senses, these eyes, these ears, this smell, or this taste. I have given myself clean away, and have not retained any thing of my own."

With these primary elements of a sound theology and a practical minister, we are not surprised to find the downward course of things in his parish, first checked and then turned back. This counter-scene opened in the remarkable Revival of 1734. An account of this work of grace, then so unusual, was given by Mr. Edwards, under the title of *A Narrative of Surprising Conversions.* This publication was followed by two others on the same general subject, which grew out of the second awakening, which commenced in Northampton in 1740, and extended into many parts of New England. One was *Thoughts on the Revival of Religion*, which, like the first, was eminently practical. The other was the *Treatise on Religious Affections.* The object is to distinguish a genuine from a spurious conversion. It is Biblical, though it draws largely on consciousness and Christian experience. It impresses men with the necessity of being thoroughly honest with themselves, and teaches them how to be so. If it has strong meat for men, it has also milk for babes. It is not perfect, as is no work of erring men; but in those moral eddies, and even whirlpools, occasioned by the bold reäffirmations of the purely gospel doctrines, it was what the condition of the churches required. Perhaps, like the Epistle to the Romans, for a certain few, it may need some previous culturing influences, as sedatives in the medical art must in some diseases precede the remedial agencies. But with the *Pilgrim's Progress* and the *Saint's Rest* this Treatise has been hallowed in the experience of the regenerate of all denominations, for more than a century.

These three Treatises are the exponents of a powerful reactionary movement, of which, in the providence of God, Edwards was made the instrument. They are the work of an eye-witness. Hence they are life-like and exact. They were produced in the glow of a bold and stalwart heart, kindled into what he calls "a sweet burning." Hence, though just, sometimes rigorously so to the proud and luxurious lovers of themselves, he is also gentle, tender, even as a mother, to all the consciously sin-worn and suffering of his kind. The work of God, of which they treat, makes an epoch in the church-history of New England, not unlike that recorded in the second chapter of the Acts, and makes up largely the first chapter of the Edwardean period of our history.

The scenes which marked the early history of Mr. Edwards, and the subjects that he was led to examine, increased his misgivings respecting the Half-way Covenant, particularly "with regard to the admission of those into the church, who made no pretence to real godliness." His difficulties led to examination, examination resulted in conviction, and this in action, when a new scene opens in his history, which was closed by the dissolution of his pastoral relations.

The removal of Mr. Edwards from Northampton to Stockbridge opens the second, and in some respects, the most important chapter in his history. The first marked movement in this period was, as we have seen, practical — a reäctionary life-movement against the chills of death, that were stiffening the faith and worship of the churches into lifeless forms and fossils. How extensive the defection had become Mr. Edwards did not know until he found himself, by divine Providence, engaged in arresting it. He knew that opening the door of the church to the world was the way to corrupt and debase it. But he was not aware, when all the churches in the county but two had thus opened their doors, that all the ministers in it but three had become correspondingly lax in doctrine, until he tried to restore the old principle that "the matter of a church are saints by calling." Up to this time his publications had been of a practical character. He now entered on the discussion of questions relating more directly

to fundamental doctrines. The age was beginning to drift from those great truths which had fed the life of the church in its seasons of greatest activity and purity. In France, monkish superstition was already goading the populace onward towards atheistic madness. A dead orthodoxy was opening the way in Germany for a deader rationalism. The evangelical faith in England was ebbing before the flood-tide of deism and naturalism, while in this country, the school of infidels, a little later called Jeffersonian, was concentrating its forces, and beginning "to let slip the dogs of war." The works of such men as Dr. Turnbull, and Dr. John Taylor, of England, thoroughly Pelagian in their principles, were extensively circulated.

Edwards saw the necessity for discussion—original, calm philosophical discussion. The faith was assailed from the side of reason. Not that infinite mind to which Fenelon exclaimed: "O Reason! Reason! art thou not he whom I seek?" No; but a mere *rationalismus vulgus*, an ethical all-sufficiency of the human for itself. An original defence of the old faith from the divine philosophical side was needed, and Providence had prepared him for this new work.

"The honor of being the most effective defender of Christianity," says Dr. Chalmers, "we should ascribe to Jonathan Edwards." Sir James Mackintosh, by no means a partial witness, regarded his "power of subtle argument as, perhaps, unmatched, certainly unsurpassed, among men."

Mr. Edwards now entered on that series of polemical papers which distinguished him as the greatest thinker and most profound theologian of the age. It consists of the *Treatises on the Will*, on *The End of God in the Creation of the World*, on *The Nature of True Virtue*, and on *Original Sin*.

Before he left Northampton, he had projected a plan for these defensive treatises, and had been collecting materials for its execution. In 1748, he received from Rev. John Erskine, of Scotland, John Taylor's works "On Original Sin," and his "Key to the Apostolic Writings," with a "Paraphrase on the Epistle to the Romans." In his letter of acknowledgment, he says: "I am exceedingly glad of those two books of Taylor's.

I had before borrowed and read Taylor 'On Original Sin.' . . . The other book, his 'Paraphrase,' etc., I had not heard of—if I had, I should not have been easy till I had seen it and been possessed of it. *These books, if I should live, may probably be of great service to me.*"

The intent and bearing of this defensive scheme are made evident by a letter to the same man, written in 1752, one year before the Treatise on the Will was produced. "I hope now, in a short time, to be at leisure to resume my design of writing something on the Arminian Controversy. I have no thought of going through with all parts of the controversy at once; but the subject which I intended, God willing, first to write something upon, was Free Will and Moral Agency, endeavoring with as much exactness as I am able, to consider the nature of that freedom of moral agents which makes them the subjects of moral government, moral precepts, counsels, calls, motives, persuasions, promises and threatenings, praise and blame, rewards and punishments, strictly examining the modern notions of those things, endeavoring to demonstrate their most palpable inconsistency and absurdity; endeavoring, also, to bring the late great objections and outcries against Calvinistic divinity, from these topics, to the test of the strictest reasoning; and particularly that great objection, in which the modern writers have so much gloried, so long triumphed, with so great a degree of insult towards the most excellent divines, and in effect, against the Gospel of Jesus Christ, namely, that the Calvinistic notions of God's moral government are contrary to the common-sense of mankind."

It is thus evident that Edwards did not come rashly to these later labors. He carefully surveyed the whole field. He made himself acquainted with the strongest points of the opposite side and grappled with its chief defenders. They had impeached the old Calvinistic divinity and appealed to the bar of reason and common-sense. He willingly followed them there, and then carried the appellants to the higher tribunal of the divine Word.

We are aware of the difficulty in securing an exact analysis and summary of these treatises. But without something of

this internal history we should fail to bring out fairly that in Edwards which has given his name to the period. The *genuine* Edwardean theology lies in these treatises.

The logical order would lead us to speak first of the End of God in the Creation of the World as the *starting* point, and then of the treatise on Original Sin, or the *Fall* of Man. Next, the Freedom of the Will, or man's condition in his *abnormal* state, and finally, the Nature of True Virtue in the *regenerate.*

But the chronological order will comport better with our object, which is rather historical than logical or theological. This brings us first to the Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will, which was produced, according to his biographer, in four months and a half. Whatever may be thought of the conclusions, it is by general admission a master-piece of close reasoning. It is often studied by the best thinkers as a mental discipline. The diverse Anti-Calvinists, the Pelagian, Semi-Pelagian, and Socinian schools have, for a hundred years directed their most powerful batteries against it. They have been debating and dissertating upon it. They have viewed it, reviewed it, and re-reviewed it, with a kind of success that ever leaves the same work to be repeated. A joint in the harness of the matchless chieftain, or a vulnerable spot in his heel, has been sedulously sought for, through which he could be made to "bite the dust," and is still sought for, but in vain.

We freely allow that these reviews and dissertations have an important historical value. They have generally been the product of honest and earnest minds, which have brought to the great subject whatever light may have been elicited by the later studies in mental and moral science. Nicer discriminations, new shades of thought, and a more exact terminology have evolved more fully the main ideas of the author, and harmonized them more perfectly with the aggressive forces of the church catholic in its conflicts with error.

I. In this Inquiry, the will is defined as that by which the mind chooses any thing, or which is the same, that by which the soul either chooses or refuses. It includes the desires, in-

clinations, and affections.* The will is determined when, by some influence, its choice is fixed upon a particular object; and this influence is that *motive* which, in the view of the mind, is the strongest. Motive, which is both objective and subjective, is the whole of that which moves the mind to volition, or in view of which it acts. By the formula, "the will is as the greatest apparent good," is meant that the mind chooses according to what seems immediately most agreeable.

Moral necessity is simply the *certainty* of things, in themselves, which is the ground of the knowledge of them, and of the proposition that affirms them. It excludes constraint, and natural necessity; and when it relates to the actions of moral agents it involves choice, and the influence of motives, and is improperly called *necessity*. It is therefore consistent with liberty or freedom, which is the power of choosing as one pleases and of acting as one chooses, with no compulsion or restraint. In brief, it is the power of choice, or the election of *one* of two or more objects of choice. An inability to choose *either* of two objects is the negation of choice, and therefore not an element of freedom. Nor is the power of choosing *and refusing* an object, at the same time, such an element. One can no more choose and refuse a thing at the same instant, than he can *do* and *not do* it. Neither is the simultaneous choice of a thing and its opposite, or *both* of two objects, a possible volition. It is therefore evident that an absolute self-determining power of the will, or the power of a contrary choice, is not essential to the Edwardean idea of freedom, and, if he be correct, to any just idea of it. The will *has* no power. It is not an agent, and has no consciousness or personality. The *mind* is the agent, and, in its unity and totality, the only agent. It *has* the will as *its* power, by which it acts volitionally — thus *or* the contrary, but not thus *and* the contrary — neither without motives, nor against the prevailing ones. Consequently, the liberty of indifference, or of choice, with no antecedent, leaning, or disposition, is neither necessary to freedom nor compatible with it. Nor does it allow as essen-

* Edwards' Works, vol. 2, pp. 15–280.

tial that contingency or fortuitousness which excludes the moral certainty of things.

Natural *Ability* in the Edwardean theology, and as implied in the Inquiry, consists in the *powers* or *faculties* of the mind, which are the condition and instruments of moral agency, and the basis and measure of responsibility—a capacity for acting as one chooses, and choosing as one pleases. Natural *Inability* is the absence of this capacity. *Moral* Inability is the want of *inclination*, or the prevalence of an opposite inclination. The inability to good in man's fallen state is his "desperate depravity." A man is morally unable to do a thing when he can do it if he will, but from a want of inclination *will* not. He has a thing in his power if he has it in his *choice*, that is, if he can choose that, *or* something else. But, while, from prevailing bent, he chooses one, he is morally unable to choose the other. One can perform the external acts that depend on the will, and the acts of the will themselves, *if he will.* To say otherwise is to say that he can not will if he *does* will. Yet, while a man can act *if* he will, and can will if he *does*, and *as* he does, he is morally unable to perform an act if he does *not will it;* and unable to will it if he *will* not, and unable to will otherwise than he pleases, or, otherwise than he does will. Moral Ability is the natural faculties and the inclination; that is, plenary ability or *power* in the proper sense.

From this imperfect statement of the ground principles of the Inquiry, its practical bearings are evident upon the following principles of the New England Theology: 1. A valid Divine sovereignty and moral government. 2. The freedom of the subjects of that government, even when morally disordered, and dependent on the Sovereign for restoration. 3. Hence the entire accountability of the subject, in the abnormal as in the normal state. 4. All moral beings will and act as on the whole is most agreeable, or according to their underlying and *ruling love.* Its main antagonistic force is directed against that autonomy of the human will by which, through its self-determining power, it is raised to a coëfficient with the divine will; in which, as Bledsoe, an extreme libertarian, teaches, even God can not cause virtue without a contradiction.

This medium doctrine of the will, standing between the extremes of Necessitarianism and Libertarianism, conciliates and harmonizes elements of theology, which otherwise appear incongruous if not contradictory. According to it, God is a sovereign and man is free. All things in the universe are connected and certain, but no moral being is forced. It avoids fatalism, and is equally remote from fanaticism and a nebulistic mysticism. Evil came into the world by man's *free* will, through God's non-prevention or *permissive* will. God is its sovereign, but no whit its author. And He will subject it to his fore-ordination and eternal purpose of good. The divine will touches directly the fallen human will in man's recovery, and moves it to good, not as a machine, by mechanical force, but as the Infinite free spirit moves and mends the finite free spirit. Regeneration is more than moral suasion, and lies deeper than any self-determination. It can be explained by no mere autonomy of the will or "spontaneous activity, self-directed." "Say what we may of the will, as a strictly self-determining power," says Dr. Bushnell, a moderate representative of the libertarian scheme, "raise what distinctions we may as regards the kinds of ability, such as natural and moral, antecedent and subsequent, we have no ability at all, of any kind, to regenerate our states or restore our own disorders."*

"Hereby," says Edwards, "it becomes manifest that God's moral government over mankind, his treating them as moral agents, making them the objects of his commands, counsels, warnings, expostulations, promises, threatenings, rewards, and punishments, is not inconsistent with a *determining disposal* of all events, of every kind, through the universe, in his Providence, either by positive efficiency or permission."†

This is the Edwardean doctrine of God's government as found in the Inquiry. It is the doctrine of the chief fathers of the New England churches. We think it is shown in this essay, as Sir. William Hamilton says a hundred years later, it is by the Philosophy of the Conditioned, "to be as irrational as

* Nature and Supernaturalism, p. 234. † Works, II, 281–2.

irreligious, on the ground of human understanding, to deny, either, on the one hand, the fore-knowledge, predestination and free grace of God, or, on the other, the free will of man; that we should believe both, and both in unison, though unable to comprehend either, even, apart. 'This philosophy proclaims with Augustine, and with Augustine in his maturest writings: If there be not free grace in God how can He save the world; and if there be not free will in man, how can the world, by God, be judged?' This doctrine, says the same acute author, "brings us back from the observations of modern theology, to the truth and simplicity of the more ancient church."

The year after the Inquiry was published, 1754, Pres. Edwards, in continuance of his plan, prepared the dissertations "On the End for which God created the World," and also on "The Nature of True Virtue."

Seven years after the death of their author, 1765, they were published with a Preface by Dr. Hopkins. Both were carefully prepared "for the public view," says the editor, and were "more especially designed for the learned and inquisitive."

II. In the former, the End of God in Creation, the author distinguishes clearly,* 1. between the chief end and the *ultimate;* 2. between the chief end and the *inferior;* 3. between the ultimate and the *subordinate.* An ultimate end is what one seeks on its *own* account, and a subordinate one is what is sought as a *means* to some higher end. The chief end is that which is most valued and sought, and is always ultimate; an inferior, that which is less desired. Whatever that be which is in itself *most valuable*, and was so originally, prior to the creation of the world, and which is *attainable* by the creation, that must be worthy to be God's last end in the creation, and also worthy to be his highest end. Whatsoever thing is actually the *effect* of the creation of the world, which is simply and absolutely valuable in itself, that thing is an ultimate end of God's creating the world. We see that it is a good which He aimed at by the creation of the world, because He has actually attained it by that means.

* Works, III, p. 5–89.

The moral rectitude of God must consist in a due respect to things that are objects of moral respect. And therefore it must chiefly consist in giving due respect to that Being to whom the *most* is due, that is, God, for He is infinitely the most worthy of regard. And if it is fit and holy that God should *have* a supreme regard to himself, it is fit that He should act in such a manner as to *show* that He has. That this regard to the infinite excellence of his own nature, should be his last end in creation, is evident—Because it is fit and desirable that his attributes should be *exerted*, that they should be *known* by other beings than himself, that they might be the objects of *joyous* affection.

To the objection that this makes God a *selfish* Being, acting for his own glory, Mr. Edwards replies, If God be the Infinite Good, and all other excellence less than nothing in comparison, it is fit that He should value himself accordingly, and therefore it is not selfishness but *moral rectitude*. Selfishness is opposition of one's self to the public good. But this supreme regard of God to himself is just the identification of himself with that good which *secures* it in the *highest degree*. If his excellence and glory are worthy to be made the end of his *creatures*, certainly they must be worthy to be made *his* end. Thus God's regard to himself as supremely good, is the opposite of selfishness. The perfection of his government depends upon it. Should He turn from it, the good of the universe would fail. The objection is based on misapprehension, and is therefore sciolistic and nugatory.

III. The dissertation on The Nature of True Virtue is constructed on the same ground-principle as that on the End of God in the Creation. Edwards uses the term virtue in the sense of holiness.*

Virtue he defines as something beautiful or excellent, belonging to beings that have perception and will, and as consisting in benevolence to being in general.

The first object of a virtuous benevolence is *being*, simply considered, and its ultimate propensity is to the highest good

* Vol. III, p. 94–162.

of being in general. The second, is *benevolent* being. This benevolence of a being, and the qualities and exercises of mind which proceed from it, constitute that spiritual and moral beauty wherein all true virtue consists, and is the primary ground of the love of complacency.

The divine virtue consists primarily in love to Himself as both the infinite Being and the infinite Beauty, and secondarily in a regard to his creatures, which is proportional to their being and beauty. Their virtue consists in a similar supremacy of love of Him, and a proportional love to their fellow-creatures. This *love* is the sum of creaturely excellence, and the fulfilling of the whole law.

Self-love, or benevolence to a particular person or private system, is not of the nature of true virtue, because the good will is confined to a single person, or a small part of universal being. It is *against* general benevolence, and will set a person against general existence and make him an *enemy* to it.

The following are some points in what Edwards regarded as the New Divinity, against which he reäffirmed these general principles of the old.

1. That God's chief end in creation is *happiness*. Rev. Mr. Dwight, the able editor of the N. Y. edition of his works, says, the point demonstrated by Edwards is, that this end was "the manifestation of his own glory in the highest happiness of his creatures." This we think is a misconception. For the highest happiness of *all* his creatures is not the effect of creation. But Edwards says: "Whatsoever thing is *actually the effect* of the creation of the world, which is simply and absolutely *valuable in itself*, that thing is an ultimate end of God's creating the world." The doctrine of both these dissertations looks for God's end in creation to something higher than happiness, as the "absolutely valuable," namely, to the illustration of infinite *excellence*, in the production of a similar finite excellence. This bars out the Universalist dogma, which is the logical sequence from the happiness theory, and also the Divine Impotence scheme, that God fails of his end, the happiness of his creatures, only because He is not able to accomplish it.

2. That happiness is the chief end in the *virtuous affections*

of created beings. Some writers have claimed the dissertation on the Nature of True Virtue in support of this view. But a careful examination will show that this is one of the errors especially *assailed* in it. It is a cardinal principle of both the essays, that the chief end of the creatures in a virtuous affection, is the same as God's chief end in his creation—the excellence and glory of the Creator. The author expressly teaches that "a truly virtuous mind, being under the sovereign dominion of love to God, above all things seeks the *glory* of God, and makes this his supreme, governing, and ultimate end."

3. The *Utilitarian* dogma, which makes virtue not a good in itself, but a means to happiness. The Biblical Repertory,* in an able article on Dr. Alexander's Outlines of Moral Science, appears to impeach Edwards on this point. It is true, a repulsive Utilitarianism is taught in the elaborate note by Dr. Williams, the editor of the English edition. He defines virtue as "a laudable mean of real happiness."† But the editor should not be confounded with the author. If we do not mistake, the text confutes the commentary.

Upon this point, Mr. Dwight seems to have misconceived the animus of the essay, when he says Edwards represents "virtue as founded in happiness, and as being love to the greatest happiness."‡ Edwards, on the contrary, says that virtue is founded in *being* and in *benevolence*. The first objective ground of it "is being, simply considered," and of course, exclusive of the happiness and misery of that being. The second ground is "benevolent being," neither as happy nor otherwise, but as *holy*.§ And as God is the chief of all greatness and excellence, of all being and beauty, true holiness is founded objectively on this double element in Him, and consists in love to Him.

The connection between holiness and happiness in the Edwardean scheme is inviolate, as it must be in a moral government; but virtue is made a good *in itself*, and is sought as the chief and ultimate end, as it must be, that the govern-

* Vol. 25, p. 19. † Ed. Works, III, p. 100. ‡ Vol. I, p. 543. § III, pp. 97, 98.

ment may be one of moral rectitude; and happiness is a good, but not the highest, and hence neither God's nor a holy man's chief end.

The divine excellency of God and of Jesus Christ, says Edwards, in the Essay on Religious Affections, "the Word of God, his Works and Ways, ... is the primary reason why a true saint loves these things, and not any supposed interest that he has in them, or any conceived benefit that he has received or shall receive from them." This antagonism of the Edwardean theology to the Utilitarian dogma, is still further evident from its repugnance to a kindred proposition:

4. That all love arises from *self-love*. If self-love be taken in the sense of a man's loving whatsoever is pleasing to him, which is the truism of his "loving what he loves," it is no wonder that "all love may be resolved into self-love." But "this is calling that self-love which is only a general capacity of loving or hating; or a capacity of being either pleased or displeased, which is the same thing as a man's having a faculty of will." Self-love "most commonly signifies a man's regard to his confined private self," or that interest which most immediately consists in those pleasures or pains which are personal.* It is confined to a private system, and will set a person against general existence and make him an enemy to it.† There is an apparent conflict between this view and another presented in "Charity and its Fruits," where he says that "charity, or the spirit of Christian love, is not contrary to all self-love." It is not contrary to Christianity that a man should love himself, or, which is the same thing, his own happiness.

There are three senses in which Edwards employs the term self-love. 1. As a regard for one's self, which is a part of benevolence to being in general; then it is legitimate and Christian, in accordance with the duty of love to one's self implied in the command, "Love thy neighbor *as* thyself." 2. A love of one's happiness, which belongs to the *nature*

* Works, III, pp. 118, 119. † P. 119. ‡ Charity and its Fruits, p. 229.

of *all* intelligent beings, and is as necessary to man's nature as the faculty of the will. In this sense Edwards employs the term, when he speaks of it as "a capacity of being either pleased or displeased, which is the same thing as a man's having a faculty of will," and of "loving what he loves." 3. The most common and only proper sense of the term, is, a man's regard to his private interest, which sets him against the general good. A careful examination of all Pres. Edwards has said on the subject, and of the different senses and relations in which he employs the term, will disclose his essential consistency. The Treatise on the Religious Affections presents the same dislike to self-love, or desire of happiness, as the source of all love.

"Some say that it is impossible in the nature of things for any man to love God, or any other being, but that love to himself must be the foundation of it. But I humbly suppose it is for want of consideration they say so. They argue that whoever loves God and so desires his glory, or the enjoyment of him, desires these things as his own happiness. But how *came* these things to be so agreeable to him that he esteemed it his highest happiness to glorify God? Is not this the *fruit* of love? Must not a man *first* love God, or have his heart united to him, before he will esteem *God's* good his *own*, and before he will desire the glorifying of God as his happiness? It is not strong arguing because *after* a man has his heart united to God in love, and as *a fruit of this*, he desires His glory and enjoyment as his own happiness, that therefore a desire of this happiness must needs be the *cause* and *foundation* of this love; unless it is strong arguing that because a father begat a son, therefore the son certainly begat him. Something else *entirely distinct* from self-love might be the cause of this, namely, a *change* made in the views of the mind and *relish* of his heart, whereby he apprehends a beauty and a glory and a supreme good in God's nature as it is in itself. This may be the thing that *first draws* his heart to him and causes his heart to be united to him, *prior* to all considerations of his own interest or happiness, although *after* this, and as a *fruit* of it, he necessarily seeks his interest

and happiness *in God.*" "The first foundation of a true love to God is that whereby He is in himself lovely, or worthy to be loved, or the supreme loveliness of his nature."*

Thus, against all forms of the self-love scheme, Edwards reäffirms the old doctrine of the Cambridge Platform, that, "because the works of self-love proceed not from a heart purified by faith, nor are done in a right manner, according to the Word of God, nor to a right end, the glory of God, they are therefore sinful and cannot please God."

The Edwardean theology is free from the slightest taint of the Utilitarian philosophy. There is nothing mercenary about it. While it takes in the individual interests, it carries each one to what is far above and beyond individualism. It *includes* happiness, and makes that secure to the holy, as holiness always draws this after it. But its last chief end is God, the infinite personal excellence, indescribable moral beauty, the beauty of truth, of wisdom and of love. It enfolds these, and a conscious communion with them as its central and centralizing force—the dynamics of the system.

5. Another principle to which these Essays oppose themselves, is, that the mere *will* of God is the foundation of absolute right and obligation. The opposition to this is rather in the drift of the dissertations, than in any specific expression. The will of God, as in all Biblical theology, is taken as the infallible rule of duty, the synonym of right and exponent of wrong. But it does not *create* these principles. Their foundation is not either ab extra, or anterior, to the Divine nature, but *intrinsic* and eternal in that nature. Right is in God as wisdom is. But his will is no more the cause of the one than the other, though it is the exponent of both. God's *nature* is the concrete of absolute right, as it is of truth, justice and love. This is what Edwards means by the "supremely excellent nature of divine things," "the infinite excellence of the divine nature," with which the divine will and administration are always in exact accordance. Hence God's sovereignty is simply the regnancy of right, wisdom and love. It is not

* Works, V, pp. 129–131.

arbitrary, in the obnoxious sense of reasonless, but it is absolute. Yet not absolute, as a human tyrant, from the seizure and abuse of unlawful power, but as having no equal or coëfficient, the source of all things, and the supreme,—competent to an administration resulting in the highest good of the universe, both in what it does and what it *permits*. The sovereignty of his *will* rests on his wisdom, equity and love. The executive in the divine government, so to speak, falls back on the legislative, and the legislative upon the judiciary or court of equity in the divine nature. God must be *sovereign*, or nothing. He must rule in the world, and in our theologies, or evil will, and death and hell. Hence his sovereignty is a primary belief, a regulative idea in all generally sound theology. Hençe too all good men, rightly conceiving of it, have grasped it as a first truth, and loved it. "Absolute sovereignty," says Edwards, "is what I love to ascribe to God." And of this, Mills exclaimed in God's early disclosures to him of his love: "Glorious sovereignty! Glorious sovereignty."

IV. The last great work of President Edwards is the Treatise on Original Sin. And as this is the last, so, as an index of his theology, it is the most valuable. It embraces a wider range of thought, and contains his views on a greater variety of theological topics.

The Treatise is divided into four parts. Our limits will allow us only a brief summary of each.

The caption makes evident the design: "The great Christian doctrine of Original Sin defended."*

In Part First, he defines original sin as "the innate sinful depravity of heart," understood as including the imputation of Adam's first sin.

As the qualities and principles of virtue and vice lie in the disposition of the heart, which precedes choice, and gives it its quality, this Part is occupied with the evidence that the heart of man is naturally of a corrupt and evil disposition.

In the Second Part the argument is continued from man's

* Works, I, 303–583.

normal state, by considering whether he was *created* with original righteousness. In the outset, he meets the grand objection, both to original righteousness and original sin, that it is inconsistent with the nature of virtue that it should be con-created—that "a necessary holiness is no holiness," that Adam "must exercise thought and reflection before he could be righteous." To this he answers: "It is agreeable to common-sense, not only that the fruit or effect of a good choice is virtuous, but that the good choice itself from whence that effect proceeds, is so; yea, also, the antecedent good disposition, temper, or affection of mind from whence proceeds that good choice, is virtuous. This is according to the general notion, not that principles derive their goodness from actions, but that actions derive their goodness from the principles whence they proceed. Therefore, a virtuous temper of mind may be before a good act of choice, as a tree may be before the fruit, and the fountain before the stream which proceeds from it." Therefore there is no necessity that all virtuous dispositions and affections should be the effect of choice. And so no such supposed necessity can be a good objection against such a disposition being natural.

Having disposed of the objection, the negative form of the argument, the author proceeds to the positive. Pres. Edwards regards it as an axiom that "in a moral agent, subject to moral obligations, it is the same thing to be perfectly innocent as to be perfectly righteous." There can no more be a medium between being right and being wrong in a moral sense than between straight and crooked. Here he is steadfast with Augustine and the church anthropology against the Pelagian *characterless, middle ground*—"Ut sine virtute, ita et vitio procreamur." Adam's sin, with relation to the forbidden fruit, was his *first* sin. Hence he must have been till then, from the first moment of his existence, perfectly righteous, and consequently must have been *created* righteous. The supposition of a disposition to right action being obtained by *repeated* right action is inconsistent with itself. For it supposes a *course* of right action before there is any *disposition* to right action. As all Adam's holy acts are traceable to his original righteous-

ness, so the want of original righteousness in his posterity, and the corruption of their moral nature, are historically traceable to his transgression. Thus it is evident that God dealt with Adam as a public person, both as the natural and federal head of the race, and had respect to his posterity as *representatively* included in him.

The Third Part adduces the evidence of original sin from the work of *redemption*. All whom Christ came to redeem are sinners—the evil in all is sin and its deserved punishment. If there are any who at any period of their being have no sin, they at that period need no Saviour, and are not capable of salvation. If infants are *born* sinless, and die as they are born, they are incapable of pardon, for they are not guilty, and need no atonement. They are equally incapable of regeneration, for they have no sinful nature to be changed, no wrong volitions to be corrected, and no moral pollution to be washed away. But Christ's work of redemption does include the provision of salvation for infants. Therefore they are de facto among the "lost," for the grace which provides a deliverer from any state supposes the subject to be in that state *prior* to his deliverance. This cuts off the evasion that infants are saved from a *future* sin, for the sin that was never present, and never will be, never could be future. It could exist only in imagination; and therefore salvation from it could be only an *imaginary*, hypothetical salvation. But the salvation of infants is a reality. There is a wrong in the status of will, the core of their infant being, from their Adamic origin, which is both rectified and remitted—a something *polluted*, which is made pure. Hence what the Scripture teaches of the application of Christ's redemption, and the change of state and nature necessary to true and final happiness, affords clear and abundant evidence to the truth of the doctrine of original sin.

Part Fourth answers *objections*.

1. The first is based on the *supposed integrity* of the will, and its freedom from all natural bias, inclination, or disposition as motives to evil. If we come into the world infected with sinful and depraved dispositions, sin must be natural; and if natural, then necessary; and if necessary, no sin.

The objection is founded on a false idea of the freedom of the will. No such freedom from natural inclination and the power of motive is either necessary to sinful action, or, in man's fallen state, possible. Sinful choice does not make a sinful disposition or tendency; but a tendency to sin precedes a sinful choice.

2. The doctrine of original sin makes God the *author of sin*, or of a sinful corruption of nature. The objection supposes what the doctrine neither implies nor allows—that "the nature must be corrupted by some positive influence," like a taint or infection altering the natural constitution and faculties of the soul. When man sinned, the superior spiritual principles, in which consisted God's image and man's original righteousness, left his heart, and the communion with God, on which these depended, entirely ceased. Man was thus *left in a state of corruption* and ruin, without God's putting any evil into his heart, or implanting any bad principle. God's *withdrawing*, as it was necessary He should, from rebel man, and the natural principles of self-love, appetite, and passion being left to themselves, is sufficient to account for Adam's becoming entirely corrupt. And as the nature was corrupted in the first man, the members received it from the head. That the posterity of Adam should be *born* with a depraved nature is as much by the established course of nature as Adam's *continuing* unholy after he had become so. For Adam's posterity are from him as the natural head, and, as it were, in him, and belonging to him, according to the established course of nature, as the branches of a tree are of the tree, in the tree, and belonging to the tree. Thus, the objection has no force. If, by a course of nature, men continue wicked after they have made themselves so, they cannot therefore make Him who is the cause of their continuance *in being*, and of the *course of nature*, the cause of their continuance *in wickedness*.

3. Third objection. It is unreasonable and unjust to impute Adam's sin to his posterity, inasmuch as they are not one person.

Answer: Though personally distinct, Adam and his posterity are one identical human *family* or *nature*. But unless this

unity of race be unreasonable and unjust, it was not so for God to regard it in this light, and allow Adam a posterity like himself. But this is the natural basis of the imputation of Adam's sin. "The imputation of Adam's first sin," says our author, "is nothing else than this, that his posterity are viewed *as in the same place with their father, and are like him.* But seeing, agreeable to what we have already proved, God might, according to his own righteous judgment, which was founded on his most righteous law, give Adam a posterity that were like himself—and indeed it could not be otherwise according to the very laws of nature—therefore he might also, in righteous judgment, impute Adam's sin to them, inasmuch as to give Adam a posterity like himself, and to impute his sin to them, *is one* and *the same thing.* And therefore, if the former be not contrary to the divine perfections, so neither is the latter."

"The derived evil disposition in Adam's posterity, amounting to a full consent to his sin, is not properly a *consequence* of the imputation of that sin, for it is *antecedent* to it *in them*, as it was in *him.* The first depravity of heart, and the imputation of Adam's sin, are both the consequence of the *union which God has established between Adam and his posterity*—a union depending on the divine will, which will depends on the divine wisdom. The evil disposition in them, as in him, is first, and the charge of guilt after and consequent. Therefore the sin of the apostacy is not theirs *merely* because God imputes it to them, but it is truly and properly theirs by hereditary anticipation in its extended pollution; and on that ground God imputes it to them."

These are Edwards' most definite statements respecting the imputation of Adam's sin. They do not involve the idea of a unity of him and his posterity in the sense of one will, being, or agent. *They* did not actually commit his *first* sin, or any of his sins. They did not act in him volitionally, but representatively, as Levi paid tithes in Abraham; yet there was a constituted oneness between the head and its members. They were "one blood," one physical, intellectual, and moral human race, by creative constitution, according to which the qualities and attributes of the fallen head were derived to, and repeated

in, each of the members. This is the basis of native depravity, of hereditary or propagated sinfulness. On this ground, Adam was regarded in the covenant transaction as "a public person," like a corporation in law, as the moral head of his posterity, and their federal representative. They act in him as the represented do in the representative, and are therefore one with him in the covenant and in the consequences of his first sin. This is the *covenant* part of imputation, which rests on the natural or realistic as the basis. The continuance of a sinful disposition in Adam as a confirmed principle, from the loss of communion with God, was the penalty of his first transgression. God withdrew from him because he had sinned. The propagation of the same disposition in the race was from the same loss of communion with God, and a punishment upon Adam for the same sin. Thus the race became subject to penal evil through the transgression of the first man. Yet no one is actually *punished* who is innocent, or held as *blameworthy* directly for any sinfulness but *his own*.

Thus Edwards avoids the purely "immediate" view which makes the imputation of Adam's sin the ground of the derived evil disposition in his posterity, which charges guilt upon them primarily for his transgression. The evil disposition in them, he says, as it was in him, is first, and the imputation or charge of guilt is after it; and on that ground he also avoids the other extreme, which excludes the representative relation, and explains the moral status of the posterity of Adam solely by their natural connection with him. He combines what is true in both, and thinks the two views should not be separated.

He eschews also that kind of realism which resolves the race into one mystic but real *person*—a species of *monothelitism*, in which one generic will serves the purposes alike of Adam and his descendants. The Edwardean theology preserves the broadest distinction of agents. No one performs the acts of another, though Adam acted representatively for all. No one is condemned for another's sin, being innocent. Yet all became sinful, and hence guilty, and hence come under condemnation, forensically and really, on account of the evil disposition and sin of the first man.

It may be a question whether the natural, in this scheme does not occupy the whole ground, and leave no room for imputation. In strictness of language, mediate and immediate imputation mutually exclude each other, as what is the one cannot be the other. But it is not so plain that the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity as a *judicial* transaction may not be as real on the ground, and through means of their natural connection with him, as on the ground of the covenant alone. If the transmission of his sinful disposition or *nature* is incompatible with the imputation of his *sin*,—if men are born innocent, save as Adam's personal sin is charged to them, and by this *alone* they are made guilty, doubtless Edwards discards imputation. But in the sense of a natural and a legal transaction, of a real and a representative relation—of an *impartation* and an *imputation*—the former being the ground of the latter, and both the penal consequence of Adam's sin, that is, a just punishment upon him, Edwards, we think, held steadfastly to the doctrine of imputation, both of Adam's sin and of Christ's righteousness—to "the two federal heads." In this sense, Edwards was no more a realist than John Calvin, the Westminster Assembly, and the early New England divines. These all believed that the human race was more than an *idea*, a *name*, and that the first of the race was its "root," and that "all mankind descending from him by ordinary generation, sinned in him, and fell with him in his first transgression." And he was also as much of a nominalist as they, when they say that original sin in its common acceptation "consists in the guilt of Adam's first sin, the want of original righteousness, and the corruption of his whole nature." Indeed, he seems not to have been purely a realist, nor wholly a nominalist. He did not confound the abstract and the concrete, nor one man's act with another's. He held to a real oneness of the human *race*, of which Adam was the head, the veritable unity of that "whole nature" which was corrupted by Adam's first sin. Thus he aimed to place the doctrine of original sin on a solid basis of reason and Scripture, without confining himself to any of the schools in philosophy.

With this view, Woods and Dwight, Backus and Bellamy

were in substantial agreement. Hopkins, who first gave this treatise on original sin to the public, expressed no dissent from it, and regarded President Edwards as having entirely baffled his opponent. At a later period, he dropped the distinction between original sin and actual transgression, which Edwards and the New England theologians have generally held, and resolved all sin into action.

Edwards also stood on the true Calvinistic ground. "Original sin," says the Genevan divine, "appears to be an hereditary pravity and corruption of our nature diffused through all the parts of the soul." Adam's transgression "not only procured misery and ruin for himself, but also precipitated our *nature* into similar destruction. And that, not by his *personal guilt*, as an individual, which pertains not to us, but because he *infected* all his descendants with the corruption into which he had fallen." "And this liableness to punishment arises not from the delinquency of *another;* for when it is said that the sin of Adam renders us obnoxious to the divine judgment, it is not to be understood as if we, though *innocent*, were undeservedly loaded with the guilt of *his* sin, but because we are all subject to a curse on account of his transgression, he is therefore said to have involved us in guilt. Nevertheless we derive from him not only the punishment, but also the *pollution* to which the punishment is *justly due.*" *

Anselm, before Edwards or Calvin, had taken the same view: "When an infant is condemned for original sin, he is not condemned for Adam's sin, but for his *own*, for if he had not his own sin, he could not be condemned." Augustine held that "vitium originale" is "vitium hereditarium." And of Tertullian's traducianism, the transmission of a sinful nature was the very essence.

Upon this ancient and honorable platform, the Methodist theology upon this subject fairly and fully places itself. It is an interesting fact that Jonathan Edwards and John Wesley were occupied at the same time in elaborate replies to Dr. Taylor. Edwards finished his treatise in May, 1757, and Wes-

* Institutes, B. II, Chap. I. Sec. 6–8.

ley his in August of the same year. On the main questions at issue, the moral corruption of man's nature, and the imputation of Adam's sin,—the total fall of the race in the first man, and inability to good in that state except by grace,—they were in essential agreement, and substantially Calvinistic. Their illustrations of the subject and modes of vindicating the divine government, though original, are, in some cases, strikingly similar. The Congregationalist is the more philosophical and profound, the Methodist the more laconic, pithy and practical. Both wrote from a deep Christian experience, from spiritual conflicts, and a breadth of religious consciousness, which carried them far above cold speculation into the warm life of things.

"Original sin," says Wesley, "is that sinful impurity which every man brings into the world," a "nature tinted with sin." "We came into the world with sinful propensities, sinful dispositions derived from Adam." "God does not look upon infants as innocent, but as involved in the guilt of Adam's sin, otherwise death, the punishment denounced against that sin, could not be inflicted upon them."

Wesley's treatise contains a minute defence of the Westminster propositions respecting original sin. His letter to Dr. Taylor a year or two after he published his reply, is graphic and characteristic:

"Reverend Sir: I esteem you as a person of uncommon sense and learning; but your doctrine I cannot esteem. . . . Either you or I mistake the whole of Christianity, from the beginning to the end! Either my scheme or yours is as contrary to the Scripture as the Koran is. Is it mine or yours? Yours has gone through all England, and made numerous converts. I attack it from end to end. Let England judge whether it can be defended or not." *

In this view of the derivative character of the Edwardean theology, it is something more than a provincialism. Nor can it properly be regarded as an improvement, except in its modes of statement and defence. Its affiliations are clearly with the genuine Calvinistic school. It brings nothing essentially

* Wesley's Works, Vol. 5, p. 669.

new to that school, and excludes from it nothing of substantial doctrine that is old. If we do not mistake, it is in substance identical with it, and with it the Augustinian and Pauline theology which preceded it.

Prof. Fisher, in a compact and instructive article in the *New Englander*.* appears to class Edwards and Calvin with the immediate imputationists. But these men, on the subject of original sin, we believe do not admit this classification. In respect to President Edwards, they regard it as one of his very few mistakes that he held the *mediate* doctrine. Historic fairness is leading them to relinquish Calvin also, and to place him in the same category with Edwards. The history of the immediate imputation doctrine, which includes the workings of some of the noblest minds of the Reformed Church, is for the most part, *post*-Calvinistic, and seems to have been brought forward against the Arminian movement. We submit that both Calvin and Edwards belong more exactly to Prof. Fisher's second class than to the fourth;—to those whose doctrine rests on the assumption "that moral evil, like physical evil, is hereditary." Both adopt the doctrine of an "inherited corruption of character which is culpable." Both deny that the descendants of Adam, being *innocent*, are accounted guilty for his transgression, and teach that, inheriting an evil disposition from him as a penal consequence of his sin, they are accountable for their own sin.

It is not our object to inquire whether this Edwardo-Calvinian doctrine of Imputation and Original Sin is true or false, but to indicate our belief that it is much older and has a more honorable progenitor than Joshua Placaeus, or any theologian of the 17th century. As the radix of New England Theology it is not an exotic. It has struck deep into the native soil of the church, and borne in all climes branches of the tree of life, as they have been grafted into it and made fruitful by the supernatural culture of the divine husbandman. It may not furnish a solution of the difficult problem satisfactory to all. Nor does any other theory. But it has the advantage of a solid basis in the following generally admitted facts.

* Vol. 18, No. 3, p. 698.

1st. The unity of the human family in one common human nature. 2d. The present abnormal condition of the race in a state of hereditary moral evil. 3d. This evil in the race is traceable through successive generations, up to the first sin of the first man. 4th. A federal or covenant transaction with Adam as the representative of the race, in accordance with which they were to stand or fall with him, as he obeyed or transgressed the law. It accounts for these facts by saying, as all reasonable theories must do: it pleased God, as a wise *Creator*, to constitute men on the plan of unity, as a race. It pleased him, as a wise, moral *governor*, to make Adam the representative head under law for the whole. When he transgressed it pleased God, as a just *Judge*, to withdraw communion from him as a penalty for his sin, through which his sinful disposition became a confirmed principle in him and in his posterity.

We have aimed in this expose of the Theology of President Edwards, to act the part of the historical interpreter—not to put our thoughts into his words, but to let him speak out his own. Our object has been not *eis*egesis, but exegesis, to unfold the ground-work of the system—its self-consistency in the harmony of the internal and internal, the *pistis* and *gnosis*. Some will dissent from our construction on this hand, and some on that, as they fall into the right or left wing of this central body of New England Theology. Some take the prestige of Edwards' name for the New Divinity, and some for the Old. Some claim him as an Old Calvinist, and some as a Hopkinsian or New Calvinist. One party says he was the founder of a new school, another that he was only an original and most successful teacher in the old. His son wrote an essay on half a score of "Improvements made in Theology" by his father. But the honor of several of these improvements, he gave to certain "followers" of his father, who, by a metaphor, called their aberrations from their master, *his* improvements. By the same figure of speech, theories which the elder Edwards never taught, and some of which he repudiated, are sometimes called Edwardean, simply because held by the younger Edwards, or some other reputed follower of Edwards.

Hopkins, the pupil, the fireside friend and biographer of the father, says he was a Calvinist, "on the maturest examination of the different schemes, and the comparison of them with the oracles of God." He also represents the younger Edwards, when a student in theology, as in positive and self-confident opposition to several of the main positions of the father, and it is evident that to some of them he never became reconciled. Pres. Edwards himself says he should not take it amiss to be called a Calvinist, though he disclaimed believing the doctrines he held *because* Calvin taught them, and also believing in every thing JUST *as* he taught. If by the Old Theology is meant that Adam's sin is immediately imputed to his posterity antecedently to their real sinfulness, so that they, being innocent, are held as personally guilty of his act, and by the New, that imputation is mediate, through the transmission of a sinful nature, which is the antecedent and ground of imputation, Pres. Edwards was doubtless with the New. But if by the New Theology is meant that happiness is the chief end of God in Creation, and that self-love is the primal motive in virtuous affections,—that God would have prevented sin, but could not, and therefore permitted it; and by the Old, that holiness and God's excellence and glory are the chief end, both of God and good men, and that God was able to prevent moral evil, but saw it best to permit and overrule it, to something higher than prevention;—if the New holds that depravity comes by each one's own intelligent voluntary act, in a nature that tends to sin, but which we stigmatize when we call it sinful, from disordered sensibilities and bodily appetites, and that the fall was of the *animal* rather than of the *man;* that original sin is each one's first transgression of known law, and that each has plenary *power*, as well as faculties, for all duty;—if this be the New, Edwards, in the elaborate and masterly defence of the "Calvinistic Divinity," was unquestionably with the Old, and against the New. And in no one of his treatises, is he more explicitly and fully so than in the last on Original Sin. Hence the difficulty in conciliating its teachings with those anti-Edwardean schemes, called by his name simply because taught by his son or son's followers.

This treatise has been pronounced by Dr. Park, one of the acutest dialecticians and theological writers of our time, the "enigmatical treatise," and for the explanation of one of its dark phrases, the following "key" is proposed: "When we read in it of our evil propensities, we are to understand, first, that these are real *choices* and thus real sins, or secondly that they are the *effects* of our having transgressed the law in Adam, and are thus metaphorical sins, just as our wrong actions, implying a wicked motive, are sins by a figure of speech; or thirdly, that they are sinful by a like metaphor, as they are *occasions* of our personal disobedience to law; or fourthly, that they are sinful by a double metonomy of cause for effect, or effect for cause." *

This method of interpretation is original and peculiar. It must find something in the treatise to build itself upon, or it would not have been suggested to a mind so acute and discriminating. But the key is elaborate, and to tyros in theology will be perplexing. And if one such key is necessary to explain the riddle in two words of the treatise, how many would be required to unlock the whole of it? In the result of this exegesis, too, the sins, "by figure of speech," are vastly out of proportion to the "real sins." Besides, the turning of this key seems to lock out of the essay a somewhat fundamental idea which the author had carefully wrought into it,—that original sin is a real sinfulness which does not consist in choices. As it is, by his definition, "*innate*," it cannot be a choice, and yet it is "a *sinful* depravity of heart." It is a corrupt STATE in a MORAL sense, "which is opposite to what the law of God requires." But, notwithstanding this method of interpretation, the treatise is virtually yielded, as a piece of old-fashioned Calvinism,—too tight-ribbed and iron-bound to be made over into New Divinity. Hence it is frankly admitted that it "is not a perfect exponent of what is *now* termed the Edwardean faith." †

But where shall we look for such an exponent, if not to his own works? And if the last, maturest, richest fruits of his life

* Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. 9, p. 207. † P. 208.

and labors cannot be taken as such, on what can we rely? Is it quite just to make him responsible for a faith which was not his, and give the honor of his name to views which he discarded as erroneous? Further, this mode of construing the essay involves a logical necessity for *discrediting*, as well as disowning it.

"It was written amidst the constant alarms of an Indian war, and under many embarrassing influences of its author's frontier parish, and with a constitution shattered by fever and ague. Ill health prevented his revising it as faithfully as he had revised his other works, and when he had published only a few sheets of it, death ended his labors. . . . The principal regret which he is said to have felt in prospect of his untimely death arose from his inability to modify some things which he had written, and there are several reasons to believe that he meant to remove some verbal incongruities from the work which he had not finished with his wonted care, and which he had deemed it needful to publish with more than his usual haste." *

The obvious intent of this apologetic treatment is to break the force of a certain something in this treatise which bears against the modern doctrine that "all sin consists in sinning," and in favor of the ancient one, that some sin consists in an "innate depravity of heart," which is sinful. With the partisan aspects of the subject, we have nothing to do. Our present inquiry relates to what is historical and equitable. We are not able to see on what principles the complexion of Old Theology which the treatise bears, can be either accounted for or explained away by "the alarms of an Indian war," or by the effects of "fever and ague." The usual influence of such providential dispensations upon such men as Jonathan Edwards, is to clear the mind of prejudice and error, not to darken it by them. The sickness, thus apologetically alleged, occurred nearly two years before he commenced this work. Nor was his constitution so shattered by it but that in the year following it he produced those remarkable dissertations on the End of

* Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. 9, p. 208.

God in Creation, and on the Nature of True Virtue. Three years later, and five months after he had finished the treatise on Original Sin, in assigning several reasons adverse to his accepting the presidency of Nassau Hall College, he makes no reference to ill health. And the plans of Herculean labor with which he entered on his new field, quite preclude the idea of a shattered constitution.

Nor, so far as we can learn, can this strong leaning of the work be accounted for by any unusual haste in finishing, revising, or in publishing it. The general plan of which this Essay constituted an important part, had been maturing in his mind for ten years. He was employed in its production nearly a year, and finished it, according to the date of the Preface, May 27, 1757. Nine months after, having it in hand meantime for any revision or alteration he might wish, he had printed only a few sheets, when death closed his earthly labors. The essay on the Will, which is a little longer than the one on Original Sin, was produced in the short period of four months and a half, and went to press in six or eight months after, showing that he took *more* "than his wonted care" and time for finishing, revising and publishing this last work, rather than less.

We are not called to consider the question whether or not it is an "enigmatical treatise," nor how far it may be regarded as an "exponent of what is *now* termed the Edwardean faith." But that it is fairly entitled to be taken as the author's last great work, deliberately matured, elaborately wrought out, carefully revised, and given to the world as an exponent of *his own* belief—of the *genuine* "Edwardean faith," a fair rendering of the facts in the case leaves no reason to doubt. It may have in it more or less of human imperfection and error. But for its strong leanings to the ancient and catholic faith, it admits of no *apology* from ill health, the alarms of an Indian war, or any other cause. Jonathan Edwards, the disciple of Moses-like meekness and Johannic love, the matchless meta physician, the man of massive grandeur, and granite stability of Christian character, in his later utterances, gave himself to the church and the world with a deliberation and explicitness

which perfectly define his theological position, and entitle his words to be taken without attenuation or apology, as the exponents of that position.

Art. IV.—ISAAC LA PEYRERE AND HIS BOOK, THE PRÆADAMITES.

In the year 1655, there was printed in the city of Amsterdam, without the name either of author or publisher, a book entitled **Praeadamitae, sive exercitatio super versibus XII, XIII et XIV capitis V epistolae D. Pauli ad Romanes, quibus inducuntur primi homines ante Adamum conditi;* also *Systema Theologicum ex Praeadamitarum hypothesi.* As might be supposed, a volume appearing with such a title, in an eminently controversial age, made no little stir. The audacious novelty of the thesis of the book aroused much theological zeal, which has sometimes been excited even by a less adequate cause. Numerous refutations,† by Protestants as well as by Catholics, soon appeared. Although the book was published anonymously, and even the printer thought it prudent to withhold his name, yet it soon became known that the author was Isaac La Peyrere, a Frenchman and a follower of the Prince of Condé.

He was born at Bourdeaux in 1594,‡ and was reared a Protestant and a Calvinist. His family was of no mean rank, and

* It was published in two forms, 4to and 12mo, and is not even now a very rare book. There is good bibliographical authority for the statement that an English translation was issued in London in 1656.

† The writer of this sketch has seen only two of these refutations; one by J. C. Dannhaweius, Professor at Strasburg, entitled *Praeadamita utis, sive fabula primorum hominum ante Adamum cauditorum explosa*—a very whimsical book; the other by Philip le Prieur, under the title of *Animadversiones in librum Praeadamitarum*, contains a sober and learned argument.

‡ J. P. Niceron in his *Mémoires pour servir a l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres*, 43 vols. Paris, 1729–41, has been the most diligent collector of all that is known concerning Peyrere.

his elder brother was an eminent advocate, and published a Hand-book of Legal Decisions which passed through several editions and was much used in the South of France, where the Parliament of Bourdeaux had jurisdiction. It is not known for what profession Peyrere was educated. It is certain that he knew little Greek and no Hebrew; and though he prided himself upon his acquaintance with Latin, yet the style of his works written in that language is not very good. Little is known of his early life. He seems to have entered the service of the Prince of Condé (the father of Louis de Bourbon, commonly called "the great Condé") when quite young, and he followed the fortunes of the family to the last. In what capacity he was employed is not recorded, but it is probable that he was a kind of private secretary. In 1643 he published his first work, entitled *Du Rappel des Juifs*,* which shows the fondness for curious speculation displayed so strikingly in the Prae-Adamitae.

In the following year he was attached, through the interest of his patron, to the suite of M. Thuillerie, ambassador of France to the Court of Denmark. While in Copenhagen he composed two narratives† afterwards published, in which he recounted the matters he had learned about Iceland and Greenland, regions at that time comparatively unknown.

* This book, like most books of the kind, maintains that the Jews will be restored to the temporal blessings which they enjoyed before their rejection. They will regain possession of the Holy Land, and God will raise up for them a king more righteous and victorious than any former ruler. This King will not be Christ, but a temporal monarch, and moreover King of France, as is proved by four reasons: 1. Because the titles "Most Christian" and "eldest son of the Church" have been given to the King of France *par excellence*. 2. Because it is to be presumed, that as the King of France has power against the King's evil which afflicts the bodies of the Jews, he will have power also over the obstinacy and unbelief which possess their souls. 3. Because the emblem of France is the lily, and in the Scriptures the beauty of the Church is compared to the beauty of the lily. 4. Because France will be the land in which the Jews will seek refuge from persecution and become Christians; for France is a free country and whosoever touches it is free. (*See Memoires of Niceron. Vol. XII*, p. 73.)

† Bayle calls these narratives "curious enough," but Niceron says that they are both "curious and valuable, and that Peyrere no where in them seems the visionary which he appeared in his other works."

In 1653* when the Prince of Condé deserted his country and retired to Belgium, Peyrere followed him. Some time afterwards he went to Amsterdam, and there procured the printing of his book, the Prae-Adamites. Upon his return from Holland he was sent by the Prince to Namur. Here he remained six months, when on Christmas, 1655, the bishop of the diocese published a censure of his book. Although the author was not named in the condemnation, yet Peyrere began to feel some apprehension for his personal safety, and hastened to place himself under the protection of his master. While waiting letters at Brussels in February, 1656, thirty armed men rushed into his chamber and carried him off to the Tower of Turemberg. He was told that this was done by the authority of the great Vicar of the Archbishop of Mechlin, and soon the Vicar came to the Tower to see him, but was so berated by the indignant Peyrere that he did not show himself again. The Prince of Condé made, or appeared to make, great exertions to procure his release, but the Archduke Leopold professed to be unable to interfere, on the ground that Peyrere was a prisoner of the ecclesiastical power. At length after the somewhat sudden death of the Vicar, he was released on the condition that he should go to Rome, abjure his heresy, and submit himself to the Pope. He was well received by Alexander VII., who gave him, as was usual in such cases, into the charge of an ecclesiastic to help him weed out his errors and dress up his retraction.† The Pope, it is said, offered to provide him

* He does not seem to have remained a long time in Denmark, and soon after his return to France he went, under the orders of Condé, a journey into Spain. Nothing is known in regard to the object of this journey and it would scarcely deserve mention except for a circumstance connected with it which he narrated at Rome to the Abbé Nicaise. He told the Abbé that during this journey he fell to thinking upon a proposition in Euclid, which so engrossed his thoughts and was pursued with such application that he became sick and was like to die. The anecdote possesses interest because it illustrates Peyrere's fondness for all kinds of curious problems. (*See Niceron. Vol. XII*, p. 71.)

† This, together with his petition [deprecatio] to the Pope, was published at Rome in 1657, and afterwards at Frankfort in 1658, under the title, *I. Peyrerii Epistola ad Philotimum, qua exponit rationes propter quas ejuraverit sectam Calvini, etc. et Deprecatio I. Peyrerii ad papam Alexandrum VII, etc.*

with a place, but he preferred to return to the great man whom he had served so long. In 1659, when Condé made his peace with the Court of France and returned to his native land, he appointed Peyrere his private librarian.

The salary attached to this post being very small, he afterwards obtained permission to retire to the Seminaire de Nôtre Dame des Vertus under the direction of the Fathers of the Oratory. Here he remained until his death, retaining the title of Librarian to the Prince, and drawing the little pension which had been assigned to him. His time was occupied in discussion with friends and in literary labor; but he published nothing except a new edition of the Apology for his conversion, and a collection of letters addressed to the Count de La Suze, urging that gentleman to embrace the Catholic faith. He supplied also copious notes for a new translation of the Holy Scriptures undertaken by the Abbé de Marolles. The printing of this version had proceeded through the twenty-second chapter of Leviticus, when d' Harlay, Archbishop of Paris, caused it to be examined by one William Martin, a converted Calvinist and a man of learning, who reported that it contained innumerable errors, and it was accordingly suppressed. So far as the notes were concerned, the world, doubtless, lost much that was curious, if not very much that was valuable. Peyrere died in his quiet retreat in the year 1676 at the age of eighty-two.

Having given this brief sketch of Peyrere's career, we now turn to the argument of the book, whose advent made so much stir. Peyrere founds his theory on that passage of the Scriptures, which has in all ages furnished matter for theological speculation, the fifth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. The words of the thirteenth verse, "for until the law sin was in the world: but sin is not imputed when there was no law," is made the keystone of the argument. "The law," in this passage, he contends, cannot mean the law given to Moses, but the law given to Adam. For the Apostle is speaking of the great transgression which brought sin and death into the world; and the law mentioned in the context is obviously related to that transgression. Law and transgression are corre-

lative terms, so that the conditions which fix the one must determine also the other. The transgression of which the Apostle speaks was committed by Adam; but the law of Moses was given to the Jews and transgressed by the Jews alone. Hence the law is not that which was given to Moses, but that which was given to Adam; and it was by the transgression of this law that all man were made sinners and death passed upon the race. And this the Apostle directly confirms by the words: "Sin is not imputed where there is no law." "For," says Peyrere, "I cannot understand, by the most careful thinking, how it can be proved that sin was not imputed during the time which elapsed from Adam to Moses. Every event in that period shows that there was imputation of sin. Why did Cain fear when he had slain his brother, saying: 'My iniquity is to great for pardon.' Why should pardon be refused, if iniquity was not to be imputed to him? Why was Judah unwilling to stain his hands with the blood of his brother Joseph, or what was the stain which he feared, if it was not imputation? Abraham's faith was imputed to him for righteousness, and the imputation of faith presupposes the imputation of sin." In this way the sacred history is made to afford proof that sin was imputed to man from Adam to Moses. But if sin was not imputed until the law, it follows that the law referred to by the Apostle is the law revealed to Adam. And this law, the grand primal law, or law of laws, is called, *per excellentiam*, *the* law.

Having settled this question of interpretation, Peyrere is prepared to define the periods of time which the language of the passage clearly implies: the first, before the law: the second, after the law. The first is described in the words, "for until the law, sin was in the world," etc.; but the law here mentioned is the law given to Adam, and consequently the time referred to is a period prior to the creation of Adam. During this period, according to the testimony of the Apostle, there was sin in the world; for there was sin even to the law, though there was no imputation of sin. It must be admitted, therefore, that men existed before Adam, who indeed sinned,

"*sed qui non peccavissent imputative*," because sin was not imputed before the law.

To this conclusion the language of the Apostle logically leads, although contrary to the common opinion and the orthodox interpretation. Peyrere anticipated the horror with which many would receive it; but he claims, that just as the succession of day and night has not been affected by the Copernican theory of astronomy, so the doctrine that there were men before Adam practically changes nothing in the Christian faith. The fundamental fact of this faith is that men are counted guilty in Adam, but righteous in Christ. As it was not necessary that Christ should be the last of the race in order to rescue it from sin, so it was not requisite that Adam should be the first member of the series of beings on which he brought condemnation.

Peyrere then proceeds to show that the view he propounds is confirmed by the fourteenth verse: "Death reigned even over those who had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression." He maintains that these words cannot be applied, as many theologians assert, to the infant descendants of Adam. For the similitude here spoken of may be either a natural or a spiritual similitude. The latter, or spiritual similitude, is the creature of imputation, so that all to whom Adam's sin has been imputed are so far forth like him, and are properly described as having sinned after his similitude. Natural similitude is of two kinds: *geometrical*, which exists between bodies alike in figure and having the same proportions: and *physical*, a similitude of propagation, which arises in the order of nature between parents and their offspring. Now, that the infant descendants of Adam sinned after the spiritual similitude of his transgression, is obvious from the very terms of the definition above given. And this is equally true in case of the other meanings of the word. Thus the infant Seth, begotten in the likeness of Adam, was endowed with understanding, reason and will, after the similitude of the understanding, reason and will possessed by the adult Adam; so that the infant Seth performed every mental act after the similitude of the corresponding mental act of the adult Adam.

Again, the infant Seth was similar to the adult Adam, just as one circle is similar to another; for the parts and functions of the infant Seth were like in kind and proportions to the corresponding parts and functions of the adult Adam, each to each; so that the ratio of the parts of the one to the corresponding parts of the other was as the whole Seth to the whole Adam. In every sense, therefore, of the term *similitude*, infants are properly said to sin after the similitude of the sin of Adam; after the similitude or proportion of the sin, not the sinful act itself. This infants could not commit; and if they could, they would sin, not after the similitude, but the actual sin, of Adam. It is plain, therefore, that all who sinned not after the similitude of Adam's transgression must have lived before him.

Peyrere claims that his hypothesis reconciles faith with right reason, which does not allow us to believe that this globe has existed only for a period at which Hesiod computes half the lifetime of a crow. By this theory, the sacred history is more easily harmonized with itself, while it is made to agree in a wonderful manner with the records and monuments of the ancient Greeks, Chaldeans and Egyptians. The origin of the Mexicans whom Columbus discovered, and of other strange nations, brought to light by distant voyagers, becomes an easy problem. They existed before Adam, and their creation is described in the first chapter of Genesis.

To the objector who should quote the words of Paul, "God made all men of one blood," Peyrere replies that this language does not mean that all men sprang from Adam. Its meaning is simply, that all men are made of the same materials, and upon the same model; as Elihu says to Job: "I also am formed out of the clay." And that the Apostle did not intend to refer all men to a common progenitor, is plain from another expression in the same discourse, "We are the offspring of God," not, we are the offspring of Adam. For he is addressing the Gentile Athenians, and, accordingly, he refers not to the particular creation of Adam, but to the original creation of the race, wherein God made men after his own image, so that by virtue of this image all men may be described as the offspring of God.

And so, also, in the first epistle to the Corinthians, where Adam is named the first man, the language is figurative and has its counterpart in the designation of Christ as "the second man." Adam and Christ are here set as landmarks in the judicial history of the race—opposite termini of imputation—and as, by the one, sin, which is the transgression of the law, entered into the world, and through sin death; so, by the other, deliverance from sin came into the world, and by that deliverance life. As Christ was not the last man in time, so Adam was not the first man, but each stands in a definite relation to all men who have existed, or are yet to be.

Such is a brief outline of Peyrere's exegetical argument for the proposition of his book. A more whimsical medley has probably never been composed on this passage of the Scriptures; so that one is inclined to give credit to the story, that he conceived the idea one day while reading the fifth chapter of Romans, and at first wrote upon the subject, not so much to express a conviction, as to see what might be said in favor of an hypothesis. Probably, that which was originally a mere exegetical fancy, became to his mind sober truth, when brought into connection with the results of history, the condition of the globe, and the apparent necessity for more time than is allowed by the Biblical chronology. The support which his theory derives from this source, merely alluded to in the exegetical essay, occupied a large place in the second part of the book *Systema Theologicum ex Prae-Adamitarum Hypothesi.* We do not propose to give a synopsis of the contents of this treatise, which is any thing but systematic, and only less fanciful than the *Exercitatio.* But the essay has considerable importance in the history of opinions; for Peyrere seems really to have originated (though his claim is scarcely ever recognized) certain views which since his day have had considerable prevalence.

He was the first to make a strong attack upon the inherited opinion that Moses wrote the Pentateuch. * After speaking of

* Hobbes in his "Leviathan," written in Paris, but published in London in the year 1651, had indeed asserted that Moses did not write the entire Pentateuch; but

the brevity and obscurity of the early history of the race, he says: "I have always held the opinions that the Bible contains whatever God has allowed men to know about the origin of the universe, the sacred history, the prophecies, the divine mysteries and our salvation. Whatever is necessary for our salvation is contained in few words; and the Holy Spirit has employed upon these all the care, diligence and illumination, which were needed in order to bring them to human apprehension. But other topics are more loosely handled; and I will say what all think, but most hesitate to express, that these matters have been committed to writing so carelessly and obscurely, that in many instances nothing can be found more perplexed and enigmatical." He goes on to show that many things in the books of Joshua, Kings and Chronicles are taken from older writings, such as the book of Jashar, the books of Nathan, Gad, etc.; and in like manner many reasons conspire to prove that the Pentateuch was not the autograph of Moses, but was in part at least compiled and edited by another person. Peyrere cites a number of passages, which are at this day adduced as evidences that Moses did not write the books attributed to him. Many things also, he urges, are confused or mutilated, repeated in another form, or inserted out of place, and hence are, obviously, a collection of traditions, or of extracts from various authors. Thus the story of Lamech is only half told. The twentieth chapter of Genesis is inserted in the wrong place, for Sarah was already old and could be no object of desire to Abimelech, while nearly the same story is told of Rebecca in the twenty-sixth chapter. After mentioning other instances of seeming contradiction, Peyrere concludes with these words: "Ye who busy yourselves in harmonistics, and in trying all manner of expedients to solve such difficulties, will labor in vain, if ye do not cut the knot by observing that these matters are described in various ways, because they were extracted and translated from divers authors."

he made but little show of argument, and it is doubtful whether Peyrere had ever seen the book, though he may have known the author. Spinoza, also a contemporary of Peyrere, attacked the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, but this was not published until 1670.

Peyrere maintained also the opinion (now generally accepted) that the deluge did not extend over the entire globe. The flood, he says, overwhelmed the descendants of Adam but did not destroy all mankind. This is proved: 1. By the olive branch brought to Noah in the Ark, which the dove could not have taken from a tree covered with the slime of a year's deluge, but from a region not visited by the flood. 2. By a passage of Josephus, which says: "Berosus wrote about the Ark in which the first of our race was preserved." For if Josephus had meant all mankind, he would have said the human race, and not *our* race, i. e. the Jews. 3. The descendants of Noah are described as peopling that portion only of the earth, which reaches from Egypt to the Euphrates, and from the mountains of Armenia to the Arabian Gulf. 4. It is inconsistent with the history and chronology of Egypt to suppose that the deluge extended over that country.

It is interesting to note how Peyrere has anticipated arguments which have been ably maintained by modern scholars. The difference between the first and second account of the creation contributed to the support of his theory. The terror of Cain, who dreads lest his finder should slay him, affords a Scriptual proof that men are not all descended from Adam, which has been repeated in our own day. He appeals, also, to the civilization of the ancient nations, to their progress in art and science, to the Astrology and Astronomy of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, implying the knowledge of cycles of time that reach far beyond Adam—an argument which has been adorned and enforced by the learning and genius of Bunsen.

Peyrere's book was the occasion of his renouncing the Protestant faith and submitting to the Church. What is the judgment we are to pass upon his sincerity in this action? Was he an earnest man, who had heartily believed in the crudities of his own book and sought refuge from them in the authority of the Church? Did he in an hour of misgiving about his own theory resolve to plant himself on the faith of the Fathers? Or, on the other hand, was his conversion the act of one ready to profess or renounce any thing in order to get himself out of a difficulty? These questions have not always been

answered to the credit of Peyrere. Bayle, in his Dictionary would give the impression, that the conversion was no better than a sham. He quotes the following extract, from a private letter of a gentleman, who professed to know Peyrere, and to be acquainted with the circumstances of the case:

"I think that I am able to give you an exact account of what you desire of me, because Mr. de la Peyrere was my very good friend. He was arrested at Brussels at the time mentioned by your author. But the secret history of it is, that the late prince concerned himself in that business by means of his confessor, who was a Jesuit and loved Mr. de la Peyrere, bating his religion, which he would have him to change. The machine of the Pre-Adamite was therefore set a-going;* he was arrested and made afraid of the consequences of his book, unless he changed his religion. The good man, who was not obstinate about what is called religion, changed it very soon, and his master gave him wherewith to go and fetch his absolution at Rome which he did not much value. He returned to his master, who loved him to the last, and maintained him, since his return into France, in the house of the Fathers of the Oratory of Paris. I have often seen him there and found that he was far from being a true Papist; but he was very fond of his notion concerning the Pre-Adamites, about which he writ and spoke secretly to his friends to his dying day. The Procurator General of that Order, who is a friend of mine and who loved him, invited me to dine with him, and made him confess that he writ books still, which he told me softly would be burnt after the death of the good man. La Peyrere was an extraordinary good-natured man, and calmly believed but a little."

The letter was obviously penned by one who had no great faith in the religion of other people besides Peyrere. Yet Peyrere's Apology and Petition to the Pope attest the essential

* In his *Deprecatio* addressed to the Pope, Peyrere says that when he followed his master to Belgium, he intrusted his manuscript to a friend, with a strict charge to keep it safe until his return, and to give a copy to no one. Some time afterwards, quite unexpectedly, and in an unexplained way, the manuscript was sent to him at Brussels. He was then called to Amsterdam, and, being unwilling to let the manuscript go out of his hands again, he carried it with him. In that book-making city, he says: "I found myself surrounded by a throng of printers, who importuned me to let them print my book. What was I to do? I could not carry the manuscript with me every where I went. I had no one to leave it with, and I feared lest it might be lost. I yielded, therefore, to the urgency of the printers, and gave them the manuscript, on condition of receiving one hundred printed copies." This seems to confirm the statement of Bayle's correspondent, and to show that Peyrere was cajoled into printing his book by the contrivance of his friends.

truth of the statement. His reasons are trivial, and his whole manner is that of a man who is going through a necessary form. Having described the circumstances of his arrest by the order of the Grand Vicar of the Archbishop of Mechlin, and the sudden death of that officer, he says:

"After the death of the Vicar, letters came from your holiness, which intimated that your holy mind was greatly disturbed by what had been written about me, how that I was an abominable heretic. This grieved my master the Prince, to whose strong and faithful protection I had committed all my interests. But, on the other hand, so great was his reverence for the Apostolic chair and his pious awe of your holiness, that he was unwilling to do anything which might offend you. And so to relieve his mind, harassed by all manner of anxiety respecting me, and under the promptings of divine grace to consult for my own safety, I earnestly besought his serene highness to obtain permission from your holiness to cast myself at your feet, and to submit myself, my book, and my all to your decision."

A truly remarkable conversion! To relieve his master from embarrassment and to get himself out of prison, he was, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, willing to disown his heresies and bow down to the Pope. But the honest simplicity of the man, in this narrative of his experience, must shield him from the charge of gross hypocrisy. In truth, it was not in his power to be a thorough hypocrite. He could never have taken an assumed part, and carried it out for a long period of years. But he was equally removed from the serious, thoughtful mind which clings to its strong convictions even at great cost. We are to regard him, rather, as a man of average honesty but of no deep earnestness; and his submission to the Catholic Church was probably, in his own mind, not so much a change of principles as of ecclesiastical position. He doubtless tells the truth in his Apology, when he says, that the idea of the one Universal Church had always been attractive to him, that he regarded schism as in itself an evil, and regretted the separation which Luther had made from the Catholic communion. He complains that, when his book was published, the Calvinists attacked him with uncommon virulence. Such conduct in those whom he had regarded as his brethren, piqued and offended him; especially, since they sought not so much to con-

vince by reasoning as to overwhelm by authority; thus turning against him the weapons which the Catholics had used against themselves. He was virtually cast out of that schismatic communion in which he had been born and reared; why should he not return to the Mother Church? And if he must submit to authority, why not take that which stood upon the broadest basis, the authority of Popes and Councils? Add to this, his position as a prisoner for heresy, was an embarrassment to his Prince, who was unwilling to leave him in prison, yet could not afford to defy the ecclesiastical power. These considerations would have been enough to make most men take the course which Peyrere pursued. Plainly, the world was not ready for his theory, and, like Galileo, he could recant and leave the world to believe in its own good time. Perhaps doubts crossed his own mind, while theologians were pouring their arguments and anathemas upon him. But the storm over, and fairly within the fold of the Church, his old conviction returned. He had submitted, but he was not persuaded. Catholic or Protestant, he would stick to his theory, and declared that he could not be convinced that it was contrary to the Scriptures. M. Simon, in his letters, says that he had often disputed with him without leaving the slightest impression upon his mind; and the same writer mentions that he had heard it reported that when Peyrere was at the point of death, he was beset by one of the Fathers in regard to his "Prae-Adamites" and his "Recall of the Jews." The Father wished him to retract what he had said in these books, but he avoided doing so, and when he saw himself closely pressed, replied to his Catechist in the words of the Epistle of Jude: "*Hi quaecumque ignorant blasphemant.*"

If the materials are lacking for a complete biography of Peyrere, enough may be gleaned from his writings and the notices of contemporaries to afford an estimate of the mental qualities and moral worth of the man. Without learning or logical strength, he had nevertheless an ingenious mind. He was a fluent and plausible talker, always ready to discuss the vagaries to which he was given with any intelligent listener. We need not wonder that his friends liked him; for, if he had

no high aims, he was simple and pure in his life, and the evenness of his temper rendered him acceptable to all. In his private relations, and in the public profession of his opinions, we can easily discern an "extraordinary good natured man, who calmly believed but a little."

Art. V.—JOURDAIN'S PHILOSOPHY OF THOMAS AQUINAS.

By Rev. J. F. Astié, Professor in the Academy of the Free Church, Lausanne, Switzerland.

La Philosophie de Saint Thomas d'Aquin, *par Charles Jourdain, Agrégé des Facultés des Lettres, Chef de Division au Ministère de l'Instruction publique et des Cultes.* Ouvrage couronné par l'Institut Impérial de France. 2. 8°. Paris: Hachette. 1858.

Ever since the sensualist school was definitely supplanted by eclecticism, important works in history and philosophy have reäppeared in France. *The Academy of Moral and Political Science*, by the various competitions which it has instituted, has evidently shown that, while upholding the influence of mental activity, it also sought to direct it. This Academy was supplanted, the 3d Pluviose, year XI, by Bonaparte who was not fond of ideologists. Since its restoration in 1832 under the ministry of M. Guizot, this institution has not ceased to call the attention of the friends of philosophy to the greatest movements and the most celebrated epochs which the history of this science presents. Through its incitement, antiquity, the present times and the middle ages have been successively studied.

The present work of M. Jourdain is one of these prize writings. The author has given to the public, with some modifi-

cations, the manuscript presented to the Academy. M. Jourdain supposes, that in instituting a literary competition having reference to Saint Thomas, the Academy intended to proclaim in the name of the highest literary tribunal in the world, the alliance which ought to exist between reason and faith, between philosophy and religion. However it may be as to the intention which our author attributes to the Academy, the simple choice of this subject is an important event. To call for competition with respect to a schoolman, a theologian and a saint! and then to crown the essay which proclaims Thomas Aquinas one of the greatest among the learned, one of the most useful authors upon whom to meditate,—this is unquestionably a sign of the times, a characteristic mark of the spirit which reigns in the French philosophic world.

The theological character of the philosophy of the middle ages had thrown discredit upon it. Accustomed to separate philosophy entirely from religion, many minds experienced a sort of antipathy to the epoch in which this divorce was unknown. In fact, the modification which human thought has undergone from antiquity to the present day is religious in its sources. From the fall of the Greek Schools to the time of the *Renaissance* metaphysics was inseparably mixed with theology. The middle ages were the era of an intense and even passionate philosophic culture, and in losing sight of the religious idea this culture appears incomprehensible. And moreover, although the scholastic philosophy is a thorough mixture of both positive theology and rational investigation, it is acknowledged that a serious study of it is indispensable to an understanding of the modern philosophy.

M. Jourdain's work is of great value to all who take an interest in these important subjects. In the first place, this work has been performed with a feeling of genuine sympathy. "As a theologian," says M. Jourdain, "Saint Thomas, surnamed the Angel of the School, has been placed by the unanimous vote of Catholicism in a rank where he has no superiors, if he has even equals. No father of the Church, no doctor, has penetrated further into the mysterious depths of Christian doctrine and morality. No one, if I may be allowed to say so, has

come nearer to infallibility, that glorious and immutable privilege, reserved on earth for the Church of God. Upon the thousands of questions which he has discussed, questions which are often more curious than useful, but which are in fact almost always of great importance, his decisions have generally been found so exact that they have become the rule of faith and discipline. What theologian is there of the present day who would dare openly to contradict St. Thomas, and in respect to whom such disagreement would not be accounted as a strong presumption of heterodoxy?" (Vol. I, Introd. xiii.)

These very confident assertions cannot fail to provoke a smile on the part of our Protestant theologians, but there is nothing exaggerated in them if considered as the expression of the high esteem in which the "angel of the school" is held in the communion to which M. Jourdain belongs. Even at this day Thomas Aquinas is preëminently the Doctor for all Catholics, at least for those of France; it is his writings which are studied in their seminaries when it happens that attention is still paid to theology.

This excessive devotion to the angelical doctor has at all events been of service to us. It has led M. Jourdain to treat his subject in a most thorough manner; he has exhausted his theme.

His work is divided into three books. In the first and longest, M. Jourdain rapidly sketches the progress of the scholastic philosophy till near the middle of the 13th century. He then enumerates the works published under the name of Aquinas, discusses their authenticity and, as far as possible, points out the chronological order of their composition. In this same book the author gives a detailed analysis of the different parts of the philosophy of St. Thomas, viz. theodicy, psychology, ethics and politics, and compares them with the analogous doctrines of Aristotle, the Fathers and Albert the Great. Unfortunately the author, who is not too timid, has confined himself to the circle of natural truths, and has carefully avoided the developments which would have led him within the region of revealed doctrine.

The second book is intended to present the history of the

philosophy which was sketched in the first book. M. Jourdain narrates the disputes which it provoked in the universities between the Dominicans and the Franciscans. He tells of the different phases of the influence which, in the face of powerful rivalries, it exerted over the greatest minds, even after the fall of the scholastic philosophy, down to the end of the 17th century.

In the third and last book the author attempts to estimate the value of the teaching of Aquinas and to extract from it whatever may still help our modern philosophic culture. The conclusion at which M. Jourdain arrives is this: "In our opinion the method of St. Thomas—excellent for developing certain mental qualities, such as sagacity, acuteness and precision, less favorable to that light of the imagination and the heart which anticipates reflection and often supplies its place, and which will always be of great value in the search after truth—accords too much to reason, and too little to the psychological experience so profoundly consulted by the school of Descartes. In his theodicy St. Thomas evinces a too exclusive preference for the proof of the existence of God which is derived from phenomena, and does not value at its true price the demonstration of St. Anselm, founded upon the idea of a perfect being, which idea is contemporaneous with the first development of intelligence. In his psychology he does not mark with sufficient emphasis, either the peculiar part which belongs to reason in the formation of knowledge, or the difference between will and desire. In fine, with respect to 'individuation,' where he thinks he has fathomed the subject, he has really reached, through serious inconsistencies, only an arbitrary theory without foundation; and indeed the question which called forth these logical subtleties is itself entirely artificial, and wrongly magnified by the School." (Vol. II, p. 485.)

Now let us see what he says in praise: "Not only do the theodicy and the ethics of St. Thomas well sustain a comparison with the greatest systems which modern times have produced; but how much can be quoted from the latter equal to Aquinas in exactitude or even in profundity? Neither Des-

cartes nor Leibnitz, nor contemporary Germany has seen better —why should I not express my whole thought?—has seen as far. If a long familiarity with the angel of the school has not deceived us, if, as an illustrious writer of our own days has said, the *Sum of Theology* is one of the greatest monuments of the human mind, it ought to obtain a large place, not only in our respect and admiration, but also in our studies. Aristotle and Plato, Descartes and Leibnitz are in the hands of all, and their works serve as the foundation of public instruction in the greater part of our schools. Why should St. Thomas be more neglected than the other masters of science?" (Vol. II, p. 487.)

It is doubtful whether M. Jourdain's work, notwithstanding its merits, will succeed in rendering the study of St. Thomas popular to this degree in France. In any event, the reäction in favor of the middle ages has yet to make great progress before it will be proper even to think of according a place in classical studies to the *Summa* by the side of the works of Plato and Descartes. By this we do not mean that the study of this author is without interest and utility. The theological writings of the middle ages have not a historic value alone; they touch upon several problems which have not even yet been solved: and it may be interesting and profitable to see what views were held on these subjects in the 13th century. Thus in our own time all Roman Catholic theologians are in politics zealous defenders of absolute monarchy, which alone they proclaim to be of divine right. This is not precisely the way in which Aquinas understood things. Not content with vigorous denunciation of tyranny, he proclaims the right of a people *to cast off its chains.* Therefore rebellion should no longer be called such; it is rather the tyrant who merits the appellation of a seditious person and a rebel, for having exposed the state to disorders and civil war in order to establish his unjust power. In such an extreme case, a nation, even had it pledged its faith and obedience, is loosed from its oath, and may without perjury overthrow the ruler it had accepted; for by not faithfully fulfilling his royal duties, the prince has himself cancelled the compact which existed between him and

his subjects. (De Reg., I, c. vi.) As means for preventing the establishment of tyranny he points out:—the choice of a good prince; the removal from him of all occasion for abusing his power; and such restraints upon his authority as will prevent it becoming tyrannical. He thought he found these restraints in an alliance between the monarchical element on the one hand, and the aristocratic and the popular on the other. It was thus that he was led to admit the participation of the people in government by the exercise of the right of suffrage, but under the condition that the people were honest and enlightened. He asked for each country institutions adapted to its customs, and he made the political liberty of a nation depend upon the degree of its morality. As to the end of government, he professes a doctrine almost forgotten in Europe at this time. Governments, he thinks, are not established for the private interest of those who are at their head, but for public utility.

Upon a very characteristic point Aquinas does not fear to place himself in open opposition to the maxims of his Order. We know that he is the most shining light of the Order of Preaching Friars, who, with the Franciscans, have most contributed, under the name of Mendicant Friars, to the diffusion through Christianity of the doctrine of voluntary poverty. But let us see how he expresses himself against the doctrine of absolute self-negation: Prius oportet quod unusquisque sibi provideat, et his quorum cura ei incumbit et postea de residuo aliorum necessitatibus subveniat (Secunda Secundæ, q. xxxii, Art 5). Serordinatum esset, si aliquis tantum sibi de bonis propriis substraheret, ut aliis largiretur, quod de residuo non posset vitam transigere convenienter secundum proprium statum et negotiae occurentia. Nullus enim inconvenienter vivere debet (Ibid. Art 6). Not only does he proclaim the pursuit and possession of external things compatible with the perfection of man and the condition of the Christian, but he condemns those who push the pursuit of poverty so far as to deprive themselves of necessary things. Privationem omnium facultatum ita sectantes, ut ex ipsis nec quidem unius diei victum sibimet unumve denarium super esse patiantur, et alia hujus modi facientes, ita vidimus repente deceptos, ut arreptum opus

non potuerint congruo exitu terminare" (Ibid. q. clxxxviii, Art 7).

To balance this St. Thomas is thoroughly with his age in the matter of lending money on interest, which he condemns under all circumstances as usury. Yet he is obliged to admit that the civil law could not prohibit lending at interest without causing great personal distress to an immense number of individuals. He even goes so far as to allow those who are in need of money to go to a usurer to obtain it (Ibid. q. lxxviii, Art IV).

Many persons will find that upon the question of slavery Aquinas does not differ sufficiently from his master Aristotle, who proclaims the system indispensable. Nevertheless we perceive the influence of Christianity upon the great teacher of the middle ages. Thus he does not recognize those *original* differences among men which according to Aristotle predestine one portion to bondage and the other to dominion. Whatever apparent inequalities fortune and rank establish between them in this life, they all partake of the same nature, and have all been created equals in liberty, *pares libertate.* In a state of innocence, all men would have been independent of each other, no one would have exchanged his native liberty for servitude. Slavery is, in his opinion, one of the fruits of sin, whose advent brought disturbance into social relations as into all other things. Thus one ought as far as possible to remedy it by limiting its effects. In the first place this state of dependence does not reach a man's whole nature, but only *his body.* The soul revolts from the yoke and even in slavery remains mistress of itself. It retains inalienable rights, of which the first of all is to fulfil the law of God. Moreover, although the slave may belong as far as his body is concerned to his master, the right of possession does not allow him to dispose of the slave *as a thing.* If he kill him, he renders himself guilty of homicide. If he mutilate him, the mutilated slave has right to any reparation assigned him by an honest man, and in such a case it is known that the reparation ordered by law is liberty (Secunda Secundæ, lxv, Art I; q. lxii, Art 2). The master cannot force upon him either marriage or celibacy; and, married, he cannot separate him from

his wife (Ibid. q. civ, Art 5. Secunda Tertia, q. liv, Art 2). Finally a slave in the service of a Jew, if he receive baptism, whether or not he may have been bought by his master, is free by right (Ibid. q. x. Art 10).

In a recent controversy, the opinion of the angelic doctor has been cited on the subject of baptism. Although a zealous defender of the absolute supremacy of the papal throne, Thomas Aquinas never professed this monstrous modern doctrine, whose application to the case of the young Mortara has scandalized the civilized world. "Filius naturaliter est aliquid patris," . . . says he. "Contra justitiam naturalem esset, si puer, antequam habeat usum rationis, a cura parentum substrahatur, vel de eo aliquid ordinetur, *invitis parentibus*. Postquam autem incipit habere usum liberi arbitrii, jam incipit esse suus; et potest quantum ad ea quae sunt juris divini vel naturalis, sibi ipsi providere; et tunc est inducendus ad fidem non coactione, sed persuasione; et potest etiam invitis parentibus, consentire fidei et baptizari, *non autem antequam habeat usum rationis.*" (Secunda Secundæ q. x, Art. 12.)

In narrating the history of the Thomistic Theology, M. Jourdain points out the influence which it exerted upon Dante and Savonarola. The doctrine of Aquinas triumphed in the Council of Trent. There the *Sum of Theology* was placed on the same table, by the side of the Holy Scriptures, to serve as a commentary to the sacred text. It was a disciple of Aquinas, Dominic Soto, whom the assembly deputed to draw up its most important decrees; and the Catechism of the Council, published by the order of Pius V, is often only an abstract of the writings of the angelic doctor. When in 1534 Ignatius Loyola founded the Society of Jesus, among the rules of the new institution he inscribed the obligation of following in theology the doctrine of Aquinas. This command of their founder was for the Jesuits an inflexible law, which decided their course in philosophy. In all their colleges, frequented largely by young men, Thomism alone was taught; and each one considered it a conscientious duty to propagate its principles. The writers of the Society taught it in their works, and if any dispute arose between them and the Dominicans, it only

referred to a more exact interpretation of the meaning of the angelic doctor. Thomism was only definitively dethroned by Cartesianism. "Society, in the seventeenth century," says M. Jourdain, "had recognized in Descartes the correct interpreter of its most hidden aspirations, and in order to follow this new and excellent master, who so well understood it, it abandoned nearly all its oldest guides. The last hour of the scholastic philosophy had struck; the few defenders it retained uttered useless protestations, and they fell into such complete discredit that history has not even preserved their names." (Vol. II, p. 262.)

Notwithstanding this avowal we see that it is only with regret that M. Jourdain allows his hero to succumb. He even insinuates that St. Thomas triumphed, at least in some measure, over Descartes. Thus the "Angel of the School" was the favorite author of the father of modern philosophy, and almost the only theologian whom he ever cared to study. According to our author, Cartesianism bears in more than one place the unquestionable trace of the influence of Thomism. As an example, Descartes, with St. Thomas, confounds the creation of the world with its preservation: the latter being only a continued creation.

But these points of contact are far too accidental and superficial. This leads us in closing to notice a grave fault in this otherwise very interesting book of M. Jourdain. His work is exposed to the severest reproach which can be applied to a production of this class: it is not written from a sufficiently philosophic position. The author begins by distinguishing between the *philosophy* and the *theology* of Aquinas, and states that he wishes to confine himself to the former alone. But is this fundamental distinction allowable? M. Jourdain would doubtless reply, that it was indicated in the programme of the Academy, which exclusively called for an essay upon the *Philosophy* of the "Angel of the School," "pausing before the sanctuary of revealed truth." But when an examination of facts proved that this distinction was illusory, it became a simple necessity to depart from the terms of the programme. Now it is manifest that the works of St.

Thomas do not contain a philosophy *distinct* from his theology. When a problem is presented, what course does he pursue? He calls to mind the Christian solutions, and endeavors to prove to pagans and Mohammedans that they are conformable to reason. Christian faith is then the end of St. Thomas' labor; in his researches faith preëxists; it is his *criterion* for discovering truth. He follows the tradition of the church; he does not invent his doctrine, but receives it directly from the hands of the church. The difference between the method of Descartes and that of Aquinas is evident. The former seeks, the latter proves. For Descartes, truth is to be found; for St. Thomas, truth is to be demonstrated. The work of the "Angel of the School" is a Christian apology making use of metaphysics. There is no independent philosophy in the writings of St. Thomas in the acceptation which is given to the term at the present day.

M. Jourdain has himself written what should have put him in the way of the very fact we seek to establish. He says, in speaking of the origin and sources of Thomism: "The philosophy of St. Thomas is a vast synthesis, the greater part of whose materials come from Aristotle, but in which Christianity serves as the rule." Thomism is not therefore the adding together of a philosophical doctrine and the Christian religion; it is, in its essence, the attempt to unite these two elements; it is a *relation*, and not a *sum*, whose isolated parts can remain what they are and be perfectly distinct. Thomism *without Aristotle* ceases to exist; Thomism without faith is a shattered arch, whose fragments cannot be built up into a new structure, since the key-stone is wanting. To separate philosophy from religion in the writings of Aquinas is to rend asunder his thoughts, and to overthrow and disfigure its scientific construction.

But a far more important question here presents itself. In the works of Aquinas we cannot distinguish between philosophy and religion; his aim was certainly to blend the two, to unite them in a perfect whole. But was this aim admissible? In other words, can we reconcile the doctrines of Aristotle and Christianity? Is Aristotelianism susceptible of logical accord-

ance with the fundamental verities of all religion and of all religious philosophy? We have here a problem of the highest importance, which has escaped both M. Jourdain and his competitors. Moreover, M. de Rémusat, who made the report to the Academy upon the essay, has found fault with both the competitors for not having gone to the bottom of their subject. He reproaches them with not having directly and seriously discussed the question, whether the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas is reconcilable with his faith, or whether he has not borrowed from the Peripatetic School an ontology, a theodicy, and a psychology which all Christian theism ought to repudiate, or, at least, view with suspicion. Starting from the idea of being, as conceived by Aristotle and accepted by Thomas, M. de Rémusat traces its consequences; he shows how it leads to the denial, at least plausible, of the immortality of the soul, and to the conception of a God without providence. Moreover, the doctrine of Thomas upon the origin of knowledge rests upon the same principles with the philosophy of Locke. The "Angel of the School" certainly admits a work of the understanding; but this work is performed upon elements furnished *entirely* by sensation; sensation alone provides materials for ideas. Like the sensualists, he also expressly confounds desire and will. "The will, according to St. Thomas," says M. Jourdain, "is one of the forms of appetite. The holy doctor does not admit a difference in nature between the faculty which desires and that which wills. The principal feature of the Thomist theory of the will is the confusion of voluntary activity and desire." But if this be the case, if will be only desire, what becomes of responsibility and morality?

Upon several other points the unfortunate influence of Aristotle's teaching is manifest. Thus Thomas Aquinas, following Aristotle, finds man's greatest happiness and chief end in knowledge, carried to its highest degree, and in contemplation. *Essentia beatudinis in actu intellectus consistit: Summa*, Part II, Sec. I, question iii, Art. 4. How can such an assertion be reconciled with what St. Paul declares of the excellence of charity? 1 Cor. xiii.

Thus we see that the writings of the angelic doctor present

a mass of inconsistent elements. His work, considered in itself, carries in its bosom a hidden cause of destruction. It presents the skilful juxtaposition of irreconcilable elements, incapable of union and amalgamation. The *Summa* remains an admirable work; but Thomism as a whole is a factitious, and by no means a durable, organism. As for the more general character of his work, Aquinas claimed that he united the Gospel and the philosophy of Aristotle; but the pretension has not been made good.

Men belonging to the most opposite parties join in rendering this decisive verdict upon the work of the most celebrated doctor of the middle ages. M. de Rémusat was the first to give utterance to this opinion in the name of philosophy; M. Ernest Neville has used the same language in the name of evangelical Protestantism;* finally, a Catholic theologian, M. l'Abbé Maret,† a professor of theology, expresses himself to the same purport, notwithstanding the traditional admiration of his church for its great teacher. After stating the twofold position of the angelic doctor, as a disciple of Aristotle and a disciple of St. Augustine, he concludes: "The reconciliation attempted by the holy doctor did not succeed."

All this clearly shows one thing; there is much to be deducted from the excessive eulogies which M. Jourdain lavishes upon his hero. The great work of St. Thomas is without doubt one of high interest; it is the highest dogmatic expression of the middle ages: it was of great value in his times, and its influence has been of great extent; but for us it has only a historic value. The *Summa* is most instructive in showing us how its author truly sought to reconcile religion and philosophy; but for the solution of the problem we must have other arguments than those which the angelic doctor presents.

* See *Etude sur l'Œuvre de St. Thomas d'Aquin*, in the Bibliothèque Universelle, Revue Suisse et Etrangere. July and August, 1859.

† See *Philosophie et Religion*, par l'Abbé Maret, page 123.

ART. VI.—OLSHAUSEN ON A NEW PROBATION AFTER DEATH.

By JOHN WOODBRIDGE, D.D., Hadley, Mass.

OLSHAUSEN'S Commentary* has been of late extensively circulated among young ministers and theological students, in this country; and has doubtless, in many instances, contributed a full share, in unsettling or forming anew the religious opinions of inexperienced readers. To some there is a kind of fascination in the very idea of what is German, independently of every consideration of learning and merit. It is furthermore true, that every popular work which assumes the shape of argument or learned criticism, is adapted and designed, in a greater or less degree, to exert a moulding influence on the habits of thought and systems of belief of its admirers. For this reason, it is well to be informed concerning the doctrinal character and tendencies of any book, which, on any account, is supposed to present peculiar claims to attention and respect.

That Olshausen has much general learning; that his philological acquirements were uncommon; and that, as it respects evangelical bias, he was far superior to most of his contemporaries of his own nation, it is needless to suggest. By some of our ablest and best men, his works have been highly commended, as well for their leaning towards orthodoxy, and their actual soundness in various important respects, as for the extent of their learning, the comprehensiveness of their views, and their critical sagacity. Compared with the Neologists of a preceding age, he did indeed make great advances in the right direction. Yet, after all, he has but just emerged from the "Cimmerian darkness," in which baptized infidelity, under the name of Rationalism, has plunged many of the Protestant churches of continental Europe. On many subjects of great mo-

* Biblical Commentary of the New Testament, by Dr. Hermann Olshausen. First American edition, by A. C. Kendrick, D.D. New York: Sheldon & Co.

ment, and obvious to common Christians under more favorable circumstances, his vision was utterly indistinct, or he might, at best, have been said to "see men, as trees walking." That he is by no means a safe guide in theology, or rather, that he is no consistent guide, will be evident if we compare his different statements concerning a single subject,—the condition of the dead, and the assumption of a new state of trial beyond the grave for a portion of our race. He often, as it appears to us, confounds conjectures with proofs, and fanciful expositions with the deductions of a sound exegesis.

We will give quotations from his works, interspersed with occasional remarks of our own, and then leave our readers to judge as to the relevancy of our charges.

Olshausen tells us, in his commentary on Rom. xi : 3, that St. Paul teaches in the strongest terms, that salvation is not in fact attained by every human individual; and reference is made to 2 Thess. i : 8. A similar denial of universal salvation may be found in the notes on John xii : 31–33, John viii : 26, and Luke xvi : 24–26. From these passages we intend before we have done, to give verbal quotations. Observe, however, the strange inconsistency of this distinguished student of the Bible.

A writer in one of our religious periodicals remarks, that in Olshausen's comments on Matt. vii : 13–14, the passage concerning the wide and strait gate, he makes no allusion to the eternal loss of the soul. He also omits mention of this subject in his notice of Mark xvi : 16: "He that believeth not shall be damned." There are other omissions equally significant with these, and do they not indicate instability at least? On this infinitely important subject could Edwards, or Doddridge, or Nettleton have passed these passages over in a similar manner?

On Matt. xi : 22, "It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgment than for you," Olshausen says: "The comparative as well as the whole context points to different degrees of punishment for the wicked. Some are, as it were, *in mitissima damnatione*, as Augustine says. This idea of degrees of punishment seems to imply that it may be even remitted; and this must be unhesitatingly conceded of the lesser forms of sin."

We must here briefly anticipate an argument on which we intend hereafter more fully to enlarge. Where did Olshausen obtain this latter notion, reducing, in some instances, the penalty of the law to a mere temporary evil, which may be endured by the transgressor himself, to the full satisfaction of divine justice, after which he may have a right to endless happiness? The text he has quoted teaches no such thing. Besides, can there be strictly an infinite disparity between the turpitude of one sin and that of another, both of which are committed by creatures of limited capacity? If sin be not an infinite evil *per se*, it cannot be an infinite evil under any modifications. No additions to the finite can produce the infinite. If the smallness of one sin may be a good reason for a removal, or mitigation of the curse, a similar reason must exist for the ultimate deliverance of all the victims of the penal displeasure of God; since all creatures united are still finite in their nature, and the degree of their existence. This, however sophistical, has been one of the most boasted arguments of the Universalists against the doctrine of eternal punishment, and the exposure of its fallacy has employed some of the ablest pens in Christendom. The truth is, that, viewed in their relation to the character of God, the holiness and immutability of his law, and the general interests of the intelligent creation, there can *be no little sins*. No penalty less than that of eternal death or suffering—varied, indeed, in degree, according to specified circumstances—can express his due abhorrence of *any sin*, or in other words, of the *smallest violation of that law*, on the support of which the order and well-being of the universe depend. So, at any rate, as may hereafter appear, has the Bible settled the question.

But to return to Olshausen. In speaking on Matt. xii: 31, 32, where the unpardonable sin is mentioned, he says: "The passage under consideration is, in dogmatic theology, also referred to as a leading proof-text for the doctrine of the eternity of punishment." "No objection can be raised against the eternity of punishment from philological grounds." (A precious concession this, to the clearness of scriptural testimony.) "But," adds this bold expounder of the lively oracles, "the

feeling against the doctrine of the eternity of the punishment of the wicked, which shows itself among the defenders of a restoration of all things—and they have been found at all times, and are at the present time more than at any former period,—though it may often have its foundation in a vitiated moral state, yet has, no doubt, a deep root in noble minds—is the expression of a heart-felt desire for a perfect harmony of the creation." That is, the "feeling" of "noble" minds inclines to Universalism. It follows, therefore, that "minds" disinclined to this "doctrine" are not "noble."

"But," adds Olshausen, with apparent candor, "viewing"—*universal salvation*—"from a mere exegetical point of view, we must confess, that no passage of the New Testament affords a clear and positive testimony for the fulfilment of this longing." "There is indeed a text of Scripture pointing to this passing away of time itself, with all temporary phenomena, into the abyss of eternity, when time shall be no longer, viz. the mysterious words in 1 Cor. xv : 28. But the mysterious character of the passage itself, along with the circumstance that no mention is made in it of evil and its dissolution, authorizes scarcely more than conjectural inferences regarding the eternity of punishment; the words of the Redeemer in Matt. xii : 32, remain as an awful testimony to the fearful character of sin, and its consequences. But along with this they are also a consolation, in that even they promise the possibility of forgiveness of sin committed against the Father and Son, hence of sins of a very heinous nature. For the addition, *nor in the world to come*, is certainly not overstrained, if we infer that all other sins can be forgiven in the world to come, also supposing, of course, repentance and faith."

Thus he strangely infers that there may be a new probation after death to such as have not committed the unpardonable sin. He might as well have argued that all men except Judas will be saved, because he and he only is called the son of perdition, and of him only it is affirmed, that it were good for him if he had never been born.

In his comments on Matt. viii : 11, 12, he says: "Moreover, as little as the 'kingdom' is here itself identical with eternal happiness, so little is 'the weeping and gnashing of teeth' identical with eternal punishment. We can only regard the state of suffering in *Sheol*, which the Scriptures distinguish from *Gehenna*, as the immediate reference in the description

of the weeping and gnashing of teeth." He interprets the parable of the guest without a wedding garment, Matt. xxii: 11–14, without any reference to the danger of eternal punishment. In a similar manner he explains Matt. x: 28: "Fear not them which kill the body," etc.; and Matt. xvi: 26: "For what is a man profited," etc.; and Mark ix: 43, 44: "The fire that shall never be quenched." Of the "unprofitable servant," Matt. xxv: 30, he says: "Here again the immediate reference is not to *eternal condemnation*, but to exclusion from the kingdom into which the faithful enter. The degree of guilt in the case of the unfaithful affords the possibility of their being awakened to true repentance. The unprofitable servant then is still represented as in a world of hope, though "cast into outer darkness, where are weeping and gnashing of teeth." But let any one read the whole parable, and then judge with respect to the candor and reliability of such an interpreter of the inspired pages.

On Matt. xviii: 34, 35, Olshausen says, "Already at Matt. v: 26 (Thou shalt by no means come out thence till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing,) we remarked, that it could not denote everlasting punishment; in the words ἕως ἂν, *till*, it is obviously implied that a limit is fixed. . . . But since, according to the representation in the parable, the hard-hearted servant is not devoid of repentance, (he willingly admits the debt), he is also susceptible of the divine forgiveness, and this cannot be conceived as existing without manifesting itself. . . . The man devoid of love is committed to the *prison*, that the conviction of his real state may be brought home to him. . . . The *prison* is thus *Hades* or *Sheol*, the general assembling place of the dead, who did not die in the Lord, but all of whom, it does by no means follow, shall on this account sink into eternal condemnation. According to 1 Pet. iii: 19, Matt. xii: 32, there is plainly such a thing after death as deliverance from the *prison* in behalf of some, and according to the connection of the parable, we must avail ourselves of that fact in explanation of the circumstances here presented to us."

The argument here employed amounts to this; that, because those imprisoned in Hades will remain there till they have paid the debt due to divine justice—therefore, some of them will ultimately have discharged that debt in full (no thanks to grace), and on that account, be liberated from their confine-

ment, and, being prepared for happiness, be instated in th perfect bliss of heaven. On the principle thus assumed, wha hinders the ultimate complete payment of their obligations b all the victims of future punishment, and their consequen union in the worship and joys of the upper sanctuary?

In commenting on the parable of the ten virgins, Olshause says: "It is clear that the words, *I know you not*, cannot de note *eternal condemnation*, for, on the contrary, the foolis virgins are only excluded from the marriage of the Lamb hence they must be viewed as parallel with the persons de cribed in 1 Cor. iii: 15, whose building is destroyed, but wh are not thereby deprived of eternal happiness. These virgin possessed the general condition of happiness, *faith*, but the lacked the requisite qualification for the kingdom of God, tha sanctification which proceeds from faith." The reader wil please to observe the strange complication of anomalous doc trine in this single passage. First, the foolish virgins were after all, real though unfaithful Christians. Secondly, the possessed that "faith" which is "the general condition of hap piness." Thirdly, yet they were destitute of that "sanctifica tion" "which proceeds from faith." In other words, their was a dead faith, unaccompanied by works, which James de clares to be worthless, and which cannot justify its possessor Fourthly, exclusion from the marriage-supper of the Lamb i an evil to be ranked with other calamities of temporary dura tion, and may serve as a wholesome discipline to reclaim o fending believers to God. Let the reader then look for him self in Matt. xxv: 1–13, and judge accordingly. Where ir the Bible is there reference to the day of final decision, if no in this very parable? In verse 12, Christ is represented a saying to the foolish virgins, "*I know you not.*" What! no *know* his own people, who "possess the general condition o happiness, faith," and upon whom it is his purpose in the end to bestow everlasting life? How is this supposition reconcil able with John x: 14, "I am the good Shepherd, and *know* my sheep, and am known of mine;" and verse 27: "My sheep hear my voice and I *know* them, and they follow me;" and the declaration of the Apostle: "The Lord *knoweth* them tha

are his," and indeed, the general tenor of those "exceeding great and precious promises," on which the people of God have built all their hopes for eternity.

Olshausen's commentary on Matt. xxv: 41–46, (where Christ teaches the final doom of the wicked,) affirms, and then virtually calls in question, or throws a veil of doubt over, the doctrine of eternal punishment, so clearly inculcated in that solemn part of God's word.

"The very same criterion," says this self-contradictory writer, "by which eternal life is secured to the just, forms the reason why the unjust are consigned to everlasting punishment." "The punishment of want of love is association with those who are destitute of love, in that state of discord in the external as well as the internal life, which constantly proceeds from the absence of love. The κόλασις αἰώνιος denotes eternal condemnation. Nor can the strictness of the contrast be mitigated." "It must not be overlooked, that the mode of representation adopted in Scripture no where favors the hypothesis of the restitution of all things, by any *positive declaration*, and hence in the exegetic examination of this question—which at last resolves itself into the view taken of free choice, and its relation to Divine agency —it is best to adhere to the mode of expression, which Scripture has selected." This looks sound and reverential. Yet the same writer, as if to quiet the alarm which his concession might have produced, immediately adds: "However, the doctrine of everlasting punishment is not to be sought in every place where the punishment of sin is mentioned; this has been done long enough. Throughout the New Testament, *redemption* is the object kept in view, and hence the Lord here, as always, concludes his discourse not with condemnation, but with eternal happiness." "The Eternal Word, proceeding from the bosom of the Father, in order that he might bring the happiness of eternal life to those who were lost, fathomed the abyss of all sin and suffering, and sealed the covenant of peace with his own sacred blood, that he might procure *for all* eternal redemption." Vol. II, pp. 277, 278.

Speaking of the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, Luke xvi: 22–26, he says expressly, that it teaches, "That after death a transition from the good to the evil or the reverse is impossible," thus according essentially with other orthodox writers. How then does he evade the conclusion, that death fixes forever the state of departed souls? Observe the boldness and the subtility with which he blunts the edge of his own unqualified concession. This representation can be construed only

by the supposition of an intermediate state, lasting till the resurrection, after which there follows the last judgment, which presupposes an antecedent judgment. By this last judgment, evil men are wholly given over to condemnation, which is locally described by the terms Gehenna, or Abyss, in a more restricted sense, Rev. xx: 14, 15, the lake of fire. In our parable, therefore, (the reader will ask, whence the logical deduction?) "there is no possible reference to the everlasting condemnation of the rich man," (that is, notwithstanding the *impassable gulf*,) "inasmuch as the germ of love, and of faith in love, is clearly expressed in his words, and obviously the whole picture turns on a state of things, antecedent to the resurrection, and the revelation of the risen One. Abraham thus appears merely as an inhabitant of Paradise as it exists in Hades, and as the representative of the law. According to it the rich man found himself in pain, but compassionate love might take pity on him, for its responding notes were not wanting in his heart." What a series of gratuitous assumptions is here! He limits, and guards, and enlarges just as he pleases, without any respect to the ordinary laws of criticism.*

On Rom. ii: 14, 15, Olshausen remarks, "This appropriation of the salvation which is in Christ on the part of the Gentile world is recognized in Scripture as possible in the doctrine of the *descensus Christi ad inferos*." What less can be meant in this passage than that a new offer of Christ may be made to some at least on the other side of the grave? His subsequent remarks corroborate this view. "With all the necessary restriction, this passage yet contains a most consolatory truth. Even in the wilderness of the heathen world, does the Apostle teach us that the λόγος σπερμάτικος had scattered his precious seed; there were Gentiles, who, by a certain convic-

* The usage of the word *Hades*, proves nothing for our commentator. It is commonly used in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament as a translation of Sheol, meaning, according to the connection, and the exigencies of the case, either the grave, or the invisible world, or the place of future punishment. Comp. Kitto's Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature, where this subject is judiciously and scripturally expounded.

In Robinson's Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament, *Hades*, in the parable of Dives and Lazarus, is said to mean, "by synecdoche, of the whole for a part, *Tartarus, the infernal regions or place of punishment.*"

tion of their sins, etc., possessed the capacity for apprehending Christ when he presented himself to them, whether in this or a coming state. These elements sufficed in their position and relations to constitute a foundation for eternal blessedness; in fact, that which did not accrue to them here, they received in the regions of the dead, after Christ's manifestation there." On Heb. xx: 26, 31, he says, "The Scripture speaks of a three-fold destiny after death. He, who, as one born again, a member of Christ, has fallen asleep in Jesus, comes not into judgment, but goes to Christ in heaven. He, who has died without being born again, but yet without positive unbelief, ... will be reckoned among the number of the *sick* ones, for whose *healing*, after the final judgment, are the leaves of the tree of life." We omit, as unimportant to our present object, (which is to exhibit his views of the possibility of saving repentance after death, to some who leave this world in an unconverted state,) his statement of certain qualifications preceding the above-cited conclusion. "There is for him, therefore," the person above mentioned, who has not been born again, during his residence on earth, "in the interval between death and the resurrection, no fearful looking for of judgment."

On Heb. xi: 39, after expressing similar views, he says: "It is time indeed that the biblical doctrine of the state after death, were again preached to congregations; for the common hard and truly unscriptural doctrine, which knows nothing further after death than happiness or condemnation, is, in its practical effects, equally mischievous with the Roman Catholic doctrine of Purgatory, in which a trace of the doctrine of *Sheol*, but only a caricature trace of it is contained." How would the old reformers, the Puritans and the revival preachers of all past times, have been startled at such an announcement as this from an eminent expositor, ranking himself, and ranked by others, among the *evangelicals?*

It were easy and is needless to multiply quotations; but the reader must excuse us, if we introduce one more, which is of too extraordinary character to be passed by without distinct notice. We refer to a portion of our author's remarks on 2 Thess. i: 9.

"ὄλεθρος αἰώνιος *everlasting destruction*, is named as the punishment which the reprobate, at the second coming of Christ, have to suffer, whereas not a few occur, in which a restoration of all the lost is apparently assumed as possible, (see 1 Cor. xv: 25, 28.) For though little can be inferred from

αἰώνιος, considered in itself, as it might denote merely an uncommonly long time, yet it is not to be disputed that a comparison with the formula ζώη αἰώνιος does not permit us to interpret the phrase ὄλεθρος αἰώνιος, otherwise than of everlasting damnation. For the supposition, that Paul did indeed in this the earliest of his epistles still teach everlasting damnation, but subsequently relinquished it, there exists no sufficient foundation, because the restoration is no where freely and openly declared. This alone admits of being maintained, that among the writers of the New Testament Paul throws the doctrine of everlasting damnation most into the shade, and affords the defenders of the apokatastasis the most plausible support."

The reader will observe the singular incoherency of this passage. The writer allows, that there is no direct proof from the Scriptures of the final salvation of all, and that the words of the inspired penmen seem, at times, to teach the contrary; yet he intimates, that some texts of the Bible, and the general tendency of Paul's writings in particular, look kindly towards the hopes of the believer in Universalism. Such hints as these are peculiarly adapted to unsettle the faith of the superficial reader, and prepare him to welcome the most crude and unscriptural speculations. The passage itself, however, properly investigated, suggests the remedy. It affirms, "that among the writers of the New Testament, Paul throws the doctrine of everlasting damnation most into the shade." Admitting this, it follows, of course, that the other writers of the New Testament do teach this doctrine fully and frequently. And were not these inspired as well as Paul? If he had never clearly taught the doctrine, would this be any reason why we should disbelieve and undervalue the teachings of John, Peter and James on the subject?

Besides, where is the evidence, that Paul does, in any measure, "throw into *the shade* the doctrine of eternal damnation"? That he more fully unfolds the plan of salvation, justification by faith, and the stability of the covenant of grace, than any other single writer of the New Testament, may be allowed, without attributing to him the smallest tendency to Universalism, in any of its forms. In the first place, his entire system is built on the supposition of the total moral corruption, inexcusable helplessness, and utter ill-desert of all mankind; and

he constantly asscribes to grace, absolutely unmerited and sovereign, the general plan, the specific purpose, and the efficient agency, in all that relates to the accomplishment of human redemption. Are these, and such as these, the favorite theme of modern Universalists? See, for example, his proofs in the first three chapters of his epistle to the Romans, of the universal and utter corruption, and lost condition of our race; his method of treating justification, in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters; his development of the work of the Spirit, and election, in the eighth chapter; and his vindication of divine sovereignty, and other kindred doctrines, in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters. What portion of the Bible has excited more strongly the opposition of Universalists and others of lax theological opinions, than some of these very chapters? Strange that those, who cannot bear to hear of hell, should be so much displeased by the words of one, who, "among the writers of the New Testament, throws the doctrine of *everlasting damnation* most into the *shade*." Read also his epistle to the Galatians, and Eph. ii : 1–13; and, indeed, the entire body of his inspired writings; and you can hardly fail to discern a perfect, most wonderful harmony in them all.

In addition to these general views, he makes frequent and most explicit declaration of the future and hopeless misery of the incorrigibly wicked: e. g., Rom. ii : 5–10: "After thy hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up unto thyself wrath AGAINST THE DAY OF WRATH, and revelation of the righteous judgment of God; Who will render to every man, according to his deeds: To them who by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory, and honor, and immortality, eternal life; But unto them, that are contentious and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil."

The Apostle continually teaches the actual condemnation and ruin of all, who are not justified and sanctified by a vital union to Christ. "I was alive without the law once; but when the commandment came, sin *revived*, and I *died*." "For if

ye live after the flesh, ye shall *die;* but if ye, through the Spirit, do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall *live.*" "For the wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord." The word "death" here, contrasted as it is with "eternal life," signifies, of course, eternal *death*, or endless punishment.

Other passages are, if possible, still more explicit than the foregoing: "Therefore hath he mercy on whom he will have mercy and whom he will he hardeneth." "Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel to honor, and another unto dishonor? What if God, willing to show his wrath, and to make his power known, endured with much long suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction?" Again: "Israel hath not obtained that which he seeketh for; but the elect hath obtained it, and the rest were blinded." And where is the slightest intimation given that those thus blinded will ever be delivered from their infatuation, and rejoice in the salvation of God? It is written, "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord." Such are some of the words of Paul to the Romans.

His other epistles, and his recorded speeches agree, in spirit and sentiment, with the words already adduced: "Behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation." "To-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts." "And to whom sware he that they should not enter into his rest, but to them that believed not?" So we see that they could not enter in because of unbelief. "Be not deceived; God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. For he that soweth to his flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the spirit, shall of the spirit reap life everlasting." "That which beareth thorns and briars is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing; whose *end is to be burned.*" But how to those, whose *end* is to be *burned*, can there be a future opportunity for rescue from *burning?* The Apostle adds, addressing those whom he accounted sincere believers: "But, beloved, we are persuaded better things of you, and things which accompany salvation." Salvation then is among those "better things," which will never be enjoyed by

such as die in their sins. He speaks of some, whom it is impossible to renew to repentance. Their condition, therefore, must be hopeless. "For the preaching of the cross is to them that *perish*, foolishness; but unto us which are *saved*, it is the power of God." "For we are unto God a sweet savor of Christ in them that are *saved*, and in them that *perish*. To the one we are the savor of death unto death, and to the other the savor of life unto life." "But if our Gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are *lost*." "The things which are not seen are *eternal*." Must not then the *punishments*, as well as the *rewards*, of the *unseen* world, be *eternal*? "Whose *end* is destruction." "Whose *end* is according to their *works*." If their works are evil, therefore, their *end* must be so too. "If we sin wilfully, after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries. He that despised Moses' law died without mercy under two or three witnesses: of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God?" "How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation?" "For we know him that hath said, Vengeance belongeth unto me, I will recompense, saith the Lord. And again the Lord shall judge his people. It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God." Read also Heb. iv: 1; chap. xii: 25–29. From these and similar passages, the reader may see, *how* it is that "Paul throws the doctrine of everlasting damnation into the shade;" and may well ask, if such be the *shade*, what must be the *full blaze* of that fire which can never be quenched?

Paul was accustomed to speak with frequency of a future judgment. Hear him before the ingenious and captious Athenians at Mars' Hill: "God *now* commandeth all men every where to repent; because he hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness, by that man whom he hath ordained." Hear him before the licentious and dishonest Felix: "And as he reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, Felix trembled." Again: "We shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ; so then,

every one of us shall give account of himself to God." Again: "Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead, at his appearing and kingdom." He represents the judgment as "eternal," with reference evidently, to the unchangeableness of its decisions and awards. Heb. ix: 27: "And as it is appointed unto men *once* to die, but *after* this the judgment." It is clear then, that death terminates the probation of *men*,—of every human being: the judgment for eternity follows. The assertion is introduced as an illustration of the oneness and immutable complete fulness of Christ's sacrifice, which can no more be repeated than the character and destiny of men can be changed after death.

If there be a second probation for a part of mankind, it is certainly a very important fact, and is so regarded by its advocates. Why has it remained so long in the dark, utterly unknown to the great body of Christians in all past ages? Many errors have existed at different times, concerning the nature and object of man's present condition and future destiny. Some have been mere fatalists, denying probation in every form, confounding together good and evil, sin and holiness, in an utter chaos of absurdities; some have affirmed that the whole design of man's creation is his greatest individual happiness, without subordinate reference to higher and more general interests; some have rejected the idea of all divine punishments, or limited them by the narrow bounds of the present life; and others have declared their belief of the ultimate restoration of all sinners to holiness and happiness. The purgatory of the Romish Church is not strictly a new probation, but as Calmet expresses it, who was himself of that communion: "That state of those souls, which, having departed out of this life without expiating certain impurities that deserve not eternal damnation, or which, not having undergone the punishment due to their sins, expiate them by such punishments as God inflicts on them before they enjoy his presence." That this doctrine is heathenish in its origin, and is wholly unsupported by the Bible, has been clearly shown. Says Virgil:

> "Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum
> Supplicia expendunt."
>
> Æneid, vi., 739–740.

The XXIId article of the English Church expresses the general view of the Protestant world on this subject, and various other kindred errors: "The Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping, and Adoration, as well of Images as of Relics, and also invocation of saints, is a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God." Some professed Protestants indeed, have seemed to sympathize with Romanists on the general idea of purgatorial punishments; but these have been believers of the doctrine of universal restoration. Dr. Chauncy, as quoted by the younger Edwards, has said: "The consideration of hell as a purging fire, is that only which can make the matter sit easy upon the mind." Mr. Whiston has expressed similar opinions. But that there should be a new trial for a part only of mankind, or for those only who had no opportunity of hearing of Christ in this world, is a doctrine which has been held by very few, and which cannot be consistently maintained. The admission of a second probation to a part, followed to its legitimate consequences, cannot fail, as we may hereafter see, to involve the idea of a second probation to all who die unreconciled to God.

The few texts of Scripture, urged in its defence, are mainly those employed by Romanists in support of the doctrine of purgatory; and are, to say the least, too obscure and equivocal to be made the basis of a theological article, apparently at variance with the most vital positions, and the general system of Christianity. On some of these texts we have already had occasion to remark; and their inappositeness to the purpose adduced is most manifest. The same observation might be made with reference to 1 Cor. iii: 13–15, where *the trial by fire*, which the Apostle mentions, has no relation to a change of character to be accomplished in a future state of existence.

The passage, on which perhaps the greatest stress is laid by some of the defenders of the new doctrine, is 1 Pet. i: 19, "By which, also, he," Christ, "went and preached to the spirits in prison." The interpretations of this passage have been various. They to whom we now refer, regard it as an assertion of Christ's visit to the place of future punishment, and his preaching to

some at least of the inhabitants of that world in the interval between his death and his resurrection. To this view there are insuperable objections. His whole work of expiation and suffering was finished at his death. John xii : 30. Instead of going into a place of torment, he ascended immediately into the regions of celestial blessedness, as we know from his promise to the peninent thief, crucified at his side : "*To-day*, shalt thou be with me in Paradise." Surely the penitent thief did not understand the promise as implying that he was to descend that day into penal or purgatorial fires. But if the soul of Jesus immediately ascended into paradise, did he also, at the same time, preach the offer of salvation to imprisoned spirits? Is paradise a prison! The word in the New Testament is elsewhere used in such a manner as to leave no reasonable doubt respecting its meaning. 2 Cor. xii : 2–4. "I knew a man in Christ—such an one caught up to the third heaven. How that he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter." The whole structure of this passage would naturally lead us to infer, that, if the third heavens and paradise are not strictly equivalent phrases, they both include the idea of permanent and perfect happiness. In Rev. ii : 7, the divine Saviour says : "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the *paradise* of God." In Rev. xii : 2, this "tree of life" is represented as growing near the "throne of God and the Lamb," in the kingdom of glory. When it is said, therefore, Acts ii : 27, that Christ's *soul* was not left in ἅδης, the word means either the *grave*, or the condition of the soul's separation from the body, the word ψύχη, here translated soul, is not unfrequently used to signify animal life, or a human being or person. Thus understood, the sentence is but a declaration of the certainty of Christ's resurrection, before his body had undergone the process of complete decomposition in the grave. The Scriptures, too, uniformly divide mankind into two great classes, regenerate and unregenerate, saints and sinners; and never speak of a third class, who are without any moral character, unfit either for heaven or for hell. We shall, in the course of this article, offer a few direct, Scriptural

evidences of the momentous fact, that death fixes forever the character and state of its victims. In view of these statements, the presumption must be against the supposition that Peter intended to teach, that Christ after His death, preached personally to the damned, or any portion of the damned in hell, or to the prisoners in any world, where the spirits of the departed enjoy a new state of probation, on account of their lack of privileges in the present life.

By the word *φυλακῇ, prison*, it is most natural to understand the prison of divine justice, reserved for all the incorrigible workers of iniquity. The spirits are the souls of those *now* in prison, who once enjoyed a space for repentance on earth. The connection leaves us no room to doubt with respect to those intended by this description. They were the sinners destroyed by the flood. To these, Christ had once preached. *How?* Did he preach to them personally? The immediate antecedent here is the spirit, meaning either the Holy Spirit, the third person in the Trinity, or the divine nature of Christ. "For Christ also hath once suffered for our sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the *Spirit*, by which," that is, the Spirit, "he went and preached unto the spirits in prison." By the Spirit, Christ preached to the inhabitants of the old world. We are accordingly assured, that the Bible is the *word of Christ*, and that the prophets received their messages from his "Spirit" that was in them." Col. iii: 16; 1 Pet. i: 11. Noah is called "a preacher of righteousness" in 2 Pet. ii: 5, and it was the Spirit of Christ which inspired Noah, and spoke, as it were, by the mouth of that holy man. There is plainly allusion here to Gen. vi: 3, "And the Lord said, my Spirit shall not always strive with man;" it had striven by the warnings given him; but these warnings shall cease, "for that he also is flesh; yet his days," the term of his probation yet remaining, "shall be an hundred and twenty years."

When did Christ preach to the antediluvian sinners? Before the *flood*. This is evident, not only from the foregoing, but from the following connection: "Which sometime" (*πότε formerly*) "were disobedient, when once the long-suffering of

God waited in the days of Noah," (it is not said waited til after Christ's death, which must have been the case, if Chris after his death, went and preached to them,) but "in the day of Noah, while the ark was preparing, wherein few, that is, eigh souls, were saved by water." All the calls of Noah, ever stroke upon the ark, were so many calls of Christ to a rebel lious and perishing world. Matt. x : 40; Luke x : 16; John xiii : 20. It is the constant representation of the Bible, that th deluge came, *when*, and *not before*, God's *long-suffering* towar that generation had come to a close. Gen. vii : 1; Matt. xxiv 37–39; 2 Pet. ii : 5.

In Robinson's Lexicon, the interpretation of the passag agrees substantially with that of the generality of Protestan commentators, "In which" (spiritual or divine nature) "h formerly imparted [through Noah] exhortations and warn ings to those souls which are now in prison." "Elsner," as quoted by Macknight, "on this passage, hath produce examples from the Scriptures, and from Demosthenes, t show that the phrase, he *went and preached*, is a pleonasm for he *preached*." Among the examples from Scripture, th clearest and most direct is Eph. ii : 15–17. "*Having abolished* etc., he *came and preached peace to you who were afar off, an to them who were nigh*." For it is certain, that our Lor after his resurrection, did not go personally to the Gentiles t preach peace to them. He preached to them by his apostle only. But if Christ is said by Paul to go and do, what he di by his apostles, he may with equal propriety, be said by Peter to go and do, what he did by his prophet Noah.

There is nothing then in the words of Peter, to sustain th doctrine of a new probation after death. The persons o whom he spoke were antediluvian sinners, who, at the time h wrote, were spirits in the prison of despair. These had bee faithfully warned by the preaching of Noah, before they wer carried away by the flood. The argument then from thi passage, in favor of a second probation to those who die i ignorance, is wholly out of place; since the antediluvian were not ignorant, but enjoyed many advantages under th preaching of Noah, whose frequent and solemn warnings they

utterly disregarded and despised. Divine patience could bear with them no longer. Their wickedness is declared to have been total, and peculiarly aggravated. Gen. vi: 5–7. Even if Christ be supposed to have preached to them, after their descent into *hades*, there is not the smallest evidence or intimation, that any of them obeyed his voice during their second term of probation, and were liberated from their prison. As the passage refers exclusively to the antediluvians, it cannot at any rate be adduced as a proof-text in favor of the doctrine of a second probation to others.

If the passage prove any thing to the purpose for which it is alleged, it proves more than was intended, namely, that a new probation has been granted to some of the most hardened sinners, as well as others, and consequently, it is possible at least, that all mankind will sooner or later attain salvation. The argument is legitimate for Universalists; but overstrained and self-destructive, when applied to the defence of any other creed.

Rash speculations in reference to the infinite God and his government, have opened the door for false assumptions respecting the state of departed spirits. "Vain man would be wise, though born as the wild ass's colt." There is a prying curiosity, not satisfied with any actual or possible discoveries in the present life.

> "Aspiring to be gods, the angels fell;
> Aspiring to be angels, men rebel."

Thus there is often a dogmatical decision, not supported by any established facts, respecting the modes in which it becomes Jehovah to regulate his conduct as a good Being, and the common Father of his creatures. It is inferred, that his administration of affairs cannot be benevolent if it cross, in any way, our preconceived opinions, however formed, of what "honor and right" require at the hands of our Creator. The field of our vision comprehends, we would fain believe, the absolute immensity of being, and all its relations. However God may rebuke such arrogance by his word and by his providence, it still remains untamed in the proud heart of man. He still

claims his right and power to fathom the fathomless—to grasp the infinite. Thus some have been led to deny the possibility, by the hand of God, of the infliction of any punishment, strictly so called; others, to assert the ultimate happiness of all rational creatures; others, to attribute to chance, or the unintelligent nature of things, instead of the will of Jehovah, all the calamities which befall us; others, to ascribe to moral agency, without which there can be neither virtue nor guilt, an independent power, defying even divine control. Adhering to the maxims or impressions which generate such conclusions as these, we may plunge into the profoundest arcana of the divine wisdom, not to learn and adore, but to dictate to the Holy One of Israel the acts and processes by which he may secure the confidence of his dependent offspring. In this way, we may adopt any inferences we choose concerning his ability and his right as the Governor of the universe. We may thus infer the probability, and even necessity, of a new probation after death, to *some* at least of Adam's posterity; or, that all God's judgments are but fatherly chastisements, designed to promote the reformation and ultimate happiness of offenders; that, of course, wrath or vengeance, so often ascribed to the Most High in the Scriptures, is an unmeaning word; and that consequently, vindicative or punitive justice is but the creature of a morbid conscience, a malignant heart, or a bewildered brain. In short, we may on this principle, believe any thing or every thing, or nothing, as may best comport with our views of goodness, utterly regardless of what God himself has revealed in his word: "Thou thoughtest that I was altogether such an one as thyself."

On the same principle which prompts us to decide what is and is not agreeable to his *goodness*, we may proceed to arraign his *justice*, if his providential dispensations do not accord with our notions of what is just and becoming in God. Hence, doubtless, originates the idea, that the Lord cannot be just, unless he give to each individual of the human race a chance (to use the term which some have lately employed on this subject) to work out his salvation, either in this world, or in the world to come.

Here certain clearly revealed and indubitable facts are ignored, overlooked, or virtually denied. One fact is, that God is not bound, in point of justice, to exclude sin from the universe; for he has not excluded it. It must follow, therefore, that he was not bound to exclude it, or that he is an unjust Being. Another fact is, that he has given us a law, which we have broken, which he foresaw we would break, and for the violation of which he treats us as deserving of punishment. It is clear, therefore, that he may, without injustice, leave the innocent to transgress, and then punish them accordingly; for this is what he has done, and is continually doing. If he may justly leave them to sin, he is not bound, in justice, to provide for them any method of recovery, or any hope of forgiveness, after they have sinned. To assume that he is under obligation to give them a "*chance*" for salvation, after they have once sinned, or to hinder them from sinning when they are innocent, is to deny to him his prerogatives as Lawgiver, and represent him as the only one morally bound by the law, and as responsible, beyond any other being, for the good conduct of his subjects. On this ground, the apostate angels may justly find fault with him, because he did not "keep" them "from falling," and, especially, because he does not now give them "*a chance*" to be saved. But if God may rightfully leave his creatures to sin, and then punish them forever for their wilful disobedience, without any provision for their recovery, the notion we are considering must be seen at once to be altogether baseless and futile.

God does in fact constantly assure us in his word, that he might justly have left all mankind to perish without hope. The gift of a Saviour, the invitations and warnings of the Gospel, regeneration, justification by faith, adoption, sanctification, perseverance in holiness, deliverance from hell, and eternal blessedness in heaven, with all the privileges of probation, are declared to be, from first to last, wholly of grace. The Gospel has no meaning, on any other hypothesis, than that:

"Grace all the work shall crown,
Through everlasting days;

It lays in heaven, the topmost stone,
And well deserves the praise."

Besides, it is a revealed fact, leaving all metaphysical difficulties out of the account, that human nature has already been tried, under the best advantages, in the person of our original progenitor; that he betrayed his trust, and involved himself and all his posterity in guilt and misery, Gen. iii: 16–24, Gen. v: 3, Ps. li: 5, Rom. v: 12–21; and that all are *by nature*, or from the commencement of their distinct personal existence, sinners, destitute of true love to God, and enemies to his real character. This corruption of nature is represented as "the sin that dwells in us," Rom. vii: 8; as working in us all manner of concupiscence, Rom. vii: 8; as reigning in and over us, Rom. vi: 11, 12, 14; as warring in us, and bringing us into captivity, Rom. vii: 23, and as deceiving and slaying us, Rom. vii: 11.

The passages which directly assert the entire moral depravity of our race are numerous, and must be familiar to every diligent reader of the inspired volume, and the doctrine is moreover implied in the whole scheme of the Gospel, as a revelation of mercy to the ungodly, the lost, the hell-deserving. The Bible never intimates any such thing, as the existence of a right heart in any mere man since the fall, till it is supernaturally produced by a special divine influence. When, in a comparative view, some are called "innocent," the term refers to their inexperience, and freedom from flagrant vices, which are formed and strengthened by habit; it being at the same time declared, that a radical spiritual change is indispensable to all of human descent, John iii: 3, 6, 7, and that none are too young to be brought to Christ for those peculiar blessings, which he descended from heaven to bestow on a sinful and ruined race, "The wicked are estranged from the womb." The doctrine of native depravity, or birth-sin, is the current doctrine of Christendom; and is distinctly recognized in the creeds and confessions of all the influential churches of the Reformation.*

* The reader is referred to the articles of the Synod of Dort, chapters 3 and 4; to the 9th article of the Church of England; to article 15th of the Belgic

It is not to our present purpose to justify God in establishing the federal headship of Adam; we merely mention the fact, as one of pure revelation; and, if any are disposed to cavil, we would say, in the language of the Lord to Job: "Shall he that contendeth with the Almighty, instruct him? he that reproveth God, let him answer it."

As has already been observed, the admission of a probation after death to a part of mankind, leads directly to denial of the eternal punishment of any of the fallen race of Adam. If there should be a new probation for one, it must be on the principle, that he does not *deserve* immediate rejection, either because he is not at present a sinner, or because his sins are not sufficiently heinous to justify the infliction upon him of the threatened penalty of the law. One of these conclusions must follow, if the fact of a new probation be merely a matter of inference, without any direct revelation to warrant its adoption. No such direct revelation can be alleged; and that all are sinners and need that spiritual regeneration, on which the Bible insists, we have already seen. The only alternative for the advocate of the theory we are considering, is, that the sins of those for whom a second probation is provided are of too venial a nature to justify their eternal punishment. But if the smallness of one's sins may be a sufficient reason why he should not suffer the pains of endless perdition, then, for the same reason, no sin can be of sufficient magnitude to render the criminal deserving of such pains. If the least sin be not, in such sense, an infinite evil, as to deserve eternal death, the greater, and any number of sins, cannot be; because the finite, however enlarged, can really make no approach towards the infinite. But if the penalty of sin, in any instance, be eternal misery, it must also be in all instances. In each and every case, sin is a transgression of an all-comprehensive and infinitely good law, on the support of which, as we have before said, the well-being of the entire intelligent universe depends. If

Confession; to the Moravian Confession; to the Confession of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland; to the Confession of the primitive Congregationalists, etc. etc. etc.

sin, therefore, do not deserve punishment in one case, it cannot in any; since, in fact, the idea of criminality and ill-desert is excluded by the very supposition. All rebels then may demand of God exemption from punishment, if not positive happiness, as *that right.* On this hypothesis, all moral government is itself a farce, a mockery.

But if God may give a new probation after death, to some who *deserve* punishment, what reason can there be for denying this privilege to any of the human race? So, in fact, the most subtle Universalists have argued. Dr. Chauncy, as quoted by Edwards, has said: "Multitudes are taken off before they have had an opportunity to make themselves hardened, abandoned sinners. . . . And can it be supposed, with respect to such, that an infinitely benevolent God, without any other trial, in order to effect their reformation, will consign them over to endless and irreversible torments? . . . Nay, it does not appear, that any sinners are so incorrigible in wickedness, as to be beyond recovery by still further methods, within the reach of infinite power; and if the infinitely wise God can, in any wise methods, recover them, even in any other state of trial, may we not argue from his infinite benevolence that he will?" *

This mode of argumentation, which is but an appeal to our natural feelings, is common with the Universalists, and with others of similar notions, respecting the nature of the divine benevolence; and is it not conclusive, provided it be true, that goodness in God requires of him the granting of a new probation to some, at least, of Adam's posterity? Nay, further, must he not be disposed to add probation to probation, if this be necessary, till the most obstinate are subdued into voluntary subjection to his authority, and are prepared for endless happiness? Admit this; and what hinders the inference that all divine punishments are simply remedial, being but the expressions of the fatherly kindness of God towards the offenders themselves; and, consequently, that public or punitive justice, in his infliction of evil on the disobedient, is but a theological term without meaning. The torments of hell,

* Edwards, pp. 188, 189. Boston, 1824.

then, if there are such torments, are somewhat painful, though necessary, prescriptions for the cure of moral diseases, too malignant to be overcome by any specifics of inferior power. In this point of view, sin is to be regarded as a calamity only; and, in no sense, as a crime, deserving punishment from a holy God.

But how does the Bible treat the subject? It speaks continually of the anger and wrath of God, as suitable language to express his infinite hatred of sin. It remonstrates, it reasons, it entreats, it threatens, "Oh! do not that abominable thing which I *hate*," "God judgeth the righteous, and God is *angry* with the wicked every day." See also, Deut. iv: 24; xxxii: 35, 38, 40, 41, 42; Is. xxxv: 4; Is. lix: 17–19; lxvi: 14, 15; Sam. ii: 4; Neh. i: 2–10; Matt. iii: 2; Rom. xii: 19; 2 Thess. i: 7, 8; Heb. xii: 29; Rev. vi: 16, 17; xiv: 10, 11; xix: 15; xxi, etc.

It is the current testimony of the Scriptures, that there can be no change of character and condition, after our removal from this world. As to the righteous, it is most clearly taught, that, when absent from the body, they are present with the Lord. 2 Cor. v: 1–8, compared with Phil. i: 23; 1 Thess. v: 10. See also, Is. lvii: 2; Rev. xiv: 13, and Luke xvi: 22. We are told in Heb. xii: 21–24, that, in the heavenly Jerusalem, the city of the living God, dwell "the *spirits of just men made perfect*," an "innumerable company of angels," "and God the judge of all, and Jesus, the Mediator of the new covenant." In accordance with the spirit of the foregoing passages, it is most plainly declared, that death puts a period to the probation of the wicked, as well as of the righteous. What other reasonable interpretation can be given of Luke xvi: 26? Can Olshausen's evasion, previously noticed, satisfy any reasonable man? "And besides all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed; so that they which would pass from thence to you, *cannot;* neither *can they pass* to us, that would come from thence." How else are we to understand such passages as the following: Prov. xi: 7: "When a wicked man *dieth*, his expectation shall perish, and the *hope* of unjust men perisheth." Prov. xiv: 32: "The wicked is driven away *in*

his wickedness; but the righteous hath hope in his *death:*" xxix : 1: "He that being often reproveth, hardeneth his neck, shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy." Ps. cxlvi : 4, "His breath goeth forth; he returneth to his earth; in that *very day* his thoughts perish." Ecc. ix : 10: "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest." Read also, Prov. i : 26–29; Ps. cxii : 10; Job. viii : 13, 14; Heb. iii : 13, 15; ix : 27; Phil. iii : 19; 2 Cor. xi : 15; Rev. xxii : 10, 11, 12; Ecc. xii : 7, "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return unto God that gave it." Why must the spirit return unto God? We have the answer in verses 13, 14: "Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter: Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man. For God will bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil." At death, then, the spirit will return unto God, to hear the decisions of his justice. Will these decisions be ever repealed, and a new probation commence?

Does not the command to carry the Gospel to every human creature on earth, with the assurance that his reception or rejection of the message will determine his doom for eternity, imply the certainty, that there will be no call of mercy to sinners, after they have left this world, unreconciled to God? Mark xvi : 15, 16.

Whenever works are mentioned, as decisive of character, and the basis of final adjudication, reference is exclusively had to works done in the present life. This truth is represented in the parable of the wheat and tares; where both are said to grow together till the *harvest.* It is expressly affirmed in 2 Cor. v : 10, "For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ; that *every one*"—whether, of course, his privileges were few or many—"may receive the things done in his *body,* whether it be good or bad." It is of the deeds *done in the body,* that the inspired John speaks in Rev. xxii : 14: "Blessed are they that *do his commandments,* that they may have a right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates

into the city." The sentiment here accords with the solemn declaration of Christ, in John v : 28, 29, "The hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done *evil*, unto the resurrection of damnation." Is it not evident, both from the structure of the passage itself, and from its connection, that the deeds here referred to were those done in the body, or on this side of the grave? And where do we read of any other actions than these, to be brought into the account? Where is the most distant hint, that the sentence passed on any, will be equivalent to an acknowledgment of their reception of the divine favor, because they turned to God, in the intermediate state between death and the resurrection? As the ground of the sentence on both saints and sinners, at the last day, (Matt. xxv : 35–45,) Christ mentions only those works, which were or could have been done, during the term of earthly probation. "I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat," etc.

The same general doctrine is established incontrovertibly by all the arguments, which prove that the future punishment of the wicked will be without end. Allow another probation for one, and there may be another probation for all; and, as we have seen, probation may follow probation, or rather chastisements may be continued, till all are at length subdued to dutiful submission and love. But the Bible, our only guide in matters of this kind, settles the question, as to the interminable duration of the woes appointed for the wicked in a future state of being. Many of the texts we have already cited are too explicit on this point, to admit of any other fair construction, than that which we have given them. It is the clearness of the scriptural testimony on this subject, which doubtless contributes not a little, in driving the intelligent and obstinate rejecters of eternal punishment, to a denial of the supreme authority of the Bible as a rule of faith; and to an appeal from its most obvious decisions, to what they call the dictates of reason, and the impulses of a generous nature. Declamation on the goodness of God, the horrible nature of hell torments and endless misery, and pathetic addresses to our sym-

pathy and humanity, are substituted for reasoning. By a similar process, it were easy to show, in the face of all facts to the contrary, that the sin and suffering, now existing, cannot have occurred under the government of a righteous and benevolent God. The grand principle of the objection, in each case, is the same.

We have not time, nor is it necessary, to enter at large into a discussion of the subject of future and endless misery. Little can be said, in addition to what has been often repeated by some of our ablest writers and most judicious divines. Among the books meriting a thorough perusal, we recommend especially, Edwards' Reply to Chauncy, Dr. Nathan Strong's Benevolence and Misery, Andrew Fuller's Letters to Vidler, and a brief but critical Treatise, by the late Professor Stuart of Andover. There are also living authors, who meet more directly than those here named some of the more modern types of Universalism.

The punishment of the wicked is repeatedly declared to be everlasting. The Greek language has no stronger terms to express duration literally unlimited, than those which are applied to this subject. Αἰώνιος is one of these words. In Rom. xvi: 26, it is employed to express the eternity of God. It is applied to the fire of hell, in Matt. xviii : 8; to the endless life of the righteous, in Matt. xix : 16; to the punishment of the wicked, and the endless happiness of the righteous, contrasted, in Matt. xxv : 46; to the heavenly habitations of the saints, in Luke xvi : 9; to the eternal life promised to the obedient, in Rom. ii : 7; to the eternity of the divine nature of Christ, or of the Holy Spirit, in Heb. ix : 14; and to the eternal inheritance of the saints, in Heb. ix : 15. The word, like the English word, *eternal*, is to be understood in the unlimited sense, except in cases where it is evidently used figuratively, or is necessarily limited by the connection, or the nature of the subject. What is there in the *nature* of punishment, which demands the conclusion, that it cannot be endless? In some of the foregoing passages, where the punishment of the wicked is asserted, the *connection requires* us to understand the word in the unlimited sense.

The phrase *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰωνῶν*, commonly translated forever and ever, is, as Dr. Dwight says, applied in fifteen instances, to the continuance of the glory, perfections, government, and praise, of God. In one instance it is used in relation to the state of the righteous in heaven; and in two remaining instances it is applied to future punishment. Would it have been possible to select language more clear and unequivocal?

In various passages, the rewards of the righteous, and the punishments of the wicked, are exhibited in direct comparison, without the slightest intimation of any difference as to their duration. There is then the same evidence of the eternity of the latter, as of the former.

The indirect proofs are more than can be easily enumerated. For example, if it were good for Judas that he had never been born, then his existence will, on the whole, prove to him a curse, making it certain that he can never attain eternal happiness; for eternal happiness, subsequently enjoyed, must infinitely overbalance all the evils possible to be endured, which are limited in their nature and duration. If there is a sin which cannot be forgiven, either in this world or in the world to come, it follows, of course, that they who are guilty of that sin, cannot be saved; unless indeed, they can be saved without forgiveness, which the Bible constantly asserts to be indispensably necessary to every child of Adam, descending from him by ordinary generation. If Dives received his good things in this life, he will not receive them in the life to come; and must, therefore, be eternally miserable. "Wo unto you that are rich; for ye have received your consolation." We read of "men of the world" who have their "portion in this life." Is it not then certain that they will have no portion in that better land, "where saints immortal reign"? What less than eternal punishment can be intended by such phrases as "*the unquenchable fire*," and "*the worm that never dies?*" What less by the declaration, that "Sodom and Gomorrah are set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of *eternal fire?*" What less, by the repeated assurances of the word of God that he will extend no pity to those, who perish in their sins?

What less, by the infinite value of that atonement, which lays the only foundation for even the consistent offer of mercy to sinners, and which the impenitent and unbelieving reject with aversion and scorn? What less, by the declaration, that the wicked shall utterly perish in their own corruption? How can it be true, if all are saved, that some shall never be permitted to "taste of the supper," provided by grace, for dying sinners? How can it be true, that the shutting of the door at last shall be to some who had been invited to the celestial banquet, the signal of lasting and utter exclusion from the presence of the Lamb, and the congregation of his redeemed? What means the Saviour, our final Judge, when he says, with an emphatic earnestness, unsurpassed in all his teaching, "There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets in the kingdom of God, and you *yourselves thrust out?*" "And he saith unto me, seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book; for the time is at hand. He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still; and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still; and he that is holy, let him be holy still." "And behold, I come quickly; and my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be."

We close this article, with sincere grief that such a discussion should be required by any apparent progress of the dangerous error, against which we have deemed it our duty to lift up our feeble yet earnest voice. A single letter of John Foster, that ought never to have been given to the world, has inflicted on the Christian community an injury which ages perhaps cannot repair. Speculations so unscriptural as those we have now contemplated, lead by an almost inevitable tendency, to the undermining of the entire foundation of the grand peculiarities of the Gospel; and to the production of the sloth, worldliness, impiety, and practical atheism, which are the legitimate result of their rejection. The Bible knows nothing of true goodness disconnected from faith; that *faith*, which is not a mere abstract sentiment, a blind emotion, but an intellectual, cordial, practical reception of what is revealed in

the Scriptures. We are not without fear that polite literature is, in too many instances, supplying the place of a faithful study of divinity, properly so called; that fanciful conjectures are substituted for solid reasoning; that a kind of poetical enthusiasm is mistaken for the ardor of piety; that the impassioned writers of extravagant fiction are preferred to such men as the reformers, and Owen, Baxter, Howe, Charnock and Edwards; that the dreams of a false philanthropy are interposed between the conscience and the terrors of avenging justice; and that worldly science, which, when unperverted, always bears testimony, indirect it may be, but clear and decided, to the divine origin of Christianity, is tortured in opposition to some of its highest, grandest, most transforming principles of faith and duty.

We would earnestly plead with theological teachers and their pupils; with young preachers and with those advanced in age, to see that they are themselves well established in the truth, defending it distinctly, fearlessly, and in the tenderest pity to the souls of their fellow-men; and that, as hastening to the last tribunal, in view of eternal joy or eternal pain, the certain inheritance of every human being, they utter such a voice of warning, expostulation, and entreaty, as will divest the unbeliever of every excuse, and, by the blessing of God, rouse a slumbering world.

Let Associations, Ecclesiastical Councils, and Presbyteries, remember their responsibility, in introducing co-laborers into the vineyard of the Lord. "Lay hands suddenly on no man." Excessive caution here, though not to be approved, is yet far less dangerous than the opposite extreme, which has been the source of immeasurable evils in all past ages of the Christian church, and menaces the present peace of some communities among us, that were once flourishing in all the beauties of holiness. Wo to those, to whom the admonitions of history afford no needed lessons of instruction and alarm.

ART. VII.—HAMILTON'S THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE.

By Prof. HENRY B. SMITH.

Reid's Collected Writings. Preface, Notes, and Supplementary Dissertations. By Sir WILLIAM HAMILTON, Bart., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. 3d ed. 1852.

Discussions in Philosophy, Literature, etc. By Sir WILLIAM HAMILTON. New-York. 1853.

Lectures on Metaphysics and Logic. By Sir WILLIAM HAMILTON. Edited by Rev. H. L. MANSEL, and JOHN VEITCH. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. *Metaphysics.* 1859. Vol. II. *Logic.* 1860. Pp. 738, 751. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.

IN the excellent and convenient Boston edition of the Lectures of Sir William Hamilton, we have the philosophical legacy of the ablest representative of the Scottish school of philosophy, and of one of the most illustrious thinkers of the nineteenth century. Incomplete as he has left many of his works, they yet give abundant evidence of that logical acuteness, firm grasp of thought, and historical learning on recondite themes, which have made his name famous. His new Analytic is not fully developed; but his Lectures on Logic are the most complete treatise on that subject in English literature. His Philosophy of the Conditioned is not systematically unfolded; but its principles are laid down in a distinct and definite manner, and in sharp contrast with the German speculations. His Notes to Reid's Collected Writings are a store-house of acute criticism, and multifarious and precise learning, and have made Reid's works to have a double value; few authors find such an editor. His articles in the *Edinburgh Review* on metaphysical subjects, accomplished a work to which hardly a parallel can be found in periodical literature. They made all

England conscious of the philosophical relation of the Scotch to the continental schools. When others were dumb with amazement or trepidation in view of the transcendental schemes of Teutonic speculation, this intrepid and acute thinker presented himself within the lists, and threw down the gauntlet against all comers—to vindicate, on philosophical grounds, the philosophy of common sense in face of the proud pretensions of the philosophy of the absolute. His name and fame, in the annals of philosophy, are identified with this work. Besides this, as a teacher of philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, he revived the study of logic and metaphysics at a time when logic was neglected and metaphysics every where spoken against; and he created an enthusiastic school, which has able advocates in England and America, as well as in Scotland. His system has now become a part of the history of philosophy; and it deserves to be studied, not only because he was one of the most vigorous of thinkers, but because his speculations bear upon the relation between the Scotch and the German schools, and enter into the very heart of the controversy between philosophy and faith.

The events of Sir William Hamilton's outward life were few and simple; nor are his published works voluminous in comparison with those of most of the great thinkers. He was born in Glasgow, March 8, 1788, a descendant of a noble family. In the university of Glasgow, he stood first in philosophy. Becoming a student in Oxford (Baliol College), he there attained an unrivalled knowledge of the ancient systems. As a candidate for honors in 1812, he professed himself ready to be examined upon all the extant works of Greek and Roman philosophy—Plato, Aristotle, the New-Platonists, etc. With the chief scholastic systems, and the works of Descartes and Leibnitz, he was already familiar. He began the practice of law; but general learning was his chosen field. His first contribution to philosophy was a series of papers against the phrenological hypotheses of Combe, read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1826, the fruit of a minute investigation of craniological facts. In 1829 appeared his first elaborate metaphysical article, against Cousin and all the Germans, pro-

nouncing the philosophy of the Absolute to be an hallucination; and laying down his fundamental position, that our ideas of the Infinite and Absolute are negative, the product of an imbecility of the mind. In 1830, in the *Edinburgh Review*, he published an essay on the Philosophy of Perception, reducing Reid's doctrine to a more definite statement, and severely criticising the philosophy of Brown. In 1833 he wrote his article on Logic, exposing the inaccuracies of Whately, and other writers, and showing a marvellous acquaintance with the literature of the subject. In these three articles, the fundamental positions of his philosophy are already stated. His system was matured; and he was prepared to enter upon the post of Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh, to which he was chosen, not without a hard struggle, in 1836. Sixteen years before he had been an unsuccessful candidate for the professorship of Moral Philosophy, to succeed Dr. Brown — John Wilson being elected in his stead. He addressed himself with ardor to his new office, and in two years wrote out his courses on Metaphysics and Logic, in substance as now published. This great task could only have been performed on the basis of such a preparation as he had made in almost all departments of learning. He infused a new spirit into the lecture-room, and trained his students to independent thought: "*On earth there is nothing great but man; in man there is nothing great but mind*"—was the motto, which each one saw on entering his class. He was now in the fulness of his mental vigor; and began at once an edition of Reid's works, first published in 1846, and not yet completed, breaking off in the midst of a note. The Supplementary Dissertations gave a new phase to the philosophy of common sense, and illustrated it with prodigal learning.

In these Dissertations, and in the articles already referred to in the *Edinburgh Review*, we find the height of his speculative development; what is added in the notes to his Lectures is chiefly in the way of explanation and defence. His metaphysical system, as such, was never fully carried out. The most of an attempt in this direction, is perhaps found in the Appendix to his Discussions on the "Conditions of the Thinkable

Systematized; an Alphabet of Human Thought." His general theory of knowledge is there applied to the principle of Causality, as it had been to the Infinite and Absolute. The same work contains all his other chief papers—on Collier's Idealism; on the Study of Mathematics, rating it below logic as a mental discipline; a series of articles on Education, in which the abuses of the English system are unsparingly exposed; a thorough discussion of the authorship of the Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum, etc. But with all his vast learning, dialectic skill, and critical sagacity, he has left us only fragments of the system which he intended to rear. Parts of the edifice are complete; the whole is incomplete; and the architect is no more. It may be, that on his principles, the task was superhuman. On moral philosophy, we find only a few scattered hints; æsthetics, as a science, he never seems to have studied; of metaphysics, as distinct from psychology, he does not give any clear conception; to the philosophy of history, there is scarcely an allusion in all his works; on the relation between philosophy and faith, a topic to which all his speculations seemed inevitably to lead him, there are only the most general and indefinite statements. Where he speaks of theological points with confidence, it is usually apparent, that he had not made them matters of thorough study. Nothing can be more incorrect, e. g., than his strong statements about the Assurance of Faith, as being the essence of the Protestant doctrine; * and on the relation of freedom and decrees, he does not get beyond the commonplaces of popular instruction. And, in fact, on the general principles of Hamilton's system, as we may see in the course of the discussion, it is well nigh impossible to construct a *science*, either of ethics, or of theology; for absolute right and absolute being are to him simply inconceivable; and all that can remain in either department is a body of practical and regulative truths, but not a science,

* See the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, October, 1856, for a thorough refutation of Sir William's misconceptions and misstatements on this point. He even went so far as to say, that the doctrine of assurance being abandoned, there remained only a verbal dispute about justification between Roman Catholics and Protestants.

based on an idea. With all of Hamilton's immense learning, too, there are parts of the history of philosophy itself, with which he does not show any thorough acquaintance. He studied Aristotle minutely; but Plato he seldom cites, partly, perhaps, because he felt no sympathy with the spirit of his system. For the same reason, it may be, Coleridge is almost studiously ignored, though Coleridge was exerting in England an influence almost as great as that of Hamilton in Scotland; they represented respectively the two poles of speculative thought. Even Comte and the positivists are hardly ever named by the Scotch logician. In German philosophy, he had studied Kant, and received from him an ineffaceable impression; but the other great German philosophers, he most certainly had not studied. His statement of Schelling's system is exaggerated and incomplete, even in relation to Schelling's youthful speculations; and that Schelling had a different system in his maturer years, seems to have escaped Hamilton's notice. His references to Hegel's scheme are also very vague and unsatisfactory, and not such as to indicate any thorough acquaintance with his whole system.* The works

* In his *Discussions*, p. 31, Note, Hamilton says, that Hegel's whole philosophy is founded "on a violation of logic," for "inpositing pure or absolute existence on a mental datum, immediate, intuitive and above proof (though in truth this be palpably a mere relation, gained by a process of abstraction), he not only mistakes the fact, but violates the logical law, which prohibits us to assume the principle which it behoves us to prove." Are we, then, got to prove logically the very first principle in philosophy—the fundamental point? If so, how can we ever start? What can we start from? Further, how is the principle of "pure, absolute existence, a mere relation"? Is it not, in its very nature, above all relations? And, besides, how is this to be reconciled with what Hamilton himself says about "Existence" in his Lectures on Metaphysics, p. 548: "Philosophers who allow a native principle to the mind at all, allow that Existence is such a principle. I shall therefore *take for granted* Existence as the highest category or condition of thought. . . . No thought is possible except under this category. . . . All thought implies the thought of Existence. . . . Let Existence then be laid down as a necessary form of thought." He here explicitly "assumes" the very thing, which, as found in Hegel, he declares to be "a violation of logic." His statements are almost identical with those of the German philosopher on this very point. But, of course, it makes all the difference in the world, whether such a principle be assumed by a Scotchman or a German. It is "necessary" to the former, but "a violation of logic" in the latter It is common sense in the one, and the pride of reason in the other.

of those Germans who have most vigorously opposed the pantheistic speculations, he seldom cites; in fact, he uniformly speaks of the philosophy of the Infinite and Absolute, as if no German, or any body else, could attach any other than a pantheistic sense to these cardinal terms; they mean with him either pantheism or nothing. But yet, his learning in other directions, and, on special subjects, was beyond any of his English contemporaries, and, in some departments, it probably exhausted all the main sources. And his critical power, his logical subtlety, his skill in definition, his comparison and classification of differing theories, are always admirable, and have been seldom, if ever, surpassed.

In these general aspects, and in these high intellectual qualities, the reputation of Hamilton is ensured. He has taken his place in the illustrious line of those great men, who have given their days and nights to the search after wisdom. He is identified with the progress of logical and metaphysical science. His personal position and reputation among the lovers of wisdom is elevated and unquestionable. But the chief interest that attaches to him, or to any great thinker, is not personal or local. It is in respect to his position upon the fundamental problems of human speculation; it is upon the inquiry, what has he done for the solution of the highest questions about human knowledge and destiny. Where is he to be here ranged? Has he told us any thing new, and any thing better than his predecessors, upon the relation of thought to being, upon the relation of philosophy to faith? Have fundamental truths been made more clear, have the final questions been more sharply put and better answered, in his system than in those which have preceded him?

And here, too, in relation to some parts of the system of philosophy, his merits are of the highest order. In the science of logic he was unrivalled. He purified it of much adventitious matter, and viewed it exclusively as the science of the laws of thought as thought, that is, as a purely formal science. He also, under this aspect, made additions to it, which, we think, are theoretically correct, even though practically they may not be found of great utility; particularly in respect to the thorough

quantification of the predicate in both affirmative and negative propositions.* And though behind his whole conception of logic, as a formal science, there still lies the inquiry as to the relation of logical laws to real truth and being (which he no where formally discusses); and though, as we shall see, he applies these mere logical laws to the solution of metaphysical questions in a way hardly consistent with his own principles; yet still the science, of which Kant† declared, that since Aristotle it had not gone backward and could not go forward, has been enlarged and purified by the sharp researches and discrimination of the Scotch logician. On the question of Perception, too, in reference to skepticism and idealism, and in its relations to the qualities of external bodies, he has made additions to philosophy—stating all the theories more explicitly and comprehensively than had before been done. And, whatever doubts may rest upon the details of his own theory,‡ his vindication of an immediate knowledge of the external world, and his modification of the doctrine of consciousness to meet this fact, and his exposure of the different schemes of hypothetical and representative perception, are learned, thorough and valuable additions to philosophical science. Had he but applied the same general theory of knowledge to the "intelligible" or supersensible world, that he did to the material and sensible, he would have been kept from some of the most serious difficulties and objections to which his metaphysical system is now exposed.

It is of this, his metaphysical system, that we propose more particularly to speak. The relation of thought to being is the ultimate problem of metaphysical speculation. What are the ultimate and necessary truths of human reason? and, is there a reality corresponding to them? These are the two chief questions of metaphysics, as distinguished from psychology, which investigates the mind and its powers; and from all empirical science, which studies and classifies external phenomena.

* See his conclusive reply to objections in the Appendix to his Lectures on Logic, pp. 539–546.

† *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, Vorrede, p. viii.

‡ Compare an able article in the *Princeton Review*, April, 1860.

And the vital point with any system of philosophy is upon these fundamental inquiries.

Hamilton, now, on these points professed to stand, generally, on the basis of the Scotch philosophy—admitting certain ultimate principles of belief, and contending for the veracity of immediate consciousness in its affirmation of their objective, as well as subjective, validity. He illustrated these positions with profound learning; defined the doctrine of common sense; showed that it was legitimate, and how it was to be applied; and set forth the criteria by which its principles are to be tested. (See the Dissertations appended to Reid's Works.) So far, so good. But was this the whole of his system? Did he simply repeat and purify Reid and Stewart? Did he even accept these principles as they did? Their ultimate philosophy was in them. Was Hamilton's likewise? Many seem to think so; although somewhat startled occasionally by what he says about "the imbecility of the mind" as a source of many of its ultimate truths; about the Infinite as a purely negative notion; about Time and Space as subjective conditions of thought; and especially about causality (a pet test of the Scotch ultimate in philosophy) and substance, as expressing the powerlessness of the mind to think rather than any positive thoughts. But the fact is, that, underlying all of Hamilton's statements as to the principles of common sense, there is a theory of knowledge, entirely different from any previously recognized in the Scotch school, and derived chiefly from the system of Kant, of which he was a thorough student. This theory came out in connection with Hamilton's criticisms of the philosophy of Cousin and the Germans. In order to refute the pretensions of the transcendental philosophers he took positions, which, we believe, really undermine the main principles of the Scotch systems, as rational and ultimate. In attempting to rebut the philosophy of the Unconditioned, he left the philosophy of the Conditioned without any basis in man's rational nature.

Instead of the philosophy of common sense, which bids us rest with an unquestioning assurance upon the fundamental laws of belief, he has given us a system which reduces all thought to contradictory propositions, both of which are ut-

terly inconceivable, yet one of which, he says, we must accept; which resolves the infinite and the absolute into mere negations; which declares that philosophy "is at best the reflection of a reality we cannot know," and that "the last and highest consecration of all true religion must be an altar—*To the unknown and unknowable God.*" With the philosophy of the absolute, in his interpretation of it, he declares that he so far agrees, as "to make the knowledge of *nothing* the principle and result of all true philosophy:

"*Scire Nihil*—studium quo nos laetamur utrique."

He makes philosophy to be ultimately a "philosophical nescience," and exalts the "imbecility" and "impotence" of the mind into a "great principle," by which some of its most important phenomena are to be explained, and which, he says, has been "strangely overlooked." This is the grand discovery of his system; herein he is original. And yet, he was not himself a nihilist; he was, on the contrary, a firm believer in an infinite and absolute God, and, so far as can be judged from incidental allusions, in the cardinal doctrines of the Christian system. He even insisted upon the impotence of thought, that he might exalt the necessity of faith—and faith, too, not merely in a religious, but in a psychological, point of view. In the hopeless contradictions into which reason is plunged by an inexorable logic, he also descried a logical necessity for deciding in favor of one of the alternatives; and this decision he apparently construes as an act of belief, sure indeed, but inscrutable. And thus he endeavored to save his system from the sceptical consequences which a mere rationalist would have deduced from it. If he taught that philosophy ended in ignorance, it was in order to enforce the lesson, that blind belief is the beginning, if not the end, of human wisdom. It is a delicate and difficult matter to annul reason as to the objects of faith without undermining faith. And the main question respecting Hamilton's system is, whether the method and arguments by which he reduced reason to utter contradiction do not also prevent the possibility of a rational faith? In undermining the rationalists, has he not also undermined the be-

liever? Over the grave of reason can he erect any other than a sepulchral monument to faith? If the infinite and absolute are annihilated, reduced to nothing, in the eye of reason, has not the eye of faith also lost the very objects of its vision? This is the point to which our discussion leads; but to come to it in an intelligible way we must first expound the Hamiltonian theory of knowledge.

And perhaps we cannot better introduce this matter than by a statement of Hamilton's relation to Kant's theory of knowledge. The object of Kant's Criticism of the Pure Reason was twofold; on the one hand, as against the sceptics (Hume and others), to show that there are in the human mind *à priori* (or transcendental) elements of knowledge, and that these are found in the sphere of sense, and in the laws of the understanding, as well as in the ideas of reason. The mind, by an internal necessity, is compelled to recognize these. On the other hand, as against the dogmatist, Kant's position was, that even this transcendental (that is, *à priori*) knowledge does not attain with entire certainty to the nature of things, to things as they are in themselves. We can, by reason, neither demonstrate, nor yet disprove, the real being of objects corresponding to the ideas of reason. That is, the ideas are necessary, but the objects are still to be sought for. The proof of their existence is to be on other grounds. Yet, at the same time, if this proof can be found in any other way, there is nothing in reason to contradict it, or incompatible with it. On the contrary, since reason has these ideas as its vital and necessary substance, if we can in any other way make out the proof that there are objects corresponding to these ideas, reason itself will welcome them, for these objects are the counterparts of its own ideas. These ideas, now, are those of the Infinite, of the Absolute, of God, of the Soul and its immortality, of the World as a real existence, etc. In his Criticism of the Practical Reason, Kant then gives the proof, on moral grounds, of the real being of God, the world, etc. This is the positive part of his system, by which he sought to fill up the void which pure reason left in the universe. But Kant's theory, notwithstanding these qualifications, has been generally esteemed, in England and

Scotland,* to be unsatisfactory, and even to lead to scepticism; and this, because it denied to reason a valid authority in the premisses, threw the burden of proof upon our moral nature alone, and thus left an apparent schism in the soul. His system seems to throw discredit upon the three grand ideas of God, the soul, and the world, and to annul the possibility, so far as reason is concerned, of the three corresponding sciences, Theology, Cosmology, and Rational Psychology. And in this sense, too, it was further developed in the subsequent German speculations.

How now does Hamilton stand related to this theory? He simply adopts all that Kant asserts about the limits of reason, but finds fault with him for not going far enough. He regards "as conclusive," Kant's analysis of Time and Space into conditions of thought.† But he says, that in making a distinction between Reason and Understanding, he is grievously at fault.

* Also in France. Thus Cousin in his Philosophie de Kant (p. 318): "Nous avons fait voir que la Critique de la raison pure, mal tempérée par celle de la raison pratique, n'est qu'un scepticisme inconséquent." De Rémusat, in his Essais de Philosophie (p. 419 sq.), gives a correct general view of the position of Kant: "Son scepticisme est d'un genre particulier. Kant nous défend également de douter, et d'affirmer, de douter pour notre propre compte, et d'affirmer pour le compte de nature. . . . Kant ne dit pas que les croyances objectives soient necessairement des erreurs; ce sont plutôt des croyances sans titres, des inductions gratuites, que de mensongères apparences. Bien plus, illusions ou vérités, elles sont inévitables, naturelles, indispensables; le sens commun en vit. . . . Le scepticisme de Kant est plein de foi," etc. Comp. Zeitschrift f. Philos. 1860, p. 242.

† *Discussions*, p. 23 *et seq.* The editors of Hamilton's Metaphysics, in the Appendix, p. 647, have given "Fragments from Early Papers. Probably before 1836," in which Hamilton says that his "doctrine holds . . . that Space and Time, as given, are real forms of thought *and conditions of things*;" and that Kant's doctrine reduced them to "mere spectral forms, which have no real archetype in the noumenal or real universe." But Kant certainly held them to be "real forms of thought," and the Discussions say, that his analysis of them into "conditions of thought" is "conclusive." If Hamilton, now, held, as this Appendix declares, that they are also "conditions of things," how could he regard Kant's analysis as "conclusive"? Either this Fragment must be of an earlier date (before 1829, when the article on the Philosophy of the Unconditioned was published), or Hamilton is quite inconsistent in his statements. Besides, Kant did not assert, the very spirit of his philosophy as *critical*, prevented him from asserting, "that space and time have no real archetypes" in the external world. Some of his critics (as Fries and Apelt), interpret him as allowing their external reality.

"Why distinguish Reason from the Understanding, simply on the ground that the former is conversant about, or rather tends toward, the unconditioned; when it is sufficiently apparent that the unconditioned is conceived only as the negative of the conditioned, and also that the conception of contradictories is one." Further, Kant "ought to have shown that the unconditioned can have no objective application, *because it had in fact no subjective affirmation*,—that it afforded no real knowledge, because it contained nothing even conceivable—and that it is self-contradictory, because it is not a notion either simple or positive, but a *fasciculus of negations*," etc. In another Fragment (p. 647 of the *Metaphysics*), Hamilton speaks thus: Kant "endeavored to evince that pure Reason, that Intelligence, is naturally, is necessarily, repugnant with itself, and that speculation ends in a series of insoluble antilogies. In its highest potence, in its very essence, thought is thus infected with contradictions; and the worst and most pervading scepticism is the melancholy result. If I have done any thing meritorious in philosophy, it is in the attempt to explain the phenomena of these contradictions, in showing that they arise only when intelligence transcends the limits to which its legitimate exercise is restricted; and that within these bounds (the Conditioned), natural thought is neither fallible nor mendacious."

These extracts make it apparent, that, as far as our intelligent nature is concerned, the philosophy of Hamilton is a more thorough-going scepticism than that of Kant. He would abolish the distinction between the Reason and the Understanding, simply because his theory leaves nothing for Reason to do, except to gaze upon a blank, to meditate upon a negation. The German left the unconditioned, real in the eye of reason; the Scotchman, abolishing the object, finds no need of the organ. With the latter, the unconditioned has not even "a subjective affirmation." What reason, then, can he give for charging Kant with scepticism, which does not rebound with fatal accuracy upon himself? Does not he also hold, "that thought in its highest potence is infected with contradictions"—and contradictions, too, that involve the absolute negation of the unconditioned? If these contradictions led Kant to "the worst

and most pervading scepticism," how can they do otherwise with Hamilton? His plea here is curious. He avoids the scepticism by saying, that these contradictions only show that "intelligence has transcended its legitimate exercise." Of course, there cannot be any scepticism about the unconditioned, if we have no idea of it; this is nihilism and not scepticism. No contradiction remains, when one of the terms is abolished. The procedure, though violent, is conclusive. But, as between Kant and Hamilton, the matter stands simply thus: Kant, affirming the subjective necessity of the unconditioned, leaves room for proof, on any other grounds than that of Pure Reason, of a reality corresponding to the idea;* but Hamilton, resolving the unconditioned into an "inconceivability," a "negation," leaves no such room; if you attempt the proof you have not got any thing positive to prove. You want to prove the existence of God as unconditioned. Kant says you may, because the unconditioned is a reality in thought; Hamilton must say, the attempt is futile, because you are to prove something utterly inconceivable, a non-entity to thought. We do not agree with Kant's view of the unconditioned, as having merely a subjective rational necessity; we do not see why Pure Reason may not give us the objective, as much as the Practical Reason; why the former is any more subjective than the latter. But yet it seems to us that Kant's position is every way preferable to Hamilton's. The latter is here not only not Scotch, but more Kantian than Kant himself, on the very point most open to objection in the German system. Kant, allowing that Pure Reason asserts the subjective validity and necessity of our highest rational ideas, left room for practical reason to affirm their objective validity, and for a reconciliation of the subjective and objective. Hamilton, denying the

* Thus Kant in his Prolegomena zur Metaphysik, iii. § 60, says: "These transcendental ideas, even if they do not directly contribute to a positive knowledge, (of what is objective), are still of service in annulling the insolent assertions of materialism, naturalism and fatalism, which contract the field of reason—and thus they gain a foothold for our moral ideas, beyond the sphere of mere speculation." Now this advantage, restricted though it be, is just what is forfeited on the basis of Hamilton's theory.

subjective authority, and even reality, of these ideas, making reason to deny them, leaves no chance for our moral nature to affirm them, without setting itself in opposition to our rational nature. All that Hamilton can affirm, at the utmost, is, that we believe in "the incognizable and the inconceivable;" while Kant could say, we believe in the objective reality of that which reason also stamps as necessary and true to itself.

But the views of Hamilton, as a consistent and logical thinker, run back into his general theory about the powers of the mind and the nature of knowledge. His metaphysical system rests upon his psychology and his logic; and, in fact, his logic determines his metaphysics.

The first point in his psychology, significant of the character of his system, is his denial of any real distinction between the Reason and the Understanding; not merely a denial of the propriety of applying these terms to different functions, or relations, of the intelligence (for the word is here of small account), but his denial that there is any such specific difference in the mode of our intelligent or intellectual activity, as may be denoted by these words. Accordingly, he calls upon his class at one time to remark, that he avoids the use of the term "idea;" his words for the highest acts or objects of thought are "concept" or "notion." His reason, now, for abolishing this distinction is hinted at in the passage above cited from his Discussions; he will not allow reason to be a distinguishable capacity, because its alleged objects (the Infinite and Absolute, etc.), are merely negations of thought; and we do not, of course, require a special power to know a negation—"the knowledge of contradictories is one."

But does he not, it may be asked, allow the existence of a capacity to apprehend necessary truths, and call by the name of Common Sense, or the Regulative Faculty, what others call the Reason? And does he not expressly identify the two? (See *Metaphysics*, p. 277, 285, 681.) And does he not also call this, the *locus principiorum?* He does this: but, under what restriction and condition? Simply, under the restriction, that the highest capacity of the intelligence, shall be "cabin'd and confined" to the conditioned: and that all the unconditioned

shall be thrown out as a negative quantity. If Kant had only done this, he says, he would have attained to the true philosophy, and modified all his categories (*Discussions*, p. 25; *Metaphysics*, p. 681,) and "given a totally new aspect to his *Critique*": which is undoubtedly true.

Does he not also, it is inquired, recognize the existence of universal and necessary truths, and even 'anxiously" insist upon them? There is no room for doub there, either. But he introduces a "new" kind of necessity, which "all preceding philosophers" have overlooked, viz. "a negative necessity," a necessity springing, not from the mind's power, but from its powerlessness; and under this negative necessity, which simply means, that the mind cannot think them, he puts the substantial elements of reason. Thus in his *Metaphysics*, p.526, when discussing the principle on which our ultimate cognitions are dependent, he grants that "the quality of necessity" is what discriminates a "native from an adventitious notion." But "it is evident, that the quality of necessity in a cognition may depend on two different and opposite principles, inasmuch as it may either be the result of a power, or of a powerlessness, of the thinking principle." Mathematical truths, the "notions" of existence, space and time, and the logical rules, are positive. "But besides these there are other necessary forms of thought, which by all philosophers have been regarded as standing on precisely the same footing, which to me seem to be of a totally different kind. In place of being the result of a power, the necessity which belongs to them is merely a consequence of the impotence of our faculties." And then he goes on and applies this to space and time, as infinite or absolute, and to causality; and says it likewise applies to the idea, or, as he would say, "notion" of substance. All these, and kindred truths, belong to common sense, simply under the category of imbecility and inconceivability. Is this good, sound, old-fashioned Scotch philosophy? And he is here almost right in intimating, that "all philosophers" have had an entirely different view. Most, even of the empirical philosophers, have been content with trying to prove that we have no faculty by which we can know the highest spiritual truths; but

here is a more dexterous method; if all the appropriate objects of the faculty are annihilated in the view of reason, all that remains for any supposed faculty to do is to gaze upon an empty void—certainly a very unprofitable performance, even for a philosopher. The very grandeur of the human mind, by the consent of the greatest thinkers and theologians of all times, has been made to consist in its power of knowing the real being of an Infinite and Absolute First Cause. Its weakness has been put in the capacity of fathoming what it yet knows as the most real and positive of beings. But Hamilton transforms its power into a powerlessness, its grandeur into an imbecility.

And there is here a great underlying question, with which he never grapples, though it is cardinal in psychology. Is it not of the very nature of Reason to have an immediate knowledge or vision of spiritual truth and being, even as perception gazes upon and knows directly the phenomena of sense? Is not the knowledge of spiritual things as immediate and as real (to say the least) as the knowledge of material things? If in perception, as Hamilton so cogently shows, we are immediately cognizant (even conscious of) an external reality; are we not also cognizant, in as direct a way, of what is above the limitations of time and sense? He has proved, that no fictions of ideas intervene between perception and its objects. The same theory of knowledge, applied in the spiritual domain, would lead to a like inference as to the truths and facts, which he so violently banishes into the sphere of negations—as if they were the products of a logical art, born of the principle of contradiction. On any consistent theory of knowledge, the ideas of reason are no more subjective than the perceptions of sense. All knowledge implies an object as well as a subject. Human reason is not the seat, so much as it is the organ, of principles; just as sense is not the seat of phantasms, but the organ by which we know phenomena. By a higher right than can be claimed in the philosophy of perception for a real knowledge of its objects, we may also claim, that reason beholds its objects with an unveiled face. The phantasms of the schools have been swept away from the theory of natural vision; but those

other phantasms, the abstractions of sense mistaken for the realities of reason, still remain to perplex our vision and our philosophy.

The bearing and relation of the Hamiltonian theory will become still more apparent, when we consider his more precise statements about thought or knowledge. They are all shaped by the same bias; and they are in the main consistently shaped. In the Appendix to his Discussions (p. 567, sq.) is an articulate statement of the *Conditions of the Thinkable Systematised: Alphabet of Human Thought*, containing his "matured" views. All thinking is here distributed first of all into Negative and Positive. Thinking is *negative*, (i. e. "a negation of thought") when existence is not mentally affirmed=Nothing. This negative thinking is of two kinds, inasmuch as the one or the other of the conditions of positive thinking is violated. These conditions are *non-contradiction* and *relativity*. Violating the condition of non-contradiction, we have the *really impossibile* (nihil purum). Violating the condition of relativity, we have the *inconceivable* (nihil cogitabile); "what may exist, but what we are unable to conceive existing. This impossible, the schools have not contemplated." It is under this last, that the unconditioned, the absolute, cause, etc., come. They are simply inconceivable—impossible to thought. What now is *positive* thinking or thought? His general statement is, "Thinking is Positive (and this in propriety is the only real thought), when *existence* is predicated of an object." It can be brought to bear only under two conditions: 1. *Non-contradiction;* 2. *Relativity.* As to the first, Non-contradiction—this condition is insuperable; it is a law of thought as well as of things. To violate it, gives the impossible; to satisfy it gives only the *Not-impossible.* It involves three laws: the logical laws of *Identity*, *Contradiction*, and *Excluded middle.* That is, there is no thought, no thinking, excepting as conformed to the laws of logic; the logical laws are the metes and bounds of thinking. The other condition of positive thought is *relativity*—"the conditionally relative, and not the absolutely or infinitely relative." This is not a law of *things*, but of *thought;* "for we find that there are contradictory opposites, one of which,

by the rule of Excluded Middle, must be true, but neither of which can by us be positively thought, as possible." Under this come (omitting the divisions) the necessary and primary relations of Self and Not-self, Substance and Quality, Time, Space, and Degree, and a host of contingent or derivative relations.

Such is Hamilton's general theory of knowledge, apart from its application to particular points. It is repeated substantially in the same form in different parts of his Works,—with additional illustrations in his *Metaphysics*, p. 526, *seq.*, 679–681, and *Logic*, Lectures v and vi; it is also at the basis of Mansel's *Prolegomena Logica*, and of his *Lectures on the Limits of Religious Thought*. It is the theory of knowledge, on the ground of which all thought of the Infinite and Absolute is demonstrated to be impossible. This particular application of it we do not yet consider, but would now only inquire whether this be a correct theory of all thought or thinking.

In this theory it is supposed that all possible knowledge is included. And what the theory amounts to is this—that all real thought is either logical thinking, or the thought only of relations. If the logical laws are violated, we have the *really impossible:* if the law of relativity is violated, we have the *impossible to thought* (nihil cogitabile). As far, now, as the logical laws are concerned (resting on the principle of contradiction, or rather, of non-contradiction), these can only give a necessity of thought, but cannot give a knowledge of existence. As Hamilton himself says, the argument from Contradiction is "negative, but not positive; it may refute, but it is incompetent to establish. It may show what is not, but never of itself, what is." And further: "It analyses what is given, but does not originate information, or add any thing, through itself, to our stock of knowledge." In short, it may be a negative test, but cannot be a positive source of knowledge. If I want to find out whether I have an idea of any thing as existent, or as real, logic cannot tell me: the appeal must be to what is before or behind all logic, that is, to immediate consciousness. All that these logical laws can do, is to keep me from applying contradictory predicates to any exist-

ence. But the materials upon which logic works must all be taken from some other source than itself. *Knowledge* is not derived from these logical laws; ideas are not; truths are not; intuitions are not, etc. This is so evident, as soon as the nature and province of logic are correctly grasped, that it would hardly be necessary to dwell upon it, had not Hamilton (as may appear in the sequel) himself urged these logical laws beyond their strict and proper application.

The other form or mode of positive thought is that of *relativity*, or the knowledge of relations. And in Hamilton's scheme, as he himself expounds it, this mode of knowledge is the only real knowledge of existence which men can have. Here is the grand assumption contained in this Alphabet of Human Thought. All *affirmation of existence* which the mind can make, all that it can conceive to exist, is in relations, is that which is relative. All else, all but relations, it is in the very nature of thought impossible to think—that is, *to affirm that it exists.* He does not merely say that the mind cannot grasp or comprehend any thing but relations; but he says, that thought cannot affirm the existence of any thing but relations. All else is "impossible to thought." This assumption is the underlying principle of the whole theory. In its nature and consequences it deserves a careful consideration.

It is difficult to say just what Sir W. Hamilton means by the proposition, that all our knowledge is only relative. Sometimes he uses it as equivalent to the statement, that we can know only what is related to us (subjective); sometimes as meaning, that we can know only relations, or phenomena—in distinction from knowing the essence or substance; sometimes, and most frequently, he means by it, that we can be cognizant only of the relative, the finite, the phenomenal, in distinction from, or in opposition to, a knowledge of the absolute and the infinite. In his summary about it (*Metaphysics*, p. 104) he says "that knowledge is relative; 1°. Because existence is not cognizable, absolutely and in itself, but only in special modes. 2°. Because these modes can be known only if they stand in a certain relation to our faculties. 3°. Because the modes, thus relative to our faculties, are presented to, and known by,

the mind only under modifications determined by these faculties themselves." On p. 102, in introducing the subject, he says: "That whatever we know is not known as it is, *but only as it seems to us to be.*" And in the Appendix, pp. 688, 689, he has a further statement of the "doctrine of Relation," written in connection with a proposed Memoir of Mr. Stewart, in which he states (in substance) that "every Relation supposes at least two things, or, as they are called, terms thought as relative;" that "a relation is a unifying act,—a synthesis; but it is likewise an antithesis;" and that "relatives are *severally discriminated;* inasmuch as the one is specially what is referred, the other what is referred to"—the relative and correlative; and further, "that relations always coëxist in nature and in thought"—so that "*we cannot conceive, we cannot know, we cannot define the one relative, without, pro tanto, conceiving, knowing, defining also the other;*" and this he says, is "equivalent to a declaration that the Absolute (the non-Relative) is for us incogitable, and even incognizable." In another passage (*Discussions*, p. 574) he makes the knowledge of the relative to be a synonym for a knowledge of "the conditioned, the phenomenal, the finite." Taking these various statements together, what is the purport of the doctrine that we know only the Relative?

So far as it asserts, in general terms, that we can know only what is related to us and our faculties, it is doubtless true, and almost a truism. All knowledge implies and involves a relation between the subject knowing and the object known. The act of knowing can be construed only under this relation. But this manifestly decides nothing as to the character of the objects known; it has nothing to do with the propositions, that we can know only relations and not substances, or, that we can know only the relative and not the absolute. It only says, that we cannot know any thing, be it relations or substances, the relative or the absolute, without an act of knowledge in relation to it. In knowing the absolute, for example, a relation between us and the absolute is implied—that is, the relation of knowing. It amounts to saying, that we cannot know any thing without knowing it.

But let us advance another step. The doctrine of relative knowledge may also mean, that what we know is known only under the modifications imposed by our faculties themselves, that is, the subject determines the object. This is carried to its extreme in the statement of Hamilton (above), "that whatever we know is not known as it is, but *only as it seems to us to be.*" The doctrine of relative knowledge then means, that we do not know any thing as objectively real, but simply as having a subjective validity and worth. But Hamilton's doctrine of perception, that we are immediately cognizant of the objective, is, it seems to us, opposed to this. And the true theory of knowledge is also opposed to it. To be sure, we know only through and by our faculties; but may not our faculties be such as to give us a direct, an immediate knowledge of objective reality whether material or spiritual? The medium is transparent. This is the case with all intuitions. In all real knowledge the object determines the subject, as much as the subject the object. The mind can know what is entirely different from itself; and this Hamilton himself concedes, when arguing about perception. (*Metaphysics*, p. 351, 401, *seq.*) The position, "that whatever we know is not known as it is, but only as it seems to us to be," also resolves, in its very statement, all knowledge into an illusion, and a conscious illusion to boot. We know that we know only the seeming; how can we know this, unless we also know that there is a difference between the seeming and the real? and how can we know that there is a real, if all that we know or can know is only a seeming? Subjective idealism is the only consistent result of this theory of knowledge.—And, at any rate, granting the theory, it is still something very diverse from the positions, that we can know only relations or only the relative. It does not begin to prove either of these positions. For, though the mind can know only in a knowing relation, and though it can know only under the modification of its faculties—the whole question remains, Are these faculties such that they can be cognizant objectively only of relations or of the relative? And even if it were shown that we could know only relations, it is still to be proved that we can also know only the relative (in distinction from the absolute).

Can the mind, then, know only relations of objects? That is the next possible sense of the theory of relative knowledge. The proposition here is in respect to relations among the objects of knowledge, and not to the relation between the subject knowing and the object known. But here, again, very different affirmations may be confounded and need to be distinguished. The mind is cognizant only of the relations of objects; this may mean, that as all objects are related to each other, the mind knows the objects only in these their relations; or it may mean, that the mind knows only the relations of objects, and not the objects themselves—only the phenomena and not the essence or substance.

That Hamilton, under relative knowledge, included the first of these, is apparent from his scheme of relativity (*Discussions*, p. 567), where substance and quality, degree, etc., are adduced as instances of relativity; from his express statement (p. 569), that "the relations of existence" (that is, the relations "in the object of knowledge, the thing thought about"), are what he refers to. And here what is true in the theory is perhaps to be found. All the objects of existence and of knowledge are presented to us in relations; no object in being or in thought is isolated, is unrelated. And we know the objects, too, in part, in a great measure it may be, in and through these their relations. But this does not prove that we know only the phenomena and not the substance, only the activity and not the agent, only the relations and not the objects. And this last proposition is the one which the theory requires. In reference to and against it we urge the following considerations.

It does not follow (1) from the position, that in all knowledge there is a relation of the knowing subject to the object known. There may, there must, be such a relation; but, then, why may not the relation as well be a direct one between the knower and the object, as between the knower and the relation? (2) An immediate knowledge of relations is just as difficult to be conceived as an immediate knowledge of the objects. If we can know relations directly and simply, there is nothing in the nature of knowledge to prevent us from knowing the objects as well. While, if all knowledge is reduced to subjectivity (if the

subject determines the object), we can no more know objective relations truly than any thing else; and yet Hamilton implies that we can truly know these relations. (3) The knowledge of the relations of things is, in many cases, precisely the most difficult and inscrutable part of all our knowledge. Thus, the relation of self and not-self, that of substance and phenomena even, that of subject and its attributes, the relations of body and soul, the relation of time to eternity, of bounded to absolute space—here are some of the most difficult and inscrutable questions which perplex philosophy. (4) It is utterly inconceivable that we should know a relation, when in ignorance of what is related (i. e. of the related objects). It is the objects themselves that go to make up the relation. Such knowledge would be like a knowledge of the copula between a subject and predicate, while ignorant of the subject and predicate themselves. In the very relation the nature or character of the objects related is expressed. And Hamilton, when treating of the doctrine of relations by itself (*Metaphysics*, p. 689), as we have already cited him, says: "The relations (the *things* relative and correlative) as relative, always coëxist in nature and coëxist in thought. . . We cannot conceive, we cannot know, we cannot define the one relative, without, *pro tanto*, conceiving, knowing, defining also the other." (5) Applied to the relation of substance and phenomena, of essence and attributes (as when it is said we know the phenomena but not the substance), the very law of relativity is violated, when we say that we know the phenomena and do not know the substance, for these are mutually related terms. And since the phenomena reveal the substance or essence, we certainly know as much about the essence as we do about the phenomena. If, in any case, the essence were fully expressed in the phenomena, we should know the full essence. As applied to mind, we certainly have a direct knowledge of self in every act of consciousness. And as applied to material or external objects, we have a distinct conception about each individual, quite different from its phenomenal activity. (6) Hamilton's definition, oft-repeated, of *positive knowledge* is inconsistent with this theory. That definition is, that positive thinking is the "*affirmation of existence.*"

"Thinking is POSITIVE when *existence* is predicated of an object." Now, we do mentally predicate existence of substances and essences, as well as of phenomena; we do this so distinctly and necessarily, that we say the phenomenal is only phenomenal, and contrast it with a permanent, underlying nature or essence, which we know to be there. So that, in fact, our *positive* thinking is of the substance and not of the phenomena. Else were this whole universe to us an "insubstantial pageant."

The other form in which the relational theory of knowledge is held is, that we know only the relative in distinction from the absolute. "We think," says Hamilton (*Metaph.* p. 689), "one thing only as we think two things, mutually and at once; which again is equivalent to a declaration that the Absolute (the Non-relative) is for us incogitable, and even incognizable." The general question here suggested as to the knowledge of the absolute, and whether this be only negative, we cannot now enter upon. We concede, that an absolute which is not related to us and to our powers of knowing, we cannot know, any more than we can know a relative, which is not related to us. A non-relative, in this sense, is of course incogitable. It may also be true, that we cannot know the absolute apart from the relative—a merely abstract absolute; the knowledge of the two may be indissolubly connected. But the real question is, Can we know the absolute as well as the relative? Can we affirm, in positive thought, the existence of the one as well as of the other? And as to this we might ask, how can we know even the relative, without having an idea of the absolute? Are not the two terms correlative? It seems to us, that so far is it from being true that we know only the relative, that the fact of the case is, we could not say *relative*, unless we also thought *absolute;* the former word implies the latter just as much as effect implies cause. And when we come to the heart of the matter, it will be found, we think, that the absolute is that which is most positive in thought, and that the stigma of negation is rather to be applied to the relative; for all that is relative implies a negation. But we cannot now pursue this point any further.*

* Hamilton quite uniformly, bating occasional inconsistencies, uses the words absolute and infinite, not only as logical contradictions of each other (so that, e. g.

The Hamiltonian theory of knowledge, as we have seen, divides all thought into negative and positive; makes all positive knowledge, all that is thinkable, to be simply and solely of the relative, the conditional, the finite, the phenomenal. All else is really impossible, or impossible to thought. Of course, then, all that distinguishes God from the creature is, at least, impossible to thought—it surpasses the bounds of conceivability. All the predicates by which God is defined, in distinction from the phenomenal, express inconceivabilities, are mere negative notions, indicate the absence of thought. This is the case with the terms infinite, absolute, first cause, substance or essence;—immensity, eternity, self-existence, independence of being, etc., must also fall under the same category of inconceivability. And not only so, but many of the fundamental beliefs of the human mind, those principles which formed the very substance of the common sense of the Scotch school—all of them, in short, which do not express mere phenomenal relations, come under the same category. In respect to some of them (Cause and Substance, and even Free Will), Hamilton concedes this; and in respect to others, the same arguments and reasons apply.

It becomes, therefore, a most important inquiry, in estimat-

if God be absolute he cannot be infinite), but so that both are logical contradictories of the relative and finite; that is, as pure negations, non-relative, non-finite. And he every where implies that this is their only sense. So that, if they should be taken as positive, the relative and the finite would be negatived, would be lost in them. We may speak of this more fully hereafter. Dr. Hickok, in his *Rational Cosmology*, Chapter I, examines the idea of the Absolute in a thorough manner, and makes the necessary distinctions between the absolute in the understanding, and the absolute as given in the reason. Professor Ulrici, of Halle, editor of the *Zeitschrift f. Philosophie*, one of the most vigorous opponents of the pantheistic schemes, in a review of Hamilton (*Zeitschrift*, Bd. 27, p. 62), says, that taking the absolute as purely negative, it is of course incogitable; but he adds that here is the very question, namely, "Whether it be a mere negation, or whether the negation here is not a mere consequence of the positive contents of the idea of the absolute. We maintain the latter. We hold that the absolute is not conditioned by any thing else, and so far it is the unconditioned, but yet only because it is itself the *positive* condition of every thing else." And he says that Hamilton's own principle that 'consciousness is only possible under plurality and difference,' necessitates the inference "that the relative and conditional, as such, cannot be thought without distinguishing it from the independent and absolute, which condition it (i. e. the relative), and therefore are themselves unconditioned."

ing the philosophy of the conditioned, how the sceptical results, which seem to lie so near at hand, are to be avoided. By banishing all these truths from the sphere of reason and thought, the absolute philosophy was refuted, was annihilated. But still Hamilton was a Scotchman, and believed in an infinite and absolute God, in the immensity of space and the eternity of time, in cause and substance, in free will and motion. To his intellect they were merely inconceivable, mere negatives. But still they *were*—they were *real*—they were forms and modes of being. His philosophy, his logic, said *no* to them; but something else in him was always saying *yes*. What is that something else? He could not be a sceptic, still less a nihilist, even though his intellect was perpetually saying, *nihil purum* or *nihil cogitabile*, to the infinite and the absolute cause.

And the way in which he tried to get out of this difficulty, so as to affirm what he denied, and deny what he affirmed, seems to us to be one of the most remarkable feats, or rather succession of feats, to be found in the annals of philosophy. He was like a strong man bound by his own logical withes; and the vigor and dexterity of his powers are no where more conspicuous than in the hopeless attempts and desperate theoretic shifts to which he had recourse. He could not, and would not, accept the simple affirmation of reason, of consciousness, as to the real being of what is absolute, of cause, substance, and the like; but believing in them still, he must somehow or other make this square with the position that they are negative and inconceivable. He did this, partly in a psychological way, and partly in a logical way.

Psychologically, the way he met the difficulty was this. He hypostatized the imbecility of the mind into a function, and its powerlessness into a power, and made the very impotence of thought to be the source of all these fundamental ideas. By this arduous process, he seemed to think, that what is negative in thought, might still be held as positive in belief; that what is logically inconceivable, might be made the firm foundation of religion and ethics. Reason, he says, does not here deceive, for reason has nothing to do in the matter; it is all out of its province. To reason it is indeed all night; but the very

imbecility of the intellect ushers us into the presence of the most august truths, the very negation of thought gives us the most positive and real of our beliefs. And he rather prides himself on this discovery; he not unfrequently boasts of it as something which has escaped "all preceding philosophers." That we do him no injustice in these statements, will be seen from a few citations. In the *Dissertations*, p. 23, he says: "By a wonderful revelation, we are thus, in the very consciousness of our inability to conceive aught above the relative and finite, inspired with a belief in the existence of something unconditioned beyond the sphere of all comprehensible reality. In his *Metaphysics*, p. 526: "The imbecility of the human mind constitutes a great negative principle, to which sundry of the most important phenomena of the intelligence [*sic*] may be referred." In the same connection, speaking of "necessary forms of thought," he says there are some which "all philosophers" have regarded as positive, but "which seem to me to be of a totally different kind. In place of being the result of a power, the necessity which belongs to them is merely a consequence of the impotence of our faculties;" and then he applies this to space and time, cause, etc. (Yet still he verbally implies that they "are necessary forms of thought.") In another passage, p. 681, he says: "These and such-like impotencies of positive thought have been strangely overlooked." In the same work, p. 548, even "*the Conditioned*," it is said, is to be viewed, "not as a power, but as a powerlessness of the mind;" but this is so strange a position, that we are half inclined to think there must be a misprint in the text. Once more, in the *Metaphysics*, Appendix V, speaking of Kant's conclusive analysis of Judgments, into *analytic* and *synthetic*, Hamilton says, that "he omitted a third kind . . . which do not seem to spring from a positive power of the mind, but only from the inability of the mind to conceive the contrary." And these "negative, synthetic judgments," he adds, are equivalent to the Common Sense of Reid. The truths, then, which Reid derived from Common Sense, Hamilton derives from this impotency of the mind to conceive either

them, or the contrary of them. Would Reid have regarded this as a valid support of his theory?

But besides this imbecility, or impotence of the mind, as the source of its most vital beliefs, Hamilton also has a logical method of arriving at the same result. Logic, in fact, shows us how the mental imbecility can perform the operation. And here is where the theory becomes stranger than fiction; but it is so often reiterated, that we are compelled to believe, that its author held it to be perfectly valid. The phenomenon to be accounted for, let us recollect, is this: All positive thought leaves the Infinite and Absolute, Cause, Substance, etc., a blank, a negation; but yet we believe in them. The absolute philosophy is annulled by the negation; how is the Scotch faith to be saved? To leave it all in the position of "a negation of all thought" would look too much like nihilism; but yet, in "thought" there is no means of rescue. Is there not some method left? Yes, there in one such. Positive thinking is realized under two conditions, viz. the logical laws (*non-contradiction*), and *relativity*. If the logical laws be violated, we have a mere impossibility. But if the law of relativity be violated, we have, not an absolute impossibility, but only an incogitability (*a nihil cogitabile*). But the measure of thought is not the measure of being (of course not, but is it not the measure of any possible knowledge of being to us? But we let that pass.) Now—if it can be demonstrated, even though we cannot conceive it, that this "incognizable and incogitable" Infinite and Absolute must still *be*—then, we may save the belief, though we deny that positive thinking has any thing to do with it. And it is the attempt at such a logical demonstration of the real being of what we cannot conceive to be, which makes the specialty of Hamilton's system. Most persons would have thought it much simpler just to say, the mind compels us to such belief. That, however, in Hamilton's system would leave the belief in just a contradictory relation to the thought. But if the logical law of non-contradiction itself compels to the belief, then the triumph of logic is complete; and the Scotch philosophy is saved, while the German absolutists are annihilated. And Hamilton prepares for this consummation in

various ways; he makes, e. g. different sorts of necessary ideas—one sort being derived from the mind's impotency; he proposes a new division (as we have seen above) of Kant's synthetic judgments—a "synthetic negative," etc. But the consummation itself we must give in his own words: it is announced not infrequently as "a grand law of thought," which is to solve the difficulties inhering in the philosophy of nescience.

The first hint of it is in the article on Cousin (*Discussions*, p. 22): "The conditioned is the mean between two extremes—two inconditionates exclusive of each other, neither of which *can be conceived as* possible, but of which, on the principle of Contradiction and Excluded Middle,* *one must be admitted as necessary*." The mind, it is added, "is not represented as conceiving two propositions subversive of each other, as equally possible; but only, as unable to understand as possible either of two extremes; one of which however, on the ground of their mutual repugnance, it is compelled to recognize as true." In the Appendix, p. 569, speaking of Relativity, as a condition of positive thought, he says: "We should not think it as a law of *things*, but merely as a law of *thought*; for we find that there are contradictory opposites, *one of which*, by the rule of Excluded Middle, *must be true*, but neither of which can by us be positively thought as possible." (Under this come, not only the Infinite, but also *substance*, "which cannot be conceived by us, except negatively" (p. 570); *time* as infinite or eternal, and even "time present is conceivable only as a negation;" so too, *motion*; *space*, as either infinitely unbounded, or absolutely bounded; *degree*, as either absolute or relative; and even *cause* is resolved into this "impotence to conceive either of two contradictories.") These same positions are frequently

* The law of Contradiction is this: we cannot affirm and deny the same predicate of the same subject at the same time. The principle of Excluded Middle (i. e. the middle between two contradictories) is this, that of Contradictory predicates we can only affirm one of an object; if one be affirmed, the other is denied. It is the principle of disjunctive judgments. The first law (Non-Contradiction) says, *Alpha est, Alpha non est*—both propositions cannot be true. The law of Excluded Middle says, *Aut est Alpha aut non est*—one of these assertions is true, the other not. Hamilton's *Logic*, 62, *Metaphysics*, 526.

reiterated. In the *Metaphysics*, p. 527: "Now, then, I lay it down as a law which, though not generalized by philosophers, can be easily proved to be true by its application to phenomena: That all that is conceivable in thought, lies between two extremes, which, as contradictory of each other, cannot both be true, but of which, as mutual contradictories, one must. For example, we conceive space—we cannot but conceive space. . . But space must be either bounded or not bounded. These are contradictory alternatives; on the principle of Contradiction they cannot both be true, and, on the principle of Excluded Middle, *one must be true.*" This is then applied to both the maximum and minimum of space; and to time, under the same categories. This he further says (p. 548), is the "Law of the Conditioned"—"that the conceivable has always two opposite extremes, and that the extremes are equally inconceivable;" a law, "which, however palpable when stated, has never been generalized so far as I know, by any philosopher" (p. 552). The same law is applied to Causality, at length; but of this we cannot now speak further. One other extract will complete our materials for forming a judgment of this theory. Speaking of the law of Contradiction (Appendix to *Metaphysics*, p. 680), he says, if left to it alone, "we should be unable competently to attempt any argument on some of the most interesting and important questions. For there are many problems in the philosophy of the mind, where the solution necessarily lies between what are, to us, the one or the other of two counter, and therefore, incompatible alternatives, neither of which we are able to conceive as possible, but of which, by the very condition of thought, we are compelled to acknowledge that the one or the other cannot but be; and it is as supplying this deficiency, that what has been called the argument from Common Sense becomes principally useful." And then he adds, that this principle of Contradiction has two forms; one, the *Logical*, is well known; the other—"what may be called the *Psychological* application—while it necessarily declares that, of Contradictories, both cannot, but one must, be, still bilaterally admits that we may be unable positively to think the possibility of

either alternative. This, the psychological phasis of the law, is comparatively unknown, and has been generally neglected." And then follow the usual illustrations about Existence, Space and Time.

To this scheme it were needless to deny the merit of great ingenuity, and even subtlety of thought. It is, at least, carrying the logical laws to their extreme limits of application; even if it does not surpass these limits. It seems at first sight to save, what Hamilton's general theory of knowledge left hopeless. Though, at the same time, the attempt, by logical thinking upon what cannot be thought, to demonstrate, that we must believe what we cannot conceive, would have deterred any less skilful thinker. And has he not after all been caught in the meshes of his own logic?

In considering this theory, we leave out of account several assumptions involved in it, which are liable to objection—or at least open to debate. One of these is, the general statement as to what constitutes positive thought—that it is found only in the sphere of the relative and finite. If positive thought consists, as Hamilton says, ultimately in the affirmation of existence—why may it not be applicable as well to absolute as to relative being? Another query would be as to the terms "thought" and "knowledge"—whether they can be lawfully restricted in the same way. Still another point would be, as to the nature even of "negative thinking"—whether the "negation of thought," in respect to any object, does not involve a denial of the real being of that object, so far as it is possible for us to know any thing about it.* Nor

* In a note to the second Edinburgh edition of his *Discussions* (not found in the American edition, but cited by Calderwood, p. 63), Hamilton says: "It might be supposed that Negative thinking, being a negation of thought, is in propriety a negation therefore of all mental activity. But this would be erroneous. . . Even negative thought is realized only under the condition of Relativity and Positive thinking. For example, we try to think—to predicate existence in some way, but find ourselves unable. We then predicate *incogitability*, and if we do not always predicate, as an equivalent, (objective) *non-existence*, we shall never err." Calderwood, in the connection, shows the inconsistency between this statement, and Hamilton's previous strong assertion—that in all cases of negative thinking "*the result is nothing.*" If positive thinking be the affirmation of existence—

will we stop to comment on the statement so often made, that "all which is conceivable in thought, lies between two contradictory extremes, which are both equally inconceivable;" though it is difficult to see what this statement about "what is conceivable" (even if true) has to do with the case. It does not in the least affect the logical inference about the two contradictories; the conceivable is certainly not, in Hamilton's view, the *Excluded Middle* between these contradictories; for all that the law of Excluded Middle says, is, that of two contradictory predicates, we can only affirm one, and must deny the other.

But to come to the demonstration itself, viz. that the principle of Contradiction and Excluded Middle proves that there are cases of contradictory opposites, one of which must be true, but both of which are equally inconceivable, as e. g., that space is either bounded or unbounded—both inconceivable, one necessary: or, as Hamilton abusively contrasts the terms, space is either *absolute* (completed) or *infinite* (never can be completed); it cannot be both (by the law of contradiction), it must be one (by the law of excluded middle); yet both are equally incogitable. To this process, and its conclusion, we urge the following objections:

(1.) The demonstration is a logical one, and of course must involve a positive judgment, and *positive thought* in the conclusion. The principle of Contradiction cannot be applied except as there is both an affirmation and a negation. In drawing the conclusion, we affirm in thought one of the contradictory predicates. Space is either unbounded or bounded. If we decide for the unbounded, it is a positive affirmation that the unbounded is. And Hamilton himself can hardly state his case without implying the positive *thinking* which his theory denies. He calls it a "judgment," negative indeed, but still a "synthetic negative judgment." He calls it "*a law of thought*" "to think the unknown" (*Metaph.* p. 97), and then says (p. 99): "It is no object of knowledge." He makes it to be a "necessity"

negative thinking must mean "that existence is not attributed to an object." And how negative thinking can be no act of thinking, and yet a "mental activity," it is certainly difficult to divine.

of thought, although it be also negative. Thus admitting the process to be correct, it refutes his own position, that the thought in the case is merely negative.

(2.) But according to the terms of the proposed demonstration, it is utterly impossible that there should be such a judgment, as he declares to be logically necessary. The state of the case is this: we have two absolutely contradictory, and entirely inconceivable, predicates (the absolute and infinite, in his sense) to be applied to a given object. Now, if both are inconceivable, we cannot make any distinction between them. Both are to thought mere negations—that is, one and the same thing, or rather—nothing. Consequently they cannot be compared—still less put as contradictories. Thought sees a black blank in both, and consequently cannot decide between them. There is no case for adjudication. But if there be a case, then the inconceivabilities must be conceived, positively thought, as different, and distinguishable from each other. If they are, or can be, so thought, then, one at least of the contradictories is not a mere negative. So that either the process cannot be conducted, or the theory of negative thought is baseless.

(3.) But even supposing that their inconceivability did not prevent a decision—and that, on the principle of Excluded Middle, one of the contradictories must be true—logic could never tell us *which of them to take.* All that it can do is to put the dilemma before us, and say, between two negations of thought, two inconceivabilities, make your election. Space is limited or unlimited; time has or has not a beginning and an ending;—neither is conceivable, both cannot be true, one must be true. But which is true? Suppose I say "limited," and my neighbor says "unlimited." What here decides? Logic is speechless. It deserts us at the crisis.

But we make the decision, it may be said, by belief, by common sense; and this is what the doctrine of common sense means. But if this be so, then manifestly, the logical laws are not final, the law of excluded middle does not say the last word; there is a power above it, which is to declare, and which must declare, which of the two contradictory alternatives is true, and which is false. Logic merely brings the case before

this higher tribunal. You may call that ultimate arbiter, Common Sense, or Intuition, or Reason; but it is there, and says the last word, and forms the final judgment. And that judgment is the positive affirmation, that real objective truth belongs to one, and only one, of the alternatives. And as we have got to come to this at last, why not start with it? This logical bifurcation simply serves to set the decisions of reason and common sense in an indubitable light. As far as affirming the real being, the reality, of either of the opposite poles is concerned, it is simply a grand impertinence.

(4.) But that we must show more fully. Hamilton's process here is a violation of the very nature of formal Logic, according to his own definitions and statements. We do not now speak of logic in the higher sense in which some use it, as including the laws of being as well as of thought, but of logic as Hamilton always uses it, as the science of the laws of thinking. Used in this sense, it is impossible that it should give us objective reality; it has nothing to do with that. As Hamilton says, the argument from Contradiction is "negative, not positive; it may refute, but it is incompetent to establish. *It may show what is not, but never of itself what is.* It is exclusively Logical or Formal, not Metaphysical or real; it proceeds on a necessity of thought, *but never issues in an Ontology or knowledge of Existence.*" Here the metes and bounds of logic are fairly and fully stated. But in applying the laws of non-contradiction and excluded middle to the instances in hand—instead of limiting the application to the point, that thought must not violate, and must be conformed to, these laws, he makes these laws to determine ontological truth. He says, e. g., that the law of excluded middle declares, that one of the contradictory alternatives must be true in fact. But how does the proposition, that space must be either absolute or infinite, prove, that either absolute or infinite space *is*, and still more, which of them it is? any more than the proposition, that the soul must be either mortal or immortal, proves the being of the soul, or its mortality or immortality?* If the law

*Hamilton, in stating the law of Excluded Middle (*Logic*, p. 59) seems to prepare the way for the use he makes of it in the *Metaphysics*, saying, that "it

of contradiction be applied, it gives, at the utmost, the not-impossible, but not the real.

(5.) Still further, even if none of these objections hold, yet the logical bifurcation, in the alleged instances, in the sense in which Hamilton uses words, is not exhaustive—his dilemmas do not include the whole—his predicates do not embrace all the possibilities. We here refer particularly to his use of the terms absolute and infinite, as contradictory, and as exhaustive. Using, as he does, *absolute*, in the sense of a completed whole, and *infinite*, as meaning a whole that cannot be completed, he not only sets these two words in entire opposition (in this usage being himself in opposition to almost all philosophers), but he does not recognize the *positive infinite*, and the *unlimited absolute;* these do not come within his dilemmas. Space, e. g., he says, is either bounded, or unbounded (the latter in the negative sense, that we cannot find its bounds, or, cannot conceive it as made up of limited parts). But space, as positive immensity, he does not consider. It is not true, that space is only either absolute or infinite (in his sense), for there is a third possibility (and this is the real idea) viz. that space is above and beyond all limits. And this positive idea of infinite space is, in fact, what enables us to decide between the contradictory alternatives which he presents. So, too, of Time, of Cause, of Substance, etc. And, besides, this whole mode of ratiocination, which puts the infinite and the finite, the absolute and the relative, in the position of logical contradictories, is abusive, and may easily lead to dangerous consequences—compelling us to swallow up the finite in the infinite, or the infinite in the finite. Instead of opening the way to faith, it may open the door to scepticism.

And, now, as to the support which this argumentation gives to the philosophy of Common Sense, to Faith, to Belief, in short, to Religion—what must we say? As to its relation to Common Sense, the amount of the matter is this: if Common Sense be the real, final arbiter, this logical process is superflu-

announces that condition of thought which compels us, of two repugnant notions, which cannot both *coëxist*, to think either the one or the other as *existing*."

ous; but if this logical process be final, Common Sense is dethroned of all its Scotch dignities and exaltation. For, if this Common Sense was any thing, it was positive thought, affirming ultimate and absolute truth. It was not an impotency, but the highest positive power, of the human mind. But in the Hamiltonian system, it has got to decide between alternatives, both of which are "a negation of all thought." It puts us in the position, as he himself expresses it—that "our capacity of thought is peremptorily proved incompetent to what we necessarily think about;" and, can language express a more violent contradiction? This whole scheme undermines Common Sense, or Common Sense undermines the scheme. The case is the same with Belief.* This system annuls Belief, or Belief annuls the system. For the system calls upon belief to decide affirmatively in favor of an absolute negative; it leaves to belief no positive object of thought. Still further, how can the belief be construed, excepting as affirming the existence of that which is believed; if this existence be affirmed, it is positive thought, according to Hamilton's own definition of positive thought; if the existence is not affirmed, the belief is nugatory. But if the belief in an absolute being affirms its real existence, if positive thought be indispensably involved, then, too, all positive thinking is not of the relative and the finite. In short, if in belief there is thought, the system is refuted; if in belief there is no thought, belief is annihilated. And what a wonderful work belief is called upon to perform! It is called upon to decide between two equally inconceivable and absolutely contradictory positions; to decide, that one of these inconceivabilities has a real existence, and the other not; and to do this without any thought whatever. Its decision must not, cannot be, a *thought;*

* Very few statements as to the nature of Belief occur in Hamilton's works. In his Logic, p. 377, he says: "Knowledge is a certainty founded upon insight. Belief is a certainty founded upon feeling." P. 385: "We cannot believe without some consciousness or knowledge of the belief, and, consequently, without some consciousness or knowledge of the object of belief." But he dismisses the question of the relation of knowledge and belief, simply saying, that it is "one of the most difficult problems of metaphysics." And in his *Metaphysics*, the amount of what he says is, "that belief precedes knowledge."

for if it is, the theory is exploded. And the final dilemma is this: if the object of faith be purely negative and incogitable it is also incredible; if it is credible, it cannot be merely negative and incogitable. The "intellectual intuition" of Schelling is reason itself, when compared with a blind faith in negations.

The bearings and relations of this system become of still higher importance, when viewed in respect to Religion. For, according to it, all the predicates by which we define God in contrast with the world, express what is utterly inconceivable, mere negative thought, and even "the negation of the very conditions under which thought is possible." There is a wide chasm between belief and reason — and no bridge spans the gulf. Faith is on one side—the intellect is on the other; and what the intellect declares to be negative, faith declares to be positive. On these principles, the conflict between faith and reason is one that can never be adjusted. And this negation of thought in respect to deity, it should be remembered, is not merely in respect to him as infinite or absolute, but it extends equally to him as cause, as substance, as creator; it does not concern merely his relations to space and time, but also his relations to the world as the product of his power. For this negative thought, when logically carried out, as Hamilton himself now and then seems to intimate, covers the case of all our primary beliefs, excepting the laws of logic, the axioms of mathematics, and time, space, and existence as finite. These latter beliefs are positive; but *all other beliefs are negative to thought.* This is the inmost sense of the Hamiltonian system It makes metaphysics impossible, except as a science of the phenomenal; ethics impossible, except as a classification of duties; cosmology impossible, except as it is merely inductive and theology impossible, as the science of the sciences.

In our examination of Hamilton's system in this article, we have confined ourselves to his general theory of knowledge without investigating its application to particular ideas and truths. If his general theory be shown to be unsatisfactory it will be more easy to judge about the particular instances When opposed, it has generally been by refuting him in re

spect to particular ideas; and many who have done this have implied or conceded the truth of his general principles about knowledge. But the core of Hamilton's system is in his theory of knowledge. This is neither Scotch nor German; it is a cross between. Its German elements refute its Scotch common sense; its Scotch sense is irreconcilable with its extreme Kantianism. It is the ingenious attempt of a strong intellect to extricate itself from metaphysical difficulties by logical laws. But neither metaphysics nor theology can allow, that logic is either the source or the measure of the fundamental truths of human reason.

Art. VIII.—THE ANTE-NICENE TRINITARIANISM.

By Prof. Roswell D. Hitchcock, D.D.

The Church of the First Three Centuries; *or, Notices of the Lives and Opinions of some of the Early Fathers, with Special Reference to the Doctrine of the Trinity, illustrating its late Origin and Gradual Formation.* By Alvan Lamson, D.D. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co., 245 Washington street. 1860. 8vo. Pp. 352.

Of historical treatises upon the first three Christian centuries, there would seem to be no end. No period of equal length has been already more frequently handled, or is likely to be more frequently handled in the time to come. From every prominent stand-point, whether ecclesiastical or doctrinal, scholarly and thinking men are eager to interrogate these heroic centuries, and make them lend their support to foregone conclusions. German fertility in this department of authorship, so long ago wondered at, is still astonishing. English scholarship, always strongly moved in this direction, received a new impulse from the Pusey excitement of some five and twenty

years ago. Amongst ourselves, within the last two years, four elaborate histories of the first three centuries have appeared, representing as many widely different communions. The Roman Catholic version of this pregnant period has been given by Manahan;* the Episcopal version has been given by Mahan;† the German Reformed by Schaff;‡ and now at last, the Massachusetts Unitarianism has uttered its voice. Of these rival works, the first named, by Dr. Manahan, is by much the least critical and vigorous. Dr. Mahan, of the Episcopal Seminary in this city, has written modestly and well. Our estimate of Dr. Schaff's book has been given in a previous number of this REVIEW.§ Dr. Lamson's aim in writing is distinctly avowed upon the title-page. The position he assumes is not a new one, but is maintained with no little ingenuity and cleverness, free use being made of the more important German monographs and other recent literature pertaining to the subject.

Diverse judgments, fortified by appeals to precisely the same authorities, are sufficiently abundant and sufficiently easy in every department of human inquiry; but in no department more abundant or more easy, than in this of Church History, and most of all in its earliest period. Whether it be doctrine that is investigated, or whether it be only polity or ritual, Christians of every creed and of every connection betake themselves to the first three centuries, confident of finding what they go in quest of. A phenomenon, at first sight so inconsistent with common literary fairness and candor, is easily explained when we come to consider the scantiness of the materials out of which the history has to be constructed. With such a paucity of decisive documents, somewhat relieved, it is true, by the recent recovery of lost works,‖ but not very likely

* Triumph of the Catholic Church in the Early Ages. By Ambrose Manahan, D.D. New York. 1859. 8vo, pp. 572.

† A Church History of the First Three Centuries. By Milo Mahan, D.D. New-York. 1860. Pp. 428.

‡ History of the Christian Church. By Philip Schaff, D.D. From the Birth of Christ to the reign of Constantine. New-York. 1859. Pp. 535.

§ Vol. I, pp. 318–26.

‖ Such, for example, as the *De Fato* of Bardesanes, and the *Apology* of Meliton, which, however, are of slight value when compared with the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus.

to be enriched materially by any future discoveries, it is by no means strange that men of such diverse polities and creeds should compose such diverse histories. Each finds what he carries, and sees what he himself is. The verdict cannot, of course, in every case be equally just, but it may in most cases be equally honest.

Of all the matters in controversy, belonging to the period of which we now speak, the doctrine of the Trinity, including that of the Person of Christ, as then discussed and determined, holds the first place, holds it not only by virtue of its intrinsic importance, central as it is to the whole Christian system, but also by virtue of the relative attention bestowed upon it at the time. If any doctrine was canvassed to any purpose, it was this. Nay, it might almost be said, that of the more salient doctrines of our system, this alone was canvassed. Anthropology received comparatively little attention. Eschatology underwent a premature and unhealthy development, occasioned in part by the outward distresses of the times, but still more, perhaps, by the relationship it held to the Person of the Redeemer. In fine, the one thing above all others, about which the church concerned itself, was the proper rank to be assigned to Christ. It ought not, therefore, to be difficult to come to an understanding of the Patristic theology on this point. Ingenuous inquirers ought not to be very widely at variance in regard to the opinions on this subject actually entertained and expressed by the early Fathers. If learned and sagacious criticism may be relied upon to settle any question of interpretation, it surely ought to be relied upon to settle this.

And yet there are diversities of interpretation, though not now so much amongst the acuter and more practised critics, as amongst those who write rather for the masses. Many points once in dispute between the representatives of rival systems or schools, are now, in the judgment of a majority of the ripest scholars of whatever theological bias, regarded as settled. Decisions have been reached and registered, which, however distasteful to unorthodox polemics, are not likely to be reversed. The writings of the Fathers who flourished before the Council of Nice, have undergone such inquisition, and have been ex-

pounded with so much solid learning and so much judicial breadth and fairness, that the ground of controversy is greatly narrowed from what it was. The way has thus been prepared, and the time, we think, has nearly come, for a dispassionate and final judgment on this long-debated question of the Ante-Nicene Trinitarianism.

The present faith of Christendom we know; it is on record in terms as precise as human language will permit. For substance of doctrine, Dr. Lamson finds the well nigh universal belief confronting him in the Westminster Confession: In one God three persons, coëssential, coëqual, and coëternal, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit;* in Christ two natures, complete and distinct, indissolubly united in one Person, without conversion, composition, or confusion, very God and very man.† The Nicene formula, it is well known, defines the relations of only the first two Persons in the Godhead. But this is admitted to be a matter of no material moment, since the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, if distinctly affirmed, paves the way for an equally distinct affirmation of the consubstantiality of the Spirit with both the Father and the Son. The alleged ambiguity of the phrase *ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί*, "of one substance with the Father," is of little or no importance. Whether understood in the modern sense of numerical identity of substance, or in the ancient sense of generical identity of substance, the purpose of those who employed it at Nice clearly was, to assert that the Son is God just as absolutely and strictly as the Father is. The opponents of Athanasius at the Council were willing to worship Christ and call him God, but they were not willing to call him *ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί*, precisely because they understood it to express Divinity in the highest sense, and precisely for this reason was the phrase insisted upon. This point estab-

* "In Deitatis unitate personae tres sunt unius ejusdemque essentiae, potentiae ac aeternitatis; Deus Pater, Deus Filius, ac Deus Spiritus Sanctus." Conf. Cap. 2, § 3.

† "Adeo sane ut naturae duae, integrae, perfectae, distinctaeque Deitas ac humanitas in una eademque persona indissolubili nexu conjunctae fuerint, sine conversione, compositione, aut confusione. Quae quidem persona vere Deus est ac vere homo, unus tamen Christus, unicus inter Deum et hominum Mediator." Conf. Cap. 8, § 2.

lished on the basis of the Baptismal formula, the completed doctrine of the Trinity follows in due time as a sheer necessity of logic.

But was this the theology of the Ante-Nicene Fathers? Were they Trinitarians in the Nicene sense? Bishop Bull, in his celebrated "Defensio Fidei Nicaenae," is thought by Baur to have gone too far in contending that this was their theology, and that they were Trinitarians in the strict Nicene sense;* erring as much, on the one side, in not admitting the incompleteness and immaturity of their statements, as Petavius had erred, on the other side, in exaggerating that incompleteness and immaturity.

Dr. Lamson, like Priestley before him, not content with denying that the Ante-Nicene Fathers were Trinitarians in the Nicene sense, has written his book to show that they were not Trinitarians in any sense. His language is: "We believe and trust we shall be able to show, that for the original and distinctive features of the doctrine of the Logos, as held by the learned fathers of the second and third centuries, we must look, not to the Jewish Scriptures nor to the teachings of Jesus and his apostles, but to Philo and the Alexandrian Platonists. In consistency with this view, we maintain that the doctrine of the Trinity was of gradual and comparatively late formation; that it had its origin in a source entirely foreign from that of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures; that it grew up and was ingrafted in Christianity, through the hands of the Platonizing Fathers; that in the time of Justin, and long after, the distinct nature and inferiority of the Son were universally taught, and that only the first shadowy outline of the Trinity had then become visible."† Such is the banner under which our author takes up his line of march through the first three centuries. Seven chap-

* See his *Proœmium*, § 9: "Scilicet hic operis et incoepti nostri scopus, hoc institutum est, ut clare ostendamus, quod de Filii divinitate contra Arium aliosque haereticos statuerunt Patres Nicæni, *idem reipsa* (quanquam aliis fortasse nonnunquam verbis, alioque loquendi modo) *docuisse* Patres, ac Doctores ecclesiæ probatos ad unum omnes, qui ante tempora Synodi Nicænæ ab ipsa usque apostolorum aetate floruerunt."

† See pp. 33, 34.

ters are devoted to Justin Martyr and his opinions; four chapters are devoted to Clement of Alexandria and his times; seven chapters to Origen and his theology; four chapters to Arius and the Arian controversy; and two to Eusebius the historian; after which the Apostles' Creed, the Ancient Hymnology, Ancient Art, and the Festivals of the early Church are considered, each in two chapters. In the merely biographical and literary portions and aspects of the work, the author's task is, in the main, creditably achieved, excepting, of course, amongst other similar tokens of the writer's theological bias, his portrait of Athanasius, which is, in the whole spirit of it, eminently ungenial and unjust. The book is greatly lacking, however, in completeness as a professed exposition of the genesis and growth of the doctrine which he impugns. He passes silently over the Apostolic Fathers, who are the proper link of connection between inspired and uninspired teaching, omits Irenæus, whose tone so strongly resembles that of the Apostolic Fathers, and makes no mention of Dionysius of Rome, whose exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity, put forth more than sixty years before the Council of Nice, was subsequently approved by Athanasius, and accepted by the Church at large, as indicating the true middle way between the opposing heresies of Arianism on the one hand, and Sabellianism on the other. Such omissions are hardly to be looked for in a work which undertakes to expound the Ante-Nicene theology. They may serve the purpose of a special pleader, but they cannot help on to its settlement the great question under debate.

In replying to Dr. Lamson, we are not required to make out that the Ante-Nicene Fathers in their statements of doctrine, were clear and self-consistent Trinitarians in the Nicene sense; it may be admitted that they were not. Whatever of crudeness and inconsistency we may encounter and acknowledge, it will be enough to show, as we are confident it can be shown, that, in general, they entertained opinions, the complete and logically consistent development of which was the Nicene Creed. We are willing to admit that the oak was once a sapling, while yet we contend that it never was any thing else than an oak. It was, we believe, by a healthy, normal process

of growth, that the Trinity of simple faith, after much discussion, became the sharply determined Trinity of science; so that the Fathers at each successive Council, as point after point was settled, could declare truly enough that such had been the belief of the Church from the beginning. In essence, though not in form, there had been a Catholic consent which answered to the famous rule of Vincentius: "Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est."

Dr. Lamson, we think, has altogether misinterpreted the early Fathers, as we propose to show in the sequel; not wittingly, we trust, but because, in obedience to his theological prepossessions, he has assumed a point of view which renders a just interpretation impossible. But before proceeding to examine the writings of the Fathers, who thus stand charged with having derived their notions of the Trinity from Pagan philosophers, and not from the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, it will be necessary to scrutinize these alleged sources of the doctrine. We shall, therefore, in the first place, try to show that the Christian Trinity, as developed during the first three centuries, cannot have proceeded from any Pagan philosophy. In the next place, we shall try to show that there was a recognized and legitimate basis for this development in the Scriptures. And then, in the third place, interrogating the Ante-Nicene Fathers in the light of their true historic position thus determined, we shall endeavor to indicate the steps, by which the doctrine in question was brought to its final statement.

I. We are first to show that the doctrine of the Trinity, as developed by the Ante-Nicene Fathers, cannot have come from any Pagan philosophy.

That the "Pagan Trinities" so called, Brahminical, Buddhistic, and Platonic, offer points of striking and instructive resemblance to the Christian Trinity, cannot be questioned. Nor need it be said that they were wholly without influence upon the speculations of the Ante-Nicene period. But, for obvious reasons, there has been at intervals a disposition, sometimes in one quarter and sometimes in another, palpably to exaggerate both the resemblance and the influence. The Platonic

Fathers themselves, some of whom never laid aside the philosopher's cloak, only claiming that they had found in Christianity a new and better philosophy, and anxious to recommend the new doctrines to their old associates, very naturally sought to justify the more profound of the Christian mysteries, even the Trinity itself, by an appeal to the writings of Plato. That they may have carried back into these writings a meaning never intended by Plato himself, we are surely at liberty to presume, without impeaching either their honesty or their intelligence. Newly discovered truth always sheds a light backwards as well as forwards. That the Dialogues of Plato were in fact thus charged with a meaning not their own, is now very generally believed. The Neo-Platonists, a little later, in their imposing attempt to rival and supplant Christianity, had a less worthy, though, perhaps, still stronger motive impelling them in the same direction. The Galilean religion would, of course, be stripped of its grandest doctrinal renown, if it could only be shown that its sublimest tenet was either a discovery of human reason, or else as Proclus pronounced it, a Divine tradition, older not only than the Apostles, but older than the Greek philosophy itself. Hence the emphasis put upon this doctrine by the Neo-Platonists of Alexandria, of Rome, and of Athens. Later still, by some hundreds of years, the English Platonists of the seventeenth century, such as Henry More, Cudworth, and Norris, in their commendable eagerness to vindicate at every point the rationality of the Christian faith, were easily persuaded to make too much account of the Platonic Trinity. If afterwards Cæsar Morgan, roused by what appeared to him an excessive reverence for the Platonic philosophy, leaned too strongly in the opposite direction, he has certainly done good service in demanding a more wary and searching criticism of the passages in question.* In our day, attention is called afresh, not merely to the Trinity of Plato, but to those hitherto supposed older Trinities of the Orient, which a certain class of scholars amongst us are fond of parading as rivals of the Christian Trinity, foreshadowing it and preparing its way before it.

* "An Investigation of the Trinity of Plato and Philo Judaeus." By Cæsar Morgan. London. 1795. Reprinted in 1853. Pp. 166.

But a closer inspection of these Pagan Trinities, when put side by side with the Christian Trinity, discloses dissimilarities so radical that we are not at liberty to imagine an historical connection between them and it. The points of contrast are of greater moment than the points of resemblance. Indeed, so marked is this contrast as to suggest the inquiry, whether these Pagan Triads, as they may more properly be called, ought ever to be called Trinities at all. The hypostatical distinction, which is the very essence of the Christian doctrine, nowhere appears in any one of them.

In the Hindoo theology we find Brahm, the impersonal Absolute, unfolding into the Trinity of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. Waiving the question of the antiquity of this conception, which Hardwick thinks has been greatly overrated,* whatever its date may be, it is but a poor rival of the Christian Trinity. The system to which this conception belongs, is essentially Pantheistic, embracing the worship of nature, which had proceeded from the impersonal Brahm. And, doubtless, it was by observing nature in her endless cycles of production, growth, and decay in order to reproduction, that the Hindoo mind was led to personify and worship these three properties as Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Siva the Destroyer. That they are not hypostases in unity, is plain. The impersonal Brahm was never worshipped. Even Brahma is not worshipped by the masses, and has but one temple in India.†

The Buddhistic Trinity bears a still fainter resemblance to the Christian. Buddhism knows no Creator, self-existent and eternal. Worlds are constantly forming and dissolving. Souls are constantly coming and going. The beginning of existence cannot now be ascertained. Buddhas appear at wide intervals, to be oracles of wisdom to men.‡ Sakyamuni, the founder of this system, who died, according to the Chinese chronology, 950 B.C., according to the Ceylonese, 543 B.C.,§ appears to

* See his "Christ and Other Masters." Part Second. Religions of India. Cambridge, England. 1856.

† Stuhr and Elphinstone, as cited by Hardwick, p. 35.

‡ See Hardy's "Eastern Monachism," pp. 4–6.

§ Max Müller, in his "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," 1859, expresses the opinion that neither of these dates is reliable.

have taught no Trinity. The doctrine was of later birth, in the Buddhistic monasteries. The basis of it is Dualistic. First is Buddha, Intelligence; and over against this, Dharma, Matter; and then Sanga is added as a mediator between the two.

The Platonic Trinity is greatly in advance of both these. In regard to Plato himself, it is allowed on all hands, as observed by Ackermann,* that he is the most Christian of all the ancient philosophers. That he was no Pantheist, is plain enough. Equally plain is it, that he was not a Dualist, in the grosser sense of this word. The ὕλη of his system, if eternal, appears, in most cases at least, to have been a logical rather than a physical entity; the necessary condition, rather than the material, of creation. And yet his system gravitated towards Dualism, in that he did not rise to the conception of absolute creation. That he believed in the personality of God, is hardly to be denied, although Schwegler thinks this doctrine fairly excluded by the logic of his system. In regard to his Trinitarianism, it is noteworthy that the most decisive passages occur in writings now not generally allowed to be genuine, namely, the *Epinomis* and the *Epistles*. But throwing these out of the account, there remains in other writings, whose genuineness is not disputed, the Trinity of Τὸ ἀγαθόν or Τὸ ἕν; Νοῦς, Λόγος or Σοφία; and Ψυχή: which may be translated, the Good or the One; Intellect, Word or Wisdom; and Soul. Without tediously debating the question, it may suffice to say, that the best critics are now agreed, that these three *are not hypostases*, and of course cannot have furnished the pattern of our Christian Trinity. Had this been the source of the doctrine, Νοῦς rather than Λόγος would have been the term for the second Person in the Godhead. Whether, therefore, we regard the essence or the form of the Christian doctrine, the idea of its having been derived from Plato is wholly inadmissible.

And yet these Pagan Trinities have their significance, Pantheistic, or purely subjective, though they be. They need not be called echoes of a primitive revelation, as has been so often

* "Das Christliche im Plato und in der platonischen Philosophie." Von D. C. Ackermann. Hamburg. 1835.

alleged.* As mere forms of human speculation, they have a sufficient interest of their own, indicating, as they do, the unwillingness of the human mind to rest in a naked unity. In the face of such speculations, it is idle to pretend that the idea of God as One, is any more agreeable to reason than the idea of God as Three. Personified operations or attributes, of course, could never become hypostases; but minds familiar with such representations might the more easily be brought to what we believe to be the teaching of the Scriptures on this subject.

II. We are next to show, that the doctrine of the Trinity, as developed during the first three centuries, had a recognized and legitimate basis in the Jewish and Christian Scriptures.

In regard to the Old Testament Scriptures, we do not claim that they reveal a Triune God; this revelation being held in reserve until the Son of God had appeared in the flesh. But we do claim a foreshadowing of this revelation in the Old Testament, which appears to have been designed, as it did in fact serve, to prepare the way for such a revelation; a foreshadowing so impressive as to have set the Jewish mind in motion towards the final goal.

It may not be well to make much account of the plural *Elohim* as usually employed in connection with a verb in the singular. But whether it be the plural of majesty, as commonly assumed, or an intensive form of speech designed to express the inner completeness and fulness of the Godhead, as suggested by Delitzsch; from the Unitarian stand-point it cannot fail to be thought strange, that the use of the plural should have been thus encouraged amongst a people, whose special mission it was to withstand the Polytheism of the age.

* For example, by Henry More, who says: "Admit that the ancient Fathers were Platonists, and brought the mystery of the Trinity into the Church of the Christians, it does not straight follow, that it is therefore a Pagan or Heathenish mystery; Pythagoras and Plato having not received it from Pagans or Heathens, but from the learned of the Jews, as sundry authors assert; the Jews themselves in long succession having received it as a Divine tradition; and such is Platonism acknowledged to be by Jamblicus, who says it is φιλοσοφία θεοπαράδοτος." *Mystery of Godliness*, Book 1, Chap. 4, §7.

Nor would we press the text, "Let *us* make man in our image, after our likeness," although the early Fathers attached so much importance to it.

Of quite another type, liable to no such criticism, are those intimations of plurality in the Godhead, which make the strongest impression upon us in our reading of the Old Testament. Even in the Pentateuch there is, palpably, a two-fold representation made of God, as the unrevealed and the revealed, or, as Tholuck describes it, of God as he is *in himself* and as he is *to the world*. As, for example, in the 15th chapter of Genesis, where, several times over, in the account given of the appearance of God in vision to Abram, "the Word of Jehovah" is the term employed. And in that remarkable passage in the 33d chapter of Exodus, where it is said that the *face* of God can never be exhibited to men, only the *back;* by which is meant, that his absolute and eternal essence is concealed, while yet he has a revealer, in some sort distinct from himself, though essentially one and the same. So when Moses (Exodus 33 : 12, 13) entreated Jehovah to accompany him in the desert, the reply was (14 v.), "my *face* shall go." In another passage (Exodus 23 : 20, 21), an Angel is promised, of whom it is said that God's *name* is in him, that is, the Divine attributes, or God himself. Of this same revealer of God Isaiah speaks (63 : 9), where he calls him "the angel of his face." The Psalmist (33 : 6) also says: "By the *word* of Jehovah were the heavens made." There is thus an intimation of plurality, plurality, at least, in the economy of revelation, which must needs have made an impression upon every profoundly reflective mind. This intimation, it is true, is as yet comparatively slight and guarded, not suggesting the idea of distinct persons immanent in the Godhead; and for the best of reasons, since Polytheism was at that time the special peril of the Hebrew mind.

But when the Jews returned from their exile in Babylon, with their Monotheism so sternly fixed, there was no longer any special need of caution on that score; the idea of plurality in the Godhead might be entertained with little danger of its running into the idea of a plurality of Gods. Accordingly

we find in the Apocryphal books a decided advance in this thought of plurality. The idea of distinct personalities of some sort in the substance of the Godhead, it is evident, was gradually assuming a settled form. The term *Wisdom*, of such frequent occurrence in these books, appears to be in transition from the impersonal conception to the personal, from personification (as in Prov. 8 : 22), to hypostasis. In Ecclesiasticus, for example (1 : 1–10; 24 : 5, 8, 14), it appears to be only personification, as in Proverbs; while in the Wisdom of Solomon, probably of a later date (7 : 22–26), the idea appears to be very like that of hypostasis.*

In the Targums, the two most important of which, that of Onkelos and of Jonathan on the Prophets, are now assigned, by the most competent critics, to the first half of the first century after Christ, we find the idea fully developed, that God never appears acting immediately upon the world, but always through the agency of another. As, for instance, in Gen. 3 : 8, which reads, "And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden," one of the Targums gives it: "And they heard the voice of the *Word* of the Lord God." And so, whenever God is represented as saying or doing any thing, it is commonly under the title of the Word of God. And what is more, this Word of God, as noticed by Olshausen, is represented as identical with the Shekinah, Shiloh and Messiah. Now whether Philo went any farther than this or not, is a matter of no great moment in this connection.† The idea of plurality is plainly enough a Jewish idea, resting on a strong Monotheistic basis, but steadily unfolding, through personification, towards a distinct hypostasis of the revealing Word.

* "Vapor est enim virtutis Dei, et emanatio quaedam est claritatis omnipotentis Dei sincera." Book of Wisdom 7 : 25. In the 23d verse, this spirit of Wisdom is described as "humanus, benignus, stabilis, certus, securus, omnem habens virtutem." This book is supposed to have been written one hundred years or more B.C.; while opinions in regard to the date of Ecclesiasticus range from 300 to 180 B.C.

† Dorner, *Lehre von der Person Christi*, vol. 1, p. 23, contends that Philo's Logos was not a distinct hypostasis. Most other eminent critics are of the contrary opinion, although Semisch, in his monograph on Justin Martyr, admits that Philo does not keep constantly in view the strict personality of his Logos.

Duality, indeed, is all there is as yet, but, at any rate, a bald, unbroken unity is no longer possible; the Jewish mind is manifestly drifting towards quite another conception of the Godhead, so that, if Philo affirms the personality of the Logos, he only completes a process which had long been tending towards that issue.

That our Lord himself did not take up this idea of the Logos, and carry it on to its full hypostatical development, so far from being strange, is simply in keeping with the peculiarly practical tone and genius of his teaching. But he certainly prepared the way for this further development by abundant declarations, which cannot be interpreted, without violence, from any other than the Trinitarian stand-point. As when he said of himself, πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι, ἐγώ εἰμι, "Before Abraham began to be, I eternally am," John 8 : 58; "I and my Father are one," John 10 : 30; and "my Father worketh hitherto, and I work," John 5 : 17, which the Jews, who heard him, v. 18, understood to be a claim to equality with God. Not to omit that remarkable passage, John 10 : 17, 18, in which he represents the plenary, and of course Divine, power which he had over his own life, as the secret of the acceptableness of his atoning sacrifice. As to the distinct hypostatical existence of the third Person in the Trinity, that would seem to have been declared by Christ with sufficient clearness, both in what he said of "the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost," Matt. 12 : 31 comp. with Mark 3 : 29, and in his promise to send the Comforter, John 15 : 26, having previously said, John 14 : 26, that the Father would send him. Such passages, entirely in harmony, on the Trinitarian theory, with other passages which set forth the inferiority of the Son to the Father, are, on the Unitarian theory, quite inexplicable by any fair method of interpretation. Finally, these elements of the doctrine in question were all combined by Christ himself in the Baptismal formula, which was to meet every believer at the threshold of the Church, and stand through all time, as the briefest and most comprehensive statement possible of the Christian faith. Had Christ been merely a messenger of God, and the Holy Spirit only a Divine influence, this formula would

be misleading, not to say altogether inappropriate, and might better have been in the name of *God*, and of his Son and of the Holy Ghost; but now we have it "in the name of the *Father*, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," thus corresponding precisely with the Trinitarian conception of the Godhead.

Passing on to the Epistles, we find this Trinitarian formula of Baptism loudly echoed in the Apostolic benedictions; the Omega, at once, and Alpha of the whole economy. In the more formal development of the doctrine of the Logos, it is important to be observed, that the way is led, not by the intuitive John, but by the dialectic Paul. In the year of our Lord 62, nearly if not quite twenty years, probably, before the Gospel of John was written, Paul, in his Epistle to the Colossians, 1 : 15, 17, speaks of Christ as "the *image* of the *invisible* God," εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, by whom all things were created, who is before all things, and by whom, or rather *in* whom, ἐν [αὐτῷ], all things exist, συνέστηκε.* The relation which this sustains to the Jewish speculations in regard to the Logos, is too obvious to require remark. In the 9th verse of the 2d chapter it is added: "For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." The same view of the Logos as the revealer of the ineffable God, appears in Hebrews 1 : 3, "Who being the brightness of his glory and the express image of his person;" written probably before the year 70, whoever may have been the author.

With respect to the Gospel of John, the bold attempt of Baur to get rid of its authority in this matter of the Logos, by pushing down the date of its composition towards the close of the second century, has signally failed. John 1 : 9 appears to have been quoted by Basilides as early as 125 A.D.† According to Ewald, this Gospel was written about 80 A.D.‡ Its

* Col. 1 : 17, "And he is before all things, and by him all things consist," is the reading in our English version. For rhetorical convenience, I have used the relative instead of the personal pronoun, besides giving what is considered by the lexicographers a more exact rendering of συνσέτηκε.

† See the Philosophumena of Hippolytus, 7 : 22.

‡ *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. 7, p. 217.

Apostolic authorship and authority will not probably be much questioned in the time to come. Nor is it easy to see how honest interpreters can be greatly at variance in regard to what it teaches about the Person of Christ. John, as a Jew, understood very well, of course, the drift of the Jewish mind, as already described. He saw it moving on towards plurality in the Godhead, emphasizing the idea of the unrevealed and the revealed Jehovah. Jehovah was ineffable, the Logos was his revealer; two in form, but one in essence. With this Jewish notion in full view, John sits down to indite his Gospel. Three men before him had written memoirs of Christ, commencing with his appearance in the flesh. He goes farther back. "In the beginning," he says, "was the Logos," by which he means from *eternity*, for in the Jewish apprehension of the matter, the Logos was as ancient as God himself. This Logos, he continues, "was *with* God;" that is, there was in some sense society, and consequently a plurality of Persons in the Godhead. But then, to conserve the Divine unity, he adds immediately, that "the Logos *was* God."* The Logos, then, was eternal, was *with* God, and therefore somehow *distinct* from God, and yet *was* God. The Logos was thus an eternal, Divine Person, and yet not another God, since he was God himself. Having thus defined the Logos, with which Jewish speculation was so busy, the Evangelist goes on to say that this Logos, the revealer of God every where referred to in the Old Testament, the face of God, the Angel of the old theocracy, had, in these latter days, become incarnate, embodying himself in the Man of Nazareth; and so the transient theophanies of the elder dispensation had given place at last to a permanent incarnation. Even the doctrine of the eternal generation would seem to be taught in the 18th verse of this chapter:

* In the Greek, *καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος*. *Θεὸς* is without the article, of which some critics have so far taken advantage, as to claim that the word must needs be employed in a subordinate sense. But Greek usage permits a noun in the predicate without the article, and also permits the predicate to precede the copula. The use of the article would have made *Θεὸς* mean God the Father; so says Erasmus, as cited by Tholuck; so also Winer. The Evangelist wished to designate simply the Divine essence.

"No man hath seen God at any time: the only begotten Son, *which is in the bosom of the Father*, he hath declared him." The incarnation of the eternal Logos is again affirmed by John in the first verse of his first epistle: "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the word of life."

Such are the more important passages in the Old Testament, in the Apocrypha, in the Targums, and in the New Testament, bearing upon the doctrine of the Trinity, as developed during the first three Christian centuries. If they do not justify that development, we do not see how it could be justified by any thing short of the actual occurrence of the word Trinity in the Scriptures.

(*To be continued.*)

Theological and Literary Intelligence.

TISCHENDORF'S *Sinai Codex.* The *Studien und Kritiken*, Heft 4, 1860, has more particular accounts of this remarkable Codex than have elsewhere been published. It was first discovered, 1845, by the Archimandrite Porphyry, and described in his Russian Travels, 1856. Tischendorf has vindicated its high antiquity. The general character of the MS. can be seen in the Codex Friderico-Augustanus, as published by Tischendorf in fac-simile, 1846; it is one of the oldest uncials, but more regular than the Vatican MS. —between the Vatican and the Alexandrine Codex (A). The higher age of the Sinai Codex is supposed to be indicated in the fact that the initial letters of the divisions, though in the margin, are not larger than the rest, nor in any way ornamented. There are neither accents nor breathings, and but few points. The material, like the Vatican Codex, is a costly parchment—such as even Origen did not use,—mentioned only after the persecutions. The MS. then, it is inferred, cannot be before 311, nor yet much later. Three is no division of the Gospels into chapters in the original writing, either of this or of the Vatican; the only two MSS. in which this fails. A later hand (different ink) has added them in the Sinai Codex as far as the middle of Luke. As Eusebius introduced these divisions into chapters, and as they were soon generally adopted, it is inferred that this MS. must have been written before his time. Other circumstances, pointing to the same conclusion, are the facts that this MS. puts the Epistle of Barnabas and a part of the Shepherd of Hermas after the Apocalypse, as if they were canonical, which Eusebius denies (Eccl. Hist. III, 25); and that it puts the Acts of the Apostles between the Pauline and the General Epistles; while Eusebius classifies them before the Pauline. The Vatican MS. has the order: the Acts, the General Epistles, and then the Pauline; and this is the order assigned by Athanasius and the Council of Laodicea.

That both the Vatican and Sinai Codices are of Egyptian origin, is argued from the interchange of I and EI, etc. Among the important contributions to textual criticism are the following: *In Ephesus* is wanting at the beginning of the Epistle to the Ephesians—as in the Vatican; and Basil testifies that it failed in the codices of his time (about 370). The passage about the three heavenly witnesses (1 John v, 7), is also wanting; as is also the account of the adulteress (John vii, 53 to viii, 11); and the whole of the close of Mark's Gospel (Mark xvi, 9–20). In 1 Tim. iii, 16, it reads, "who" instead of God; this is probably the oldest testimony extant—the pastoral epistles not being in the Vatican Codex. The Vatican Codex also lacks the Apocalypse and the close of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which are contained in this Sinai MS. The writer of the article in the *Studien und Kritiken*

proposes a new edition on the basis of these two with the aid of Origen; "for above all the strife of parties and personal interests, must every theologian value the purity of the word of God."

The publication of the complete Sinaitic Codex, will be in 1862; but meanwhile a full account of it, by Prof. Tischendorf, has been published by Brockhaus of Leipzic, viz. Notitia Editionis Codicis Bibliorum Sinaitici, Auspiciis Imperatoris Alexandri II susceptæ. Accedit Catalogus Codicum nuper ex Oriente Petropolin perlatorum; item Origenis Scholia in Proverbia Salomonis, partim nunc primum, partim secundum atque emendatius edita. Cum duabus Tabulis Lapidi incisis. 4°, 8 Thlr. 10 Ngr. The first part of this work will give an account of the discovery of the manuscript, its contents, and its claims to a high antiquity; a list of more than 600 important various readings in the New Test.; 26 columns of the text of the Old Test., 184 of the New Test.; and also the whole of the text of Barnabas and Hermas. The second part will give an account of the other manuscripts, viz. 12 palimpsests in Greek, Syriac, Arabic, Slavic, etc.; 20 Greek manuscripts, several of them being uncials; and 60 other works in various languages. One of these, from the 9th century, makes important additions to the Hexapla. There is also a Greek-Egyptian astrolabe of a unique character. The third part will contain extracts from other manuscripts, examined in the East, but not brought back. One of these fills up a gap in the 12th Book of the Histories of Diodorus Siculus; another contains Origen's Scholia to the Proverbs of Solomon.

A. Theiner is continuing his publication of works from the Vatican treasures. He has just published at Rome, in folio (price $20), Vetera Monumenta Poloniæ et Lithuaniæ Gentiumque finitarum Historiam illustrantia, etc.

The Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries held its annual meeting at Copenhagen in May. Among its publications during the last year, presented by the Secretary, Prof. C. C. Rafn, are a new volume of the Annals of Northern Archæology and History, with remarks on Beowolf and on the name of Lodbrok among the Anglo-Saxons, by Fred. Schiern; on the Sanskrit root is the verb *Vera* by L. Warming; the Elucidarius in Icelandic by Conrad Gislason; Historical Notices of Bishop Linderich and Archbishop Unne of Bremen, by Koerigsfeldt, etc. Some specimens of vernacular Esquimaux literature from Greenland were presented by Henry J. Rink. The remaining part of the Lexicon Poeticum Antiquæ Linguæ Septentrionalis, by the late Sveinbiorn Egilsson will soon be issued, as also another volume of the Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord.

Various conjectures have been made as to the time when artillery were first used; a common date has been the siege of Chioggia, 1379. Froissart mentions cannon at the siege of Quesnoy, 1310. M. Lacabave found documents in the archives of Florence which spoke of cannon as in use in 1326. M. Lorédan Larchdy in the May number of the *Revue Européene* shows that they were used in defence of Metz in 1324, when that city was besieged by the king of Bohemia.

Blackwood's Magazine for September contains an article on the flint instruments found at Abbeville, France, supposed to indicate a high antiquity for the race. He visited the gravel-pits of Abbeville and Amiens last August, and closes a careful review of the whole question with the following summary of his conclusions:

"1. To the question, Are the so-called flint implements of human workmanship, or the result of physical agencies? my reply is, They bear unmistakably the indications of having been shaped by the skill of man.

"2. To the inquiry, Does the mere association in the same deposit of the flint implements and the bones of extinct quadrupeds prove that the artificers of the flint tools and the animals coëxisted in time? I answer, That mere juxtaposition, of itself, is no evidence of contemporaneity, and that upon the testimony of the fossil bones the age of the human relics is not proven.

"3. To the query, What is the antiquity of the Mammalian bones with which flint implements are associated? my answer is, That, apart from their mixture with the recently-discovered vestiges of an early race of men, these fossils exhibit no independent marks by which we can relate them to human time at all. The age of the Diluvium which embeds the remains of the extinct Mammalian animals must now be viewed as doubly uncertain—doubtful from the uncertainty of its coïncidence with the age of flint implements—and again doubtful, even if this coïncidence were established, from the absence of any link of connection between those earliest traces of man and his *historic* ages." "Upon the special question involved in this general query, What time must it have required for the physical geography adapted to the Pachyderms of the antedilvuian period to have altered into that now prevailing, suited to wholly different races? the geological world is divided between two schools of interpretation—the Tranquillists, who recognize chiefly nature's gentler forces and slower mutations, and the Paroxysmists, who appeal to her violent subterranean energies and her more active surface changes."

"4. To the last interrogation, How far are we entitled to impute a high antiquity to these earliest physical records of mankind from the nature of the containing and overlying sedimentary deposits? my response again is, that as the two schools of geologists now named differ widely in their translation into geologic time of all phenomena of the kind here described, this question, like the preceding, does not admit, in the present state of the science, of a specific and quantitative answer.

"In conclusion, then, of the whole inquiry, condensing into one expression my answer to the general question, Whether a remote pre-historic antiquity for the human race has been established from the recent discovery of specimens of man's handiwork in the so-called Diluvium? I maintain it is not proven, by no means asserting that it can be *disproved*, but insisting simply that it remains *not proven*."

The Swiss savans are also now engaged in a discussion concerning the extent of the period during which the human species has existed. M. Collomb admits that man had an existence before the oldest glaciers, and was a cotemporary of the mammoth. M. Lastet seeks to prove that a great portion of the animal world, including man, survived all the changes of the quaternary or diluvian period. M. Gaudin, a noted botanist, subscribes to this view, and strengthens it by a comparison with the vegetable world. M. Pictet asserts that the zoological population of the globe was not modified in the change from the diluvian to the modern period.

Chowlson's Remains of Ancient Babylonian Literature, from Arabic translations, are noticed by many of the foreign journals as containing valuable and new materials proving the high state of culture in Babylon in early times. These Arabic translations, ascribed to Abu Beker, date probably from about the tenth century. The dissertations are on Nabatean agriculture —a minute account showing some scientific knowledge; on poisons—proving that toxicology was well known; on astronomy and geology, by Tenkelusha, who probably lived in the first century of the Christian era, but used old Chaldean documents. There is also a fragment from "The Book of the Mysteries of the Sun and the Moon," in which it is maintained, among other

things, that man may not only make precious metals, but even animal and vegetable organizations. In the first of these treatises a Canaanitish invasion of Babylon is spoken of; Nemroda (Nimrod) being its leader. Chowlson supposes this to be the Nimrod of the Bible—which would bring him down to a much later period than that usually assigned.

GREECE.

Spyridon Zampelios, a historian who has devoted his studies chiefly to the history of the Byzantine Empire in the middle ages, has published at Athens a small work on the Establishment of the Patriarchate in Russia, in 1589, when Job, previously metropolitan of Moscow, was elevated to the patriarchate, with the participation of Jeremiah patriarch of Constantinople, and the two archbishops, Hierotheos of Monembasia, and Arsenius of Alassona; a poem, written by the latter, to celebrate the event, is also given in this work.

The translation of Karamsin's History of Russia into modern Greek by Krokidas is completed, in 12 volumes; published at Athens.

Gersdorf's Repertory says that Korais's remark, "it is better to burn Greek grammars up than to write them," also applies in part to the work Esquisses d'une grammaire du grec actuel, par R . . . , published at Athens.

DENMARK.

The statue of Oehlenschläger, the Danish dramatist, is to be erected at Copenhagen this summer.

John Louis Heiberg died at Ringster Aug. 25, 1860, at the age of 69. He was one of the few Danes who adopted the system of Hegel, and was also distinguished as a poet. His dramas have been translated into German.

Prof. A. S. Oersted died at Copenhagen May 1. He was the brother of the famous naturalist, and besides being a high officer of State, he wrote several important works on legal and historical subjects. Three volumes of his Treatises on Ethics and Jurisprudence were translated into German.

HOLLAND.

The well-known Dutch poet and evangelical author, Isaac Da Costa, died in Amsterdam in May. He was born in 1798, of Jewish parents, and became a Christian in 1820. He published a volume of Dramatic and Lyric Poems in 1819; another in 1822; another in 1826. He translated portion of the works of Æschylus, Ovid, Camoens, Lamartine, and others. He also wrote on Prince Maurice and Oldenbarneveld, in 1825; a work on Paul, in 1847; one on Israel and the Nations, 1848. His work on the Four Witnesses was translated into English, and reprinted in New York.

In the budget of Holland for the next year, 4000 florins are put down for the encouragement of learning and science. A general dictionary of the Dutch language, and a work containing a description of all the insects in the country, and the best means of destroying them, being among the objects contemplated.

The premium book of Rev. Dr. Fish, "Primitive Piety Revived," published by the Congregational Board of Boston, has been translated into the

Dutch, and published at Utrecht, in Holland. Twenty thousand copies of it have been printed in English.

A volume of Sketches from Dutch History, "Schets van de Gescheidenis der Nederlanden; Opgehelderd met Afbeeldingen," by W. H. Hofdijk, with an appendix, "Ons Volk in Zjn Historie," by H. P. Rosmade, has appeared at the Hague.

A new annotated edition of Shakspeare in Dutch, by C. W. Opzoomer, is in course of publication at Amsterdam. The first volume, which has just appeared, contains Othello.

FRANCE.

The valuable *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme Français*, for July and August, 1860, contains documents relating to the refugees in Switzerland; an article on the refugees in the Canton de Vaud; on the books and Manuscripts of Du Plessy-Morny; on the origin of the word *parpaillot*, and of the surname *Tant s'en faut;* notes respecting the father of Malherbe. This is a very valuable, an indispensable work, for the student of the religious history of France.

The French translation of Wetzer and Welte's Encyclopèdia of Catholic Theology, has reached the 9th volume, to Great Britain. This edition contains many additions to the German work.

The French Academy have in preparation the 24th vol. of Mémoires de l'Académie; vols. 18 to 20 of Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits; vol. 22 of the Historiens des Gaules et de la France; vol. 1 of the Historiens orientaux des Croisades (in preparation for 20 years); vol. 2 of the Historiens occidentaux des Croisades; vol. 1 of Historiens Arméniens; vol. 7 of Table des Chartes et des Diplômes imprimés; and vol. 27 of the Histoire littéraire de la France, with a preface on the State of the Arts in the Fourteenth Century, by Renan. Its grand prize of 20,000 francs, founded by Louis Fould, for a History of the Arts of Design to the time of Pericles, has not yet been won.

Max. de Ring has published a History of the Opic People, their legislation and worship. The Opici, Ops, Osci, were the Kimro-Pelasgi of Italy before the Roman rule. The work is said to be one of great research.

Jules Oppert, the distinguished orientalist, has published Elements de la grammaire Assyrienne.

Edgar Quinet's Merlin l'Enchanteur, a poem in two volumes, is noticed in all the French journals as the most remarkable literary work that has appeared in France for several years.

M. Ernest Renan has received an imperial commission to seek for Phœnician inscriptions and antiquities.

The college *Samuel Moorat* was founded in Paris in 1846, with funds bequeathed by an Armenian of that name, for the purpose of educating young Armenians to diffuse among their countrymen a knowledge of the religion and science of the West. The present director is Father Leon Alishen. At the recent anniversary of this institution he delivered a discourse, giving a succinct sketch of the History and Literature of Armenia, from the earliest Christian times. This is published in the August number of the *Annales de la Philosophie Chrétienne.* Samuel Moorat was born at Tokat in 1760; educated in part by the Mechitarists in Venice; became rich by commerce, and in 1815 bequeathed a large sum to the Mechitarists for endowing a college; this was first established in Padua, 1834, and transferred to Paris in 1846. The same number of the Annals contain an essay on Words, their Roots

and Permutations by De l'Hervilliers, with a table of the changes in the languages derived from the Latin; and a second account of Montalembert's work on Western Monachism.

Of the Abbé Migne's complete Course of Patrology, vols. 65 to 77 contain the continuation of the Greek Fathers. Among them are the Works of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Cyril of Alexandria, in ten volumes, etc.

The *Eagle of Paris* (Birgys-Barys) is an Arabic journal, published at Paris, and circulated throughout the East and in Africa, to extend the Roman Catholic Religion and French influence among the Musselmen, under the direction of the Association of St. Louis, founded for this object. The famous Abd-el-Kader has written a letter to the Directors, warmly approving their projects.

M. de Saulcy, of the Institute, says that the Nineveh marbles of the British Museum are of Syro-Egyptian origin.

A thesis, presented to the Faculty of Strasburg University, by E. A. Weber, A Critical Examination of the Religious Philosophy of Schelling, is highly praised in Gersdorf's Repertorium.

A book of great interest to antiquaries and architects, is now publishing at Bordeaux, by M. Leo Drouyn,—"La Guienne Anglaise," a history and description of the fortified towns, castles, fortresses, etc., built in Guienne and Gascony during the English domination. The three centuries A.D. 1150 to A.D. 1450, during which these regions were attached to the English crown, were the great constructive period of the middle ages, and though rarely visited by travellers, in no other part of Europe have such splendid examples of mediæval military architecture continued, almost intact, to the present day.

GERMANY.

The ter-centary of Melancthon's decease has called forth a large number of addresses and essays, to celebrate his memory. Besides the admirable orations of Dorner, Kahnis and Rothe, are, *W. Thilo*, Melancthon in the Service of the Holy Scriptures; *F. A. Nitzelnadel*, Philipp Melancthon, the Teacher of Germany; *W. Beyschlag*, Phil. Mel., a Sketch in Church History; *F. W. Genthe*, Oration at Eisleben; *H. Keil*, Laudatio Phil. Melanchtonis; *H. K. Sack*, a Sermon at Magdeburg; *C. Schlottmann*, De Phil. Mel. reipublicæ literariæ Reformator; *J. Classen*, Melancthon's Relations to Frankfort on the Main. Other works have been published upon some of the pupils and friends of Melancthon; e. g. *J. Classen*, on Jacob Micyllus, rector at Frankfort, and Prof. in Heidelberg, 1526 to 1558; *E. W. Löhn*, on Dr. Caspar Creutziger (Cruciger), a pupil of both Mel. and Luther; Reb. Tagmann, on Petrus Vincentius of Breslau.

The semi-centennial anniversary of the University of Berlin was celebrated in October, with an Address from the venerable Professor Böckh, who has been connected with it from its foundation, and a torch-light procession of 4,000 students.

Buckle's History of Civilization in England, vol. i, has been translated into German by *Arnold Ruge*, the well-known representative of the most ultra Hegelian and anti-Christian tendencies. A writer in Gersdorf's Repertory, which conceding that the work has some new views and is well written, doubts whether it will have the same success in Germany as in England, partly because the plan of the book cannot possibly be carried through, and partly because they have already able works on the subject; and in part, too, on

account of the ambitious pretensions of the author, that he alone has really found out how to write history—that Heeren, Schlosser, Ranke, Macaulay, etc., did not understand the art.

The Royal Library of Berlin has received an addition of 36,000 maps from the Scharnhorst collection, and of 10,108 from the Klöder collection; and also of 3,978 pieces from Prof. Fishof's collection.

The six Prussian Universities had 1,542 students of theology in the summer semester, and 1,567 in the winter; 81 ordinary, and 18 extraordinary Professors of Theology, and 8 private teachers. The students in summer were thus distributed; in Halle, 496; Breslau, 285; Königsberg,131; Berlin, 312; Berne, 287.

In the decease of Prof. Bernstein, of Breslau, oriental literature has met with a great loss. He has been professor there since 1821. Among his works were an edition of Michaelis' Arabic Chrestomathy, 1817; an edition of the Syriac Chronicle of Gregorius Bar-Hebræus, 1822; an edition of Kirschius' Syriac Chrestomathy, 1836; Lexicon Linguæ Syriacæ, Vol. 1, fasc. 1, 1857; Gregorius Bar-Hebræus Scholia in librum Jobi, 1858.

Prof. E. Huschke, in a dissertation on the Book with Seven Seals (Rev. v, 1), makes the reference of the Seven Seals to be to the legal document, attested by seven witnesses—called the *testatio*.

The German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer, died Sept. 21; he was born Feb. 22, 1728. He had an independent, almost isolated position, among the German metaphysicians. He was a strict theoretic idealist, as expressed in the title of his chief work: The World, as Will and Representation (Vorstellung). Space and Time he considered as merely subjective; he reduced all the categories to causality. In morals he proclaimed strict self-abnegation. The above work (Die Welt als Wille, etc.) first appeared in 1813; a third edition, two or three years since. Other works of his are: On Will in Nature, 1836; The Two Main Problems of Ethics, 1841; Parerga and Paralipomena, 2 vols. 1851.

Arnold, of Leipsic, has published the third volume of an Anthology of Swedish Poetry, by Gottfried von Leinburg. The whole work is to be in four volumes; the first, on the earliest sagas of Scandinavia; the second, the transition period represented by Franzén and Willén; the third, the new period, beginning with the so-called Gothic School, in which Swedish literature assumed a more independent position. The Gothic League, which originated this, was formed in Stockholm in 1813; it published a periodical, the Iduma, for 25 years. To this school belonged Geijer, Tegnér, Ling, Afzelius, von Beskow, Nikander, Lindeblad and others.

Dr. Carl Haas has published, from the Hanover City Library, the Latin text, with a German translation of Leibnitz's Theological System, which was drawn up to promote the reünion of Catholics and Protestants. This work, written about 1690, was not known till 1797; it was first issued in Paris in 1819, then in Strasburg in 1825.

The eminent philologist, Christian August Lobeck, died at Königsberg, Aug. 25, at the age of 79.

Dr. Rudolf Stier, whose Words of Jesus have met with so much favor in this country, has just published a work on The Words of the Angels in the Scriptures, in one volume. It comprises fourteen passages of the Old Testament, and thirty-two of the New. The idea of the book is a happy one, and it is said to be carried out with ingenuity and learning.

The 4th volume of Dr. Ferd. Kampe's History of the Religious Movements of Modern Times is devoted to a History of German Catholicism and Free Protestantism in Germany and North America, from 1848 to 1858. It gives many interesting details about the emigrants to this land.

Dr. Christ. Palmer, whose works on Homiletics and Catechetics have so high a reputation, has just published an Evangelical Pastoral Theology, in one volume.

Professor K. Mittermaier, the celebrated jurist, has brought out a new work on the question of criminal reform, entitled "Der gegenwärtige Zustand der Gefängnissfrage, mit Rücksicht auf die neuesten Leistungen der Gesetzgebung und Erfahrungen über Gefängnisseinrichtung."

Dr. G. P. Wiggers died at Rostock, May 4. He had been Professor in that University since 1808. He is well known in this country by his work on Augustinism and Pelagianism, the first volume of which was translated by Dr. Emerson of Andover. Besides that, he wrote a work on Socrates, 2d ed. 1811; one on Julian the Apostate, 1810; on John Cassian and Semi-Pelagianism, 1824, etc.

The Studien u. Kritiken, Heft iv, 1860, has a treatise of more than 80 pages upon the Lutheran Doctrine of the Sacrificial Death of Christ; Remarks on some Passages in the Psalms by Thenius; an account of Tischendorf's new Sinaitic MS.; Remarks on some Passages in Hosea, and in the New Testament (Phil. ii, 12; Hebr. v, 7; 2 Pet. i, 19), by Linden; a review of Lepsius on the Kings' Book of the Old Egyptians, by Zyndell, and a review of Düsterdieck on the Apocalypse, by Rüetschi. The first, and most important of these articles is to vindicate the position—that the standards of the Lutheran Church, in asserting the strictly vicarious character of the sacrifice of Christ are in accordance with the Scriptures. Reference is had chiefly to the counter position of Prof. Hofmann, of Erlangen, who, in his Scriptural Proof, denies that the death of Christ is a punishment for our sins, that it satisfied the divine justice, or, that Christ strictly suffered in man's stead. The doctrine of the Lutheran symbols is first fully presented; and then the Scriptural evidence in support of it. And the doctrine of Hofmann, it is declared, in conclusion, neither satisfies the divine holiness nor man's conscience.

The *Zeitschrift f. wissenschaftliche Theologie*, Heft iii, 1860, the organ of the Tübingen School, opens with an essay by Hilgenfeld, on Paul and the original Apostles, the Epistle to the Galatians and the Acts of the Apostles —reviewing recent discussions, particularly the positions of Wieseler in his recent commentary on the Galatians, which has sorely troubled the advocates of a destructive criticism of the New Testament history. F. Hitzig has an article on the Book of Judith. Baur, the leader of the school, contributes a dissertation on the meaning of the expression Son of Man, as applied to Christ—vindicating for it a superhuman sense, the union of divinity and humanity. G. Volkmar examines some of the external testimonies to the Gospel of John.

The fourth part of the *Zeitschrift f. d. lutherische Theologie*, 1860, is almost all taken up with a review of Baumgarten's Christology, by H. O. Köhler, from the high Lutheran point of view. The only other article, of three pages, by F. Delitzsch, is an explanation of Hebrews vii, 27, from Talmudic sources. He shows incidentally how intimately the author of this Epistle must have been versed in all that pertains to the Hebrew service and ritual.

The third volume of Dr. F. Strauss's work on "Ulrich von Hutten," containing the dialogues of the valiant knight, elucidated and annotated, has been brought out by Messrs. Brockhaus & Co., Leipzig.

A new volume has been published of the largest of all encyclopedic works, the "Allgemeine Encyclopädie" of E. Ersch and Gruber. This work was divided from the beginning into three parts, commencing with different let-

ters of the alphabet. The new volume is the seventieth of the first section. A work of such extent is, of course, in itself a library. As a book of reference for scholars, this encyclopedia is unsurpassed. This work is in the Astor Library, New York, and has been recently presented to the Library of the Union Theological Seminary of New York.

The *Zeitschrift f. Philosophie*, Vol. 37, Part 2, 1860, has a continuation of A. Zeising's essay on the "Fundamental Forms of Thought in their Relation to the Fundamental Forms of Being," discussing in particular the subject of Number. T. Culmann investigates the Principles of the Philosophy of Franz von Baader (whose collected works are now issued complete), and of E. A. Von Schaden. Dr. J. Bona Meyer contributes an able review of the Critical Philosophy with special Reference to Kant, and expounds thoroughly the principles of his system, partly with a view to correct some of the representations in the recent work of Kuno Fischer. Wirth reviews Schenkel's Dogmatics from the Standpoint of Conscience, and Schwarz on God, Nature and Man; and Ueberweg criticises Hoffmann's Outlines of Logic. A full bibliography of all the recent works on philosophy in Germany, France and England, and of articles in the periodical literature of these countries on philosophical topics, closes the number.

In the *Theologische Quartalschrift*, Heft 3, 1860, Dr. Laemmer, who is preparing a new edition of the Church History of Eusebius, gives an interesting account of a visit to the libraries at Rome in search of new materials for this and other works. In the Vatican library he found two new codices of Eusebius; one of these contains the Greek text of the (forged) Donation of Constantine. The Palatine library has 209 fragments of Eusebius' De Praeparatione Evangelica; and the library of Queen Christina has several MSS. of the Chronica and of the translation of Rufinus. Dr. Laemmer also gives an account of other MSS., particularly those bearing upon the conflict between Rome and the Reformers. He has already written upon the Anti-Tridentine Theology of Rome, and, since he became a Roman Catholic, has been extending his studies in this direction. The only other essay in this number is by Reusch, upon the author of Ecclesiastes, chiefly a criticism of Hengstenberg's recent work.

Among the new works announced are, Prof. Hagenbach, Lectures on the Church History of the Middle Ages, vol. 1, from Gregory the Great to Innocent III; A. Chowlson, Tammuz and Man Worship among the Old Babylonians; Christlier, John Scotus Erigena, his Life and Doctrine, with a Preface by Prof. Landerer; Hahn, Commentary on Ecclesiastes; Noldeke, History of the Koran—a work crowned by the French Academy; a German translation from the Russian of Prof. W. Wassiljew's Buddhism. The 127th part of Herzog's Real-Encyclopädie comes down to Schild.

ENGLAND.

The October number of the *Westminster Review*, under the title Neo-Christianity, criticises the recent Oxford Essays and Reviews, which have attracted so much attention, and have been republished in this country, with an Introduction by Dr. Hedge, and a new title, viz. Recent Inquiries in Theology. The *Westminster* speaks of this work as making an epoch in the history of opinion. It is also sagacious enough to see, that if any one adopts the views there advocated, he must, if consistent, go still further. The general spirit of the book it declares to be "incompatible with the religious

belief of the mass of the Christian public, and the broad principles on which the Protestantism of Englishmen rests." The Mosaic history is dissolved in the name of orthodoxy, "miracles, inspiration and prophecy reäppear under the old names with new meanings;" we have "a revised Atonement, a transcendental Fall, a practical Salvation, and an idealized Damnation." The writer of the article is candid; he rejects Christian history and truth; but he says "that the Gospels assert a miraculous incarnation, resurrection and ascension; and that the Epistles teach original sin and a vicarious sacrifice;" "that the notion of eternal and final judgment, of individual salvation, of arbitrary grace, of spiritual ecstasy, pervade the very spirit of the whole." But he also maintains, that this is inconsistent with modern ideas and modern science—with fixed law and yet progress such as are now every where found; that the writers of these essays have gone so far in this line, that, if honest and logical, they must give up the Bible, and even Christianity itself as ultimate. Mr. Jowett "surrenders not merely the various points of the doctrine, but the necessity of having any doctrine at all." He sums up all in "the Christian life;" and this is a form "in which most faiths have terminated;" it is a sign of the decay of the faith, for "every religion which ever flourished did so by the strength of a body of doctrine and a system of definite axioms."

The same *Review* in noticing Dr. Lamson's work on the Church of the First Three Centuries, says that "he has omitted, as we think, to observe, in fairness, that in one point the Trinitarian hypothesis affiliates itself to the primitive doctrine of the Divine (Logos) Word or Wisdom better than the Arian. The Reason or Wisdom of God is of the essence of God and of his eternity; so that the term *homoousios*, "of the unity of the Divine essence," would be more proper to express it than *homoiousios*, "of a likeness to the Divine essence." "Also, that Dr. L. omits to state that the Logos of the fourth Gospel is derived from the doctrine of Philo, and that in Philo it is already hypostatised, and set forth as an eternal energy of the Divine mind."

In noticing Walt Whitman's "Leaves of Grass," the *Westminster* characterizes it as a "volume containing more obscenity and profanity than is perhaps elsewhere to be found in the same compass," and that Ralph Waldo Emerson "has much to answer for, and will in reputation dearly pay, for the ferrid encomium with which he introduced the author to the American public."

Edward Falkner's "Daedalus; or, the Causes and Principles of the Excellence of Greek Sculpture," is elegantly illustrated with photographs of the originals. It clearly shows that color was largely employed in the Greek Sculpture.

The *Edinburgh Review* for October contains articles on Recent Geographical Researches; Memoirs of the Master of Sinclair (of the Insurrection in Scotland in 1715); Max Müller's Sanskrit Literature; Grotius and the Sources of International Law; The Churches of the Holy Land; The Grand Remonstrance; Scottish County Histories; Brain Difficulties; The United States under Mr. Buchanan. The article on Sanskrit Literature was the last work of the late H. H. Wilson, Baden Professor of Sanskrit in Oxford, etc., an admirable sketch, paying a full and warm tribute to the learning of Müller, and giving a valuable summary of the primitive religious system laid down in the Vedas. The article on Grotius is original and forcible; it makes the great advance of Grotius on International Law to be the transference of its principles "from the ancient theocratic and territorial basis to the Protestant and personal ground of the human will."

The Journal of Sacred Literature, October, 1860. *Contents:* Elijah at the Brook Cherith, and at Zarephath; Düsterdieck and others on the Apocalypse, from the *Christian Examiner;* The Morality of Religious Controversy; Exegesis of Difficult Texts (Math. iii, 15; 1 Cor. viii, 12; ix, 24–27; 2 Cor. ii, 3; iv, 4, etc.); The Genealogies of our Lord; Epiphanius on the Day of the Crucifixion Passover; Preaching to the Spirits in Prison; On the Parables of the New Testament; The Genesis of the Earth and Man; The Atonement; Correspondence, etc. The passage from Epiphanius is given in full with a comment; it is the passage of which Petavius said, that "no leaves of Sybils, or enigmas of sphinxes, can be compared with it in obscurity." The article on the Spirits in Prison is a criticism upon Dean Alford's Commentary, taking against him the ground, that the preaching was in the days of Noah. The object of the article on the Parables is to show their general importance, to exhibit the technical divisions and rules of criticism most useful in deciding upon their meaning, and to refute objections to them—that on the unrighteous Mammon being taken as an instance. The Genesis of the Earth and of Man, is a criticism of a recent work on that subject, which takes the ground that the record of the six days' work is a series of visions, and advocates the pre-Adamite theory, as to the origin of a portion of the human race. In the Correspondence, Mr. Henry Crossley endeavors to show that the Pharisees, rather than the Sadducees, were the heretical party among the Jews.

The *National* has articles on The Franks and the Gauls; The English Translators of Homer; Builders' Combinations in London and Paris; Russian Literature; Michael Lermontoff; The Middle Ages in England; The Natural History of Ceylon; French Fiction; the Lowest Deep; Baron Ricasoli and his Political Career; Nathaniel Hawthorne; Nature and God.

The *London Review*, the Methodist quarterly of England, treats on English, Literary and Vernacular; Recent Discoveries in Eastern Africa; Ruskin on Modern Painters; The Methodist Episcopal Church and Slavery; Lebanon—The Druses and Maronites; Sicily; England at the Accession of George III; Etheridge's Life of Dr. Coke; Henry Drummond; Italy in Transition.

The *British Quarterly* contains papers on Ireland—Past and Present; Atkinson's Travels—Amoor, India, China; Glaciers; Heinrich von Kleist; Burton's Lake Regions of Central Africa; Ruskin's Modern Painters; Egyptology and the Two Exodes; Christian Races under Turkish Rulers; Hours with the Mystics.

The *Christian Remembrancer* for October, has articles on the Oxford British Association, as related to Spiritual Questions; Bishop Hurd; Oxford—its Constitutional and Educational Changes; Essays and Reviews (the late Oxford); The Kalendars of the Church; Theory of the Mosaic System; Revivalism and Thaumaturgic Psychology. The article on Oxford shows the insufficient provision for theological education; there are only eight professors who systematically promote the study of theology. Professor Hussey —"no alarmist," in his "last sermon preached before the University, solemnly warned his hearers that the study of theology was dying out." The article on the "E-says and Reviews," of course, opposes them throughout; but it also significantly asks, how men who objected to Tract No. 90, because it allowed the Tractarians to subscribe the Articles, can consistently sign the same Articles, while opposing so many of the doctrines contained in them.

Mr. George Finlay completes his studies on the History of the Greeks, by an account of the Revolution, continued from 1821 to 1843. His previous works, The Byzantine Empire, 2 vols., and Greece, Roman, Mediæval, Ottoman and Venetian, in 3 vols., filled up a gap in historical literature.

The last number of the *North British* has an article on Galileo, by Sir David Brewster; one on Modern Thought, by Isaac Taylor; on American Humor and Humorists, by Gerald Massey; on Logic, by Prof. Fraser, the successor of Hamilton; on Syria and the Druse Question, by Rev. Mr. Porter, author of the Hand-Book of Syria.

Sir Archibald Alison is writing the Life of Lord Castlereagh, and his brother, Sir Charles Stuart, from family papers.

Wheaton's Elements of International Law have been adopted as a text-book in Oxford, by Prof. Bernard; another deserved tribute to our eminent American jurist.

Patristic Literature. The Three Books of Theophilus to Autolycus, on the Christian Religion, translated by the Rev. W. B. Flower. 8vo. (*Masters.*)—A. T. Nicolaides, Evangelical and Exegetical Commentary upon Select Portions of the New Testament. Founded on the Writings of Nicephores Theotices. In two vols. Vol. I, 8vo.—The Fall of Man, or Paradise Lost, by Caedmon, translated in verse from the Anglo-Saxon. By W. H. F. Bosanquet.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge are to publish two editions of the Greek New Testament, on the basis of the *textus receptus;* one with marginal references, and another, edited by Rev. F. H. Scrivener. The revised text of Cipriano de Valera's Spanish version of the Bible, is printed to the 8th of Isaiah; the revision of the New Testament is in rapid progress.

Mr. Murray announces volumes I and II of the Life of the Right Hon. William Pitt, with Extracts from his Unpublished Correspondence and MS. papers, by Earl Stanhope (Lord Mahon) known by his History of England; On Public School Education, with Especial Reference to Eton, by the Right Hon. Sir John T. Coleridge, D.C.L.; The Origin and History of Language, Based on Modern Researches, by Frederic W. Farrar, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; the first volume of the new edition of the Life and Works of Alexander Pope, containing more than 300 unpublished letters; preceded by a Critical Essay on Pope, with a New Life, by Rev. Whitwell Elwin, recently editor of the *Quarterly Review.*

A Life of George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, is announced by Messrs. Saunders & Otley. It is stated to be "from numerous original sources."

Sunday: its Origin, History, and Present Obligations, being the Bampton Lectures for 1860, by Rev. J. A. Hussey, D.C.L.; The Decalogue, Viewed as the Christian's Law, with special reference to the questions and wants of the time, by the Rev. Richard Tudor; Lectures on the Apocalypse: or Book of the Revelation of St. John the Divine, by the Rev. F. D. Maurice; Introduction to the Study and Use of the Psalms, by the Rev. J. F. Thrupp, author of An Investigation into the Topography, etc., of Ancient Jerusalem, are among the new works announced.

It appears from a statement recently compiled, that more than half the newspapers published in London are those of the cheap press, and that the total number of cheap papers established throughout the kingdom to the beginning of the present year, was within three of 500. Of these 323 are papers which have come into existence since the abolition of the stamp duty in June, 1855; 174 are old papers formerly published at full price, but now become cheap papers, making the total number 497.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A work on the Turkish language has been published at Philadelphia, entitled: De Turcarum Linguæ Indole ae Natura, scripsit F. L. O. Röhrig. The author was born at Odessa; while residing in France he won the Volney prize of the Institute, for a classification of the Tartar-Finnish languages.

The October number of the *North American Review*, under the title, "An Inglorious Milton," has an interesting account of a work by Thomas Peyton published in London, in 4to, in 1620, viz. "The Glasse of Time in the First and Second Age Divinely Handled," issued about forty years before Milton's Paradise Lost, and devoted to the same theme. Of the author nothing further is known than that he was of "Lincolne's Inne, Gent;" neither the Encyclopedias nor Hallam mention his name. The reviewer says: "A copy of this book, elaborately bound in vellum, ornamented with gold, with coat of arms and regal device, illustrated with curious cuts, and quaintly printed, has been kept in the possession of some English family, and was buried in the chest of an illiterate descendant, until his recent death created a train of circumstances, which in the end placed the treasure before our eyes." Copious extracts are given to show the similarity of the two poems; and they show no ordinary poetical ability. The author was apparently a churchman, and, judging from several allusions, had suffered in the disturbances of the times from the Puritans (or *Puritents*, as he calls them). The subject deserves a place in the Curiosities of Literature.

The 7th vol. (new series) of the Memoirs of the Philadelphia Academy, is devoted to a Glossary of Later and Byzantine Greek, by Prof. E. A. Sophocles, of Harvard University. The number of words explained is 15,000. It is a work of the greatest research and accuracy.

The October number of *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, in an article on Vocation to the Priesthood, insists earnestly that the R. C. Church cannot thrive here without a native priesthood. Of its 7 archbishops, all are of foreign birth, as are 36 of its 48 bishops, its only 2 mitred abbots, and 85 out of every 100 of its priests. The article is severe on the cheap "priest factories" in Europe, for sending over such raw stuff to be priests in this land. The same number of the *Review* takes the Protestant ground as to the holding of Church property; declares the registry of marriages to be a wise and necessary measure on the part of the state; says that the Pope's temporal sovereignty is not of divine right, and that the Roman people have the right to choose another temporal sovereign, etc.

The *American Oriental Society* held its semi-annual meeting at New Haven, October 17th and 18th. With a gift of American books was presented an essay by Chahnazarion, on the Historical Literature of the Armenians. Papers were read, on the Vocabulary of Modern Greek, by F. P. Brewer;; on recently discovered Sanskrit inscriptions, by Fitz-Edward Hall, of India; on the Augment in Language, by Rev. Mr. Wilson; on the Tamil Poetry and Music, by Rev. Edward Webb, Dindigul, India; on the Origin of the Greek Religion, by Prof. James Moffat, of Princeton; on Vowel Changes in English, by Prof. Josiah Gibbs; on American Relations with China, by Dr. S. W. Williams, of Canton; on Max Müller's History of Sanskrit Literature, by Prof. W. D. Whitney, of New Haven. — The second number of the 6th vol. of the Journal of this Society, concludes the translation of the Sûrya-Siddhânta, a Text-Book of Hindu Astronomy (also separately published); and has articles on Sanskrit Inscriptions, by Fitz-Edward Hall; on a Greek Inscription from Daphne, near Antioch in Syria, by Prof.

James Hadley; on the Árya-Siddhánta, by Fitz-Edward Hall; with miscellanies.

The Massachusetts Antiquarian Society proposes to publish another volume on the Indian languages, from papers furnished by T. W. Thornton and Rev. Mr. Bliss. The same Society has requested Mr. Henry W. Poole to communicate the result of his proposed researches into the antiquities of Mexico.

The demand for American books in Italy is becoming of some importance. The house of Daille & Co., of Milan, has effected an arrangement with Mr. Charles B. Norton, of New-York, for the supply of American books and periodicals. A specimen copy of every journal in the United States has been ordered by the house referred to.

The *Bay Psalm Book*, as is well known, was published in Cambridge in 1640, and a second edition in 1647. A writer in the *Notes and Queries*, March 24, 1860, brings to light the fact, not previously stated, that some of these Psalms were written by Francis Quarles, the author of the Emblems. The evidence is from a book by John Josselyn, An Account of Two Voyages to New England, published 1674. The author, under date of 1638, says, that on his arrival in Boston, then containing not more than twenty or thirty houses, he "presented himself to Mr. Winthorpe, the Governor, and to Mr. Cotton, the Teacher of Boston Church, to whom I delivered from Mr. Francis Quarles, the Poet, the translations of the 16, 25, 51, 88, 113, and 137 Psalm, into English Meeter, for his approbation," etc. A private reprint of this Psalm Book is about to be issued in Boston, limited to 50 copies; it is from a collation of two copies, neither of which is complete. The only perfect copy known is in the library of the Old South Church of Boston, and formerly belonged to Dr. Thomas Prince.

Among the works recently published or announced, are: The Ecclesiastical Laws of Massachusetts, by Edward Buck.—The Pulpit of the Revolution, by John Wingate Thornton, the author of the researches about The Landing in Cape Ann, 1624.—Samuel M. Smucker, LL.D., Philadelphia, has published The Blue Laws of Connecticut; a Collection of the Earliest Statutes and Judicial Proceedings of that Colony; being an Exhibition of the Rigorous Morals and Legislation of the Puritans.—Isaac Taylor's Logic in Theology and other Essays, with a Sketch of the Life of the Author, and a Catalogue of his Writings—published by W. Gowans, New York.—A Life of the late Dr. Van Rensselaer, by his son, will soon be issued by the Presbyterian Board of Publication.

Literary and Critical Notices of Books.

THEOLOGY.

Outlines of Theology. By Rev. A. Alexander Hodge. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1860. 8vo, pp. 522. As we stated in our last number, this work was prepared by a son of the Professor of Didactic Theology in the Princeton Theological Seminary, on the basis of questions drawn up by Dr. Hodge, for the use of his classes in 1845–6. The author first used these questions, somewhat modified, for the instruction of his congregation. The answers are derived from various sources; chiefly, however, from the lectures and published works of Dr. Hodge. The latter says of it, that in reading the book, he is "conscious of contact with a mind exterior to his own, differing from it in its modes of thought and expression"—(*Princeton Review*, Oct. 1860, p. 760). This we had supposed must be the case, as some of the statements in the work could hardly have come from a veteran in theology, and some of them misrepresent (undesignedly) the views of a large body of Christians.

The volume as a whole is well adapted to its object. It treats the main topics of theology by the method of questions and answers. This method, though unfavorable to systematic unity, has its advantage in popular instruction. The work does not pretend to be a system, but only a succession of topics. The idea of the covenants, if any one, is the central conception; but it is not so applied as to construct from it a regular system. Yet these *Outlines* will be found to be a useful help in the study of the doctrines.

The work will also be consulted for another object, viz. as a statement of what is called Old School theology, and of the way in which, what it calls New School theology, is represented by the Old School. And here, too, we are glad to see and say, that if the Old School be what is here represented, and if the New School be allowed to state for themselves what they really believe, and are not to be held responsible for opinions which they disavow—that the differences are reduced to narrow limits, limits so narrow as to give no reasonable ground for withholding ecclesiastical and ministerial fellowship on either side. We do not mean, that there are no differences in the technical statements and the philosophical explanations of certain doctrines; but, that these are minor points, when compared with the real unity upon the doctrines themselves. And the explanations and statements of this work, the modifications it suggests upon points sharply debated in the past, may also contribute to this desirable end. It is upon the whole, fairly interpreted, rather irenic than polemic.

There are four chief points in respect to which the doctrinal controversy has been conducted: the Sonship of Christ; Ability and Inability; the Imputation of Adam's Sin; and the Extent (involving in part the Nature) of the Atonement.

As to the Sonship of Christ, the orthodox doctrine is here said to be (p. 145) "that Christ is called Son, to indicate his eternal and necessary personal relation in the Godhead to the first person, who, to indicate his reciprocal relation, is called the Father." And on p. 147, it is said, that "the idea of derivation, as involved in the generation of the Son by the Father, appears rather to be a rational explanation of revealed facts than a revealed fact itself. On such a subject, therefore, it should be held in suspense." To this we readily subscribe. The doctrine of the Sonship is a doctrine about a "relation;" and it need not tell us (it cannot) *how the relation came to be.* Almost all the difficulties about it have come from taking it in the latter sense.

Upon the subject of Ability and Inability, in connection with the theory of the Will, the statements of this work are, we think, less consistent, than those of the old New England doctrine of natural ability and moral inability, as held by Edwards and Smalley. (On Edwards, see p. 44, of this number of our REVIEW.) The soul, says Mr. Hodge, "truly originates actions;" it is "an original cause of its own acts;" it is even implied that it is an "absolute cause; and that here "is a transcendental element of the human will." These statements might satisfy even one who held to the self-determining power. But, on the other hand, ability is formally denied; and it is even argued, that man's inability may properly be called "natural." Ability, as denied, is defined (p. 265) "as the power of the agent to change his own subjective state, to make himself prefer what he does not prefer;" and it can, of course, be held, in this sense, only by those who maintain a "transcendental element" in the will. The phrase "natural ability," in the sense of Edwards, is objected to (p. 267), as giving an "unusual sense" to the words; but this "unusual sense" is in fact the current sense in our theological discussions. The position, that the "inability" of the sinner is "natural," is quite as liable to be perverted.

On the question of Imputation these Outlines, of course, adopt the theory of immediate imputation. Mediate imputation is put in a false light. It is defined only as held by Placæus (p. 247), and even then, inconsistently, viz. "that God charges the guilt of Adam's sin upon his posterity only in consequence of that inherent depravity which they inherit by natural generation, *i. e.* we are associated with Adam in his punishment, because we are, like him, sinners." Now, the two clauses here separated by the—*i. e.* (as if they were equivalent)—give two entirely different, and even inconsistent, theories. The second statement would of course exclude imputation. And even the first statement is incorrect in the phrase "only in consequence;" for the theory does not hold that the charge of guilt is "only" on the basis of inherent depravity; though it does say, that this inherent depravity is the "medium" of the imputation, and not strictly a part of the imputation itself. The theory recognizes distinctly the connection between Adam's transgression and our condemnation, but says that this condemnation is "mediated" by our inherent depravity. And even immediate imputation concedes that our condemnation is mediated by our natural union with Adam. The words "immediate" and "mediate" are, in fact, hardly precise enough to designate the real theological differences. The representation here given, of what is called the "realistic theory so prominent in scholastic theology and mediæval philosophy" is equally objectionable. This theory, it says, asserts

" that the same numerical substance, which now subsists in individual me sinned in Adam." Who holds that " a substance" sinned? or, that the su stance of the race is " numerically the same," in the strict sense of nume cal identity, as applicable, *e. g.* and only applicable, to the Godhead? T human race is indeed one, and made one by common descent; the same h man nature has been propagated, but propagated in and through distinct i dividuals, who, though distinct as individuals, yet have a common natu The objections here urged to the " realistic" theory are, 1. That it is " hypothesis;" " there can be no evidence of any such generic human natu if all known phenomena can be otherwise accounted for." Of course not; t objection is equally good against any theory. 2. It is " rationalistic." B only as any general theory may be so called. 3. It leads to " manifold absur ties and contradictions" to say, " that community in a propagated nature . involves all in the relations moral and legal of their common progenitor." B whatever difficulties there may be about this matter, they are not peculi to the " realistic" theory; they lie equally against any doctrine of heredita sinfulness. The author of this work believes in hereditary depravity; if th does not lead him to the inference, that we are involved in the moral ch racter and conduct of each and all our progenitors, it need not compel t " realist" to the same inference. Community in nature involves the de cendant in the generic character and liabilities of the race; what is speci and individual may or may not be transmitted. This is the fact of the cas and the theory should be conformed thereto. If the advocate of immedia imputation holds, that through the nature the imputed sin can be in son way transmitted, without transmitting all sins, then, the " realistic" do trine of transmitted depravity may hold the same, we suppose, and wi equal consistency. And the latter, too, is relieved from the difficulty forcibly stated by President Edwards (Works, ii, 481): " Therefore am humbly of opinion, that if any have supposed the children of Ada to come into the world with a *double guilt*, one the guilt of Adam sin, and another the guilt arising from having a corrupt heart, they ha not so well considered the matter. The guilt a man has upon his so at his first existence is one and simple, viz. the guilt of the original apostas the guilt of the sin by which the species first rebelled against God. Th and the guilt arising from the first corruption or depraved disposition of th heart, are not to be looked upon as two things, distinctly imputed an charged upon men in the sight of God." And this theory, stigmatized " realistic," is certainly more consistent, than is that of immediate imput tion, with the doctrine of the Catechism, that, " we sinned in Adam, an fell with him in his first transgression:" for, if we *sinned in* him, it is ce tainly something more than sinning by " covenant;" and if we *fell wi* him, our fall is rather a participation than a punishment. The 4th objecti urged against this theory, in these *Outlines*, is on the ground of the imputati of Christ's righteousness; if Christ's righteousness is immediately imputa so, it says, must be Adam's sin, or else no imputation is left. " Our partic pation of Christ's righteousness," says this critic, " is declared by Scriptu to be analogous to our participation of Adam's sin." It is analogous in th general sense of imputation, viz. reckoning to account of one what anoth has done in his stead or behalf. But the mode in which this reckonin takes place may, and must be, different in different cases. In the case sin, there is at the basis a natural union with Adam by descent; in the ca of Christ the union is spiritual, by faith. The case of sin is one of strict l gal procedure; in the case of righteousness, the imputation is through an by grace. In this case of Christ's righteousness, there is nothing analogo

to what is strictly asserted about Adam, that we sinned in him and fell with him; we were not holy in Christ, and did not redeem ourselves in him. And even in respect to Christ's righteousness, there is a "medium" in faith, by which we receive him, and so become partakers of his justifying righteousness. If it be said, that if there must be inherent depravity in order to our being condemned, there must also be inherent righteousness in order to our being justified, the answer is derived, in part, from the fact, that the systems of law and of grace are different in their procedures and reckonings; and, in part, from the consideration, that what is needed in both cases is a real bond of union between the parties. In the case of Adam, that union is, as a matter of fact, found in our inherited depravity; in the case of Christ, that union is found in faith. Imputation, as a merely external, outside, abstract scheme, is not applicable either to the one or the other. And whichever view may be advocated, the differences, after all, are of such an abstract, and even tenuous character, that no reasonable person would insist upon entire agreement as essential to church fellowship.

The same is the case with the differences about the extent of the Atonement. The alleviations to the limited atonement theory, which these *Outlines* present, are such as really to make the controversy almost a logomachy; especially if the writer, as in fairness he ought, would correct his misrepresentation of what he calls the "New School" view of the atonement. The original author of the questions need not, we trust, be held responsible for this statement, which is, that "the governmental theory" is "distinctively New England and New School," and that its advocates "agree with the Socinians in their fundamental propositions: 1st. That sin does not intrinsically deserve punishment, i. e. that the true end of punishment is rather to prevent sin than to satisfy vindicatory justice, and, 2d, That there is no principle in God which demands the punishment of all sin for its own sake alone." To bring such a sweeping charge of holding "Socinian" views on this point, against the "New School" is hardly creditable to the writer. In what authorized representations of that School are such principles avowed? What prominent minister or theologian can be named, who would deny the positions, that sin intrinsically deserves punishment; or, that there is a principle in God, which demands the punishment of sin for its own sake alone? Some may hold, that there are other reasons for punishment than this; but few, if any, would deny that this is a sufficient reason. But to come to the limitation of the Atonement. On this point it is conceded (p. 312), "1st. That the atonement . . . was sufficient in its moral value to *satisfy justice* for the sins of *all men;* and, 2d, that it was exactly adapted to meet the requisitions of justice, growing out of *the legal relations of all men.*" (The Italics are ours.) In another passage (p. 316), it is even declared, "that it is *exactly adapted to the redemption of all;*" and "that God *designs* that whosoever exercises faith in Christ, shall be saved by him." The only difference now, says the writer, is on the point, of the "purpose" or "design" of Christ in dying; that purpose or design was "limited" to the salvation of the elect. Of course, this whole subject runs back into the theory of the covenants, and the order of the decrees, about which some of our Old School brethren seem to know a good deal more than we are able to find in the Bible. But, at any rate, in the above statements, the difference is reduced to its lowest terms—in fact, to the simple question, what does "design" mean? And here, too, we readily grant, that in the "Covenant," there was included the "design" of saving the elect. But, who knows that this was all the "design" there was in the "covenant"? May it not also have been a part of the "design" to make the salvation of all possible, and

to offer it to all on condition of repentance and faith. For, if the atonement, as is conceded, is "sufficient to *satisfy justice for the sins of all men*," if it is "adapted to meet the *requisitions of justice growing out of the legal relations of all men*," if it is "*exactly* adapted to the *redemption of all*," and if "God *designs* that whosoever exercises faith in Christ shall be saved by him,"—how do we know but that all this formed a part of the "covenant"? How do we know that the "covenant" was not "designed" to effect all this? What right have we to limit the "design," to only a part of what is actually accomplished by and through Christ's work? As it is in fact, so it was in purpose. And we may certainly reason back from what the atonement actually accomplishes to what it was designed to accomplish; and perhaps this is a safer course, than to make a theory of the covenants first, and then state the facts so as to accord with the theory. Is there any safer and surer way of finding out what was contained in the covenant, than by asking, what do the Scriptures tell about Christ's work and its effects? And if the Bible assures us that Christ died for the sins of the world, and for all, it is more reasonable to conclude, that in some proper sense of the word he "designed" to do this, than to limit the import of that gracious assurance, which expresses the whole truth about this matter, that Christ "is the Saviour of all men, especially of them that believe."

Codex Alexandrinus. *Novum Testamentum Græce ex antiquissimo Codice Alexandrino a* C. G. Woide, *olim descriptum: ad Fidem ipsius Codicis denuo accuratius edidit* B. C. Cowper. Londini. Williams et Norgate. New York. B. Westermann et Soc. 1860. Pp. xxx. 504. We have received this beautiful edition of the Alexandrine Codex only in time to announce its publication. The New Testament of this Codex A has been published only once before, in 1786, by Woide. The present work is more correct. It is a very important addition to the critical helps for the study of the New Testament. The paper and typography are all that could be desired. Westermann & Co. are the New York publishers. We shall give a more full account of it in the next number of the Review.

Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount. By Dr. A. Tholuck. Translated by Rev. R. L. Brown. Philadelphia. Smith, English & Co. 1860. Pp. 443. The Commentary has a standard reputation. The present translation is from the fourth German edition, and appears to be well executed, though retaining traces of the German edition. The work itself is indispensable to the scholar, being one of the best examples, in modern biblical literature, of full and minute interpretation.

Beneficium Christi. The Benefit of Christ's Death: Originally written in Italian, and attributed to Æonio Paleario. With an Historical Sketch of the Book and its Writer. Philadelphia: Presb. Pub. Committee. The Publication Committee have done a good service in reprinting this little work, which, after a circulation of 40,000 copies, in the 16th century, had almost passed into oblivion. It was one of the dawning fruits of the Reformation in Italy. The present reprint is from the English translation of 1573, discovered by Rev. John Ayre in 1843 or 1844. It cannot be read without profit, and a deeper sense of the import of Christ's work. It is written in a simple and earnest manner, by one whose soul was filled with a conviction of its own sinfulness, and of the absolute need of that righteousness which is of God through faith in Jesus Christ. We notice that Bell & Daldy of London announce, The Life and Times of Æonio Paleario: or, a History of the Italian Reformation in the Sixteenth Century; Illustrated by Original Letters and Unedited Documents. By M. Young. In 2 vols.

Theologisch-homiletisches Bibelwerk, Neues Test. IV Theil. Das Evangelium nach Johannes. Von J. P. LANGE, Prof. d. Theol. in Bonn. Bielefeld, 1860, pp. 427. We have already given an account, in noticing the previous parts of this work, of its general plan and merits. It has met with great success in Germany; and we are glad to learn that there is a project of translating (perhaps also condensing) the work, by several American scholars. Some of the "Homiletic Hints" appended to each section, giving themes and outlines of German sermons, might be omitted, and plans of English and American discourses substituted. This commentary on John is prepared by Dr. Lange, who is a most indefatigable and prolific author. Even where his imagination gets the better of his judgment, he stimulates the reader to thought. In his general introduction he discusses with much learning the character and history of the Gospel, and presents an ingenious analysis of its structure. The Gospels (Luke by Van Osterzee), the Acts by Lechler and Gerok, and the Epistles of Peter and Jude by Fronmüller are now completed: Hebrews by Dr. Moll, Corinthians by Kling, and the General Epistles by Van Osterzee are announced as in the press.

Is it Not Written? being the Testimony of Scripture against Romanism. By EDWARD S. PRYCE. London, 1860, pp. 250. This is a very convenient and useful popular work, testing the teachings of Rome by the Holy Scriptures. The subjects discussed, in nine chapters, are The Scriptures as the Rule of Faith; The Interpretation of Scripture; The Doctrine of the Church; Justification; The Supremacy of the Pope; Transubstantiation; The Sacrifice of the Mass; Purgatory and Indulgences; The Idolatry of Romanism. It is written in a candid and earnest spirit, and would be found a useful work by any who are brought into contact and collision with Roman Catholics.

The Utility and Glory of God's Immutable Purposes. By Rev. SERENO D. CLARK. 2d ed. Boston: Congregational Board of Publication. 1860. Pp. 218. We are glad to welcome a second edition of this carefully written work. It presents in a lucid and forcible manner the arguments for the doctrine of the divine purposes; and answers objections in an equally forcible, yet candid, way. It was not prepared for the ministry alone, but is adapted to the wants of all intelligent and reflecting Christians. We cordially commend it, as one of the best popular works on this important theme, and trust that it may have a wide circulation.

Parkerism: Three Discourses on the Occasion of the Death of Theodore Parker. By WILLIAM F. WARREN, F. H. NEWHALL, and GILBERT HAVEN. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860. These discourses are in the main just towards Mr. Parker as a scholar, a moralist and a deist, while with equal justice they expose many of his erroneous principles. That of Mr. Warren we have read with special interest.

Prerequisites to Communion. The Scriptural Terms of Admission to the Lord's Supper. By ALBERT N. ARNOLD, D.D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1861. A plea for strict communion, on the basis of immersion,—as not only Scriptural, but politic.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH AND OF DOCTRINES.

Die Philosophie der Kirchenväter (Philosophy of the Fathers of the Church). Von Dr. JOHANNES HUBER, München, 1859. S. 362. Dr. Huber is Professor of Philosophy in the University of Munich. In preparing a

memoir upon the remarkable system of John Scotus Erigena (whom Ritte calls the "enigmatic phenomenon" of the ninth century), he was led to carr his researches farther back, so as to trace out the clues by which Erigena wa connected with the history of Christian thought. Being a German, this boo was the result. And it is in many respects a valuable addition to the histor of doctrines, as well as to the history of philosophy. For this part of th history of thought, Ritter, especially in his last work on "Christian Phil sophy," has done more than any other writer. Dr. Huber extends and sup plements his researches. Though he does not sharply state the object o method of his researches, yet he has added to our knowledge of the opinion of almost all the great Fathers of the Church down to John of Damascu with whom the development of the theology of the Greek church arrives a its consummation. We are surprised to notice one marked omission — th of Athanasius, the Father of orthodoxy. If left out because he was simpl theological, then much that is here said of other Fathers and systems ough also to have been omitted. But in the theology of Athanasius, there ar also found some of the most profound philosophical statements as to th nature of deity, and the relation of divinity to humanity in the person of ou Lord. The most successful part of this treatise is that devoted to the syste of Augustine, (pp. 233–315) whom the author has manifestly studied wit peculiar throughness and veneration. The views of Origen (169–183), of Te tullian (100–129), of Iræneus and Hippolytus (78–100) are also discussed but Cyprian is omitted.

The general position of the work is this—that such a manifestation a that of Christ, the union of divinity and humanity, would necessarily lea to reflection and speculation. The prevalent systems of thought unite against the new doctrine. This produced first of all the apologetic defenc of Christianity, and, in part, on grounds of reason, as is seen in the work of Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, etc. Gnosticism and Neo-Platonism ar then discussed; but not so successfully as other parts of the history, for th fundamental difference between these two systems is ignored;—they wer opposed to each other as well as to Christianity. In many points, however there is a forcible exhibition of the relation of the new faith to these va schemes, of speculation, in which the whole of the ancient thought and eve religion was compactly collected, as if for a dying struggle with the new born faith. The heresies are then considered, as obscure and one-side schemes in contrast with the full-orbed brightness of the Christian syste Next follows an account of the rise of a Christian philosophy in Alexandri under Clement and Origen. The highest point reached in this work, how ever, as we have already intimated, is in the representations of the system Augustine; how he passed through doubts and struggles into the confiden of faith; and how, through the study of himself and the Scriptures he w led to God and Christ, as containing the complex of all truth. It is he strikingly remarked, that Augustine anticipated Descartes in his thorou study of self-consciousness, and Malebranche in his vision of deity, seei all things in God. Augustine's elevated and refined speculations upon th nature of God; his conquest over the last remnants of subordinationism his view of the Trinity as the very soul of Christian theology; his doctri of the freedom of the will as the centre of anthropology, of the self-orig nated guilt of man, and his hopeless and helpless state in consequence, a of the absolute need of divine, predestinating grace; all these points a exhibited as fully as the limits of the work would allow, showing clear that this great doctor and teacher of the Western Church has not only a the logical, but a high philosophical position, in the history of human thoug upon the vital problems of human destiny.

History of Latin Christianity; including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicolas V. By HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D. In eight vols. Vols. II, III. New York: Sheldon & Co. The second volume of this beautiful edition of Milman's able work carries the history on from Gregory the Great to the Partition of Charlemagne's empire, A.D. 889. The character and position of Gregory are delineated with great skill. The rise of Mohammedanism is ably and impartially sketched. The conversion of England and the Teutonic Races, Iconoclasm, the severance of Greek and Latin Christianity, the position of the Frank church, and the character and history of Charlemagne, are among the other topics, discussed with ample learning, and made attractive by condensed and vigorous descriptions. The third volume carries the history down to A.D 1095. No where in English literature is this portion of history reproduced with so much research and fidelity. The work takes its place among our standard histories. The publishers deserve the thanks of the public, and especially of all scholars, for undertaking so expensive a work, and bringing it out in such an unimpeachable style. Apart from its price (less than half of the English edition), almost any one would prefer the American reprint for its superior convenience and elegance.

A Text-Book of Church History. By Dr. JOHN HENRY KURTZ. Vol. I. To the Reformation. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakeston. New York: for sale by Phinney, Blakeman & Mason. Pp. 534. This American edition of Kurtz's Text-Book is a revision of the Edinburgh translation, with large additions of matter (about 50 pages) omitted in that edition; and a restoration of the "theological standpoint" of Dr. Kurtz, which was seriously modified, in Erdesheim's version, on the subjects of Predestination, the Sacraments and the Church. This work of revision has been executed by Dr. J. H. A. Bomberger of Philadelphia, editor of the condensed translation of Herzog's Cyclopedia, and fully qualified for the task. Of the great value of this compendium, an estimate was given in an article in this REVIEW, August, 1860.

De l'Origine de la Papauté par CHARLES PAYA, Paris, 1860, pp. 208. Among the numerous works called out by the recent events in Europe upon the Papacy in its relation to the temporal power, this volume of M. Paya deserves honorable mention, for its perspicuity and impartial statement of the facts of history. It is not the fruit of original research, but it presents the main facts as to the origin of the Papacy in a clear light, from the apostolic times to the pontificate of Leo the Great, showing that there is no evidence of its divine institution.

Methodism Successful: and the Internal Causes of its Success. By B. F. TEFFT, D.D., LL.D., late President of Genesee College. With a Letter of Introduction by Bishop JANES. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1860. Pp. 588. Methodism *is* a success; and that success is worthy of being chronicled; and Dr. Tefft has, in the main, executed his task with judgment and success. The work is well arranged and well written. It will not take rank with Dr. Stevens' able history, but it has in it the elements of a wide popularity. It will be useful to all as a store-house of facts. Those parts which recount the service which Methodists have rendered to general and theological literature will surprise most readers. Occasional disparaging remarks about other denominations were, probably, almost unavoidable. Nor can we accept the author's statements, though made with honest intent, about the Calvinistic system and its influence. The contents of the eight chapters are, briefly, The First Methodist; Numerical Strength of Methodism; Rise and Power of English and American Methodism; Outside Solutions of

Methodist Success; and then the representation of Methodism as (1) the Recovered Ideal of Christianity; (2) the Reproduction, Preservation and Propagation of this Ideal; and (3) on the Recovery of the Ideal of Christian Life and Worship. The argument is put on high, even ideal, grounds. But, what denomination can yet say, that it has the grand ideal of Christian faith and Christian life, full fashioned, and at work? Methodism has done, and is doing, a great and needed work. It has been at once a quickening and an organizing power; and to its union of these two things much of its success is, under God, to be ascribed. But, like all the rest of us, it is still to strive after the Ideal of Christianity, not counting itself to have yet attained thereunto.

The Pulpit of the American Revolution; or, the Political Sermons of the Period of 1776. *With an Historical Introduction, Notes, and Illustrations.* By JOHN WINGATE THORNTON, A.M. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860. Pp. 537. Mr. Thornton is already well known by his researches upon the "Landing at Cape Ann." In this new work he has put the students of our history, and the lovers of the principles of American liberty under new obligations. It is intended, as he states in his learned and able Introduction, to show that it is "*to the Pulpit*, THE PURITAN PULPIT, *we owe the moral force which won our Independence.*" A portrait of Samuel Mayhew, a representation of the British Stamps on the title-page, and a curious caricature, entitled "An attempt to land a Bishop in America," illustrate the volume. The title-page of each discourse is reprinted in *fac simile*, and they are all accompanied with an introduction and notes. The Discourses are nine in number: 1. Dr. Mayhew's famous sermon, Jan. 30, 1750, on Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance to the Higher Powers—the Mystery of King Charles's Saintship and Martyrdom unriddled; full of keen argument and wit. 2. Dr. Chauncey on the Repeal of the Stamp Act, 1766. 3. Mr. Samuel Cooke's Election, 1770. 4. Mr. William Gordon's Discourse, 1774, on Resistance to Tyrants. 5. Dr. Langdon's Election Sermon, 1775, exploding the divine Right of Kings. 6, 7, 8. The Election Sermons of Samuel West, Phillips Payson, and Simeon Howard, all upon the principles of true government. The collection is fitly concluded by the learned Election Sermon of Dr. Stiles, in 1783, on the theme—"The United States exalted to Glory and Honor." The volume is published in handsome style, and concluded by a careful Index.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Aurelii Prudentii Clementis quæ extant Carmina. [The extant Poems of Aurelius Prudentius Clement.] By ALBERT DRESSEL. Leipsic. 1860. Pp. 538. Dressel is doing excellent service in editing important works in the department of Church History. In 1853 he gave us the first complete edition of the Clementine Homilies, the 20th Homily, from a new codex in the Ottobonian Library, having never before been printed. In 1857 he issued the best edition we now have of the Apostolic Fathers, including the Greek re-translation (Mediæval) of the Pastor of Hermas, procured at Mount Athos the year before. In 1859 he published two recensions of the Clementine Epitome, one of them for the first time. And now, in 1860, we are indebted to him for incomparably the best edition which has yet appeared of the Poems of Prudentius.

The first sixty-eight pages of the work before us are devoted to the *Prolegomena*, in which we find a careful digest of all the learning pertinent to the subject. First, we have brief memoir of Prudentius; then, an account of his writings; then, a list of existing manuscripts and previous editions; and, finally, a list of versions in other languages, from which it appears that these Poems, either wholly or in part, have been rendered into the German, French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch and Greek tongues.

The biography of Prudentius is one of the briefest, seventeen lines sufficing to relate all that is certainly known of him, the only source of knowledge concerning him being his own writings. From these we gather that he was born somewhere in Spain, during the consulship of Philippus and Salia, A.D., 348; that he studied rhetoric; in early life was dissipated and licentious; practised law; was twice appointed Rector of one of the Spanish Provinces, probably under the Emperor Theodosius; after which, in reward of his services, he was called to fill some high office at Court, where, in his declining years, he became earnestly religious and composed the hymns which have embalmed his memory. The date of his death is not known.

His extant works are as follows:

1. A *Preface*, of 45 lines, in which he gives a sketch of his life down to the time of writing, when he was 57 years old.

2. *Cathemerinon*, a collection of 12 Hymns, six of them for daily use at different hours, such as at cock-crowing, before and after meals, at lamp-lighting and the like: and five of the other six having reference to special religious services of one sort or another. The 12th is an Epiphany Hymn, of 208 lines, embracing that most famous of all his productions, his beautiful commemoration of the slaughter of the Innocents at Bethlehem, commencing "Salvete flores martyrum."

These Hymns contain not a few passages which are valuable as illustrative of contemporary Christian life and doctrine.

3. *Apotheosis*, an extended Poem, of more than a thousand lines, in which he vindicates the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity against the Patripassians on the one hand, and the Sabellians on the other; and then the Divinity of Christ against Jews and Ebionites; and, finally, the reality of Christ's human embodiment against the Manicheans.

4. *Hamartigenia* (Origin of Sin), of about a thousand lines, in which he argues against the dualism of the Gnostic Marcion, and charges all sin upon the free-will of man.

5. *Psychomachia* (Soul-fighting), of nearly a thousand heroic hexameters, in which he celebrates the strife and triumph of virtue in the Christian soul.

6. *Contra Symmachum*, two Poems, in the first of which he assails idolatry; and in the other opposes the petition which had been presented by Symmachus in favor of restoring the altar of Victory, A.D. 382.

7. *Peristephanon*, a collection of 14 Hymns in honor of distinguished saints and martyrs, amongst the rest Peter, Paul, Hippolytus and Cyprian.

8. *Dittochaeon* (Two-fold nourishment), consisting of 48 four-line stanzas, relating to remarkable persons and events in Bible History, 24 of them out of the Old Testament, and 24 out of the New.

9. *Epilogus*, of 35 lines, which, though differently placed by different editors, seems very fitly to conclude the whole collection.

Two other Poems, attributed to Prudentius, are now no longer extant.

The editor of this beautifully printed volume has taken great pains to produce a pure text, giving all the various readings, and adding what notes he thought necessary in order to a perfect understanding of his author.

These annotations are admirably judicious in respect both to quantity and to quality, with nothing superfluous, and leaving nothing to be desired.

With regard to the poetic merits of Prudentius, Dressel steers midway between those enthusiastic admirers who salute him as "the Horace and Virgil of the Christians" on the one side, and those sterner critics who loudly decry him on the other other. Dressel regards him as the best of the early Christian Poets; inferior, doubtless, to his precedessor Juvencus in the purity of his Latinity and in general resemblance to classical models, but vastly his superior in breadth and grandeur of sentiment. Some of these Poems are poor enough; others are more to be commended for their orthodoxy than for their rhythm; while others again, as of the *Cathemerinon* and the *Peristephanon*, deserve high rank as religious lyrics. That, as mere poetry, they fall below the productions of the older Pagan bards, comes, in part, from the infelicity of the themes selected, in part, of that general decay which had fallen upon classic art, but in part, also, of a deliberate and earnest purpose, which preferred the glory of God to the praise of men.

Critical, Historical and Miscellaneous Essays. By Lord MACAULAY. With a Memoir and Index. 6 vols. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. This edition of Lord Macaulay's Essays commends itself to the most fastidious taste. It is a grateful relief to turn from the small type and double column volume, in which we have hitherto been compelled to read these admirable disquisitions, to this fair page and immaculate typography. Every body who reads Macaulay—and who does not?—will welcome these volumes. They contain all the articles published in the 3 vols., revised by the author; the contents of two volumes issued by his friends since his decease: and an Appendix, containing several essays, "unquestionably his," not found in any other edition. The essays are arranged in chronological order; and a full Index, not found in any other edition, is appended. A portrait, and an excellent critical and biographical Introduction, by Mr. E. P. Whipple, enhance the value of the work. It was printed at the famous Riverside press of Cambridge, following the punctuation and orthography of the English editions. Thus it may well claim to be, what its enterprising publishers call it, "a complete and correct edition, in handsome library style, of Lord Macaulay's Essays." These essays have an established reputation; with his History, they ensure their author a place in English literature, second only to that which creative genius receives. The highest talent, the sharpest perspicuity, the most definite imagination, and a complete mastery of the English language in its descriptive power, pervade these fascinating compositions. All the outside of life, character and history he caught, as by instinct, and described with marvellous felicity of diction. Mr. Whipple justly says: "As a narrator, in his own province, it would be difficult to name his equal among English writers; to his narrative all his talents and accomplishments combined to lend fascination; and in it he exhibited the understanding of Hallam, and the knowledge of Mackintosh, joined to the picturesqueness of Southey, and the wit of Pope."

A Commonplace Book: designed to assist Students, Professional Men, and general Readers, in treasuring up knowledge. Arranged by JAMES PORTER, D.D. *With an Introduction by* Rev. WILLIAM RICE. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860. This is an excellent work for students and others. Its great excellence is its simplicity, viz. an Alphabet, and 400 pages of good blank writing paper. Every student ought to have a copy and fill it full. The habit of making references and extracts, which such a book encourages, is one of the secrets of successful scholarship.

Moral and Religious Quotations from the Poets, topically arranged. By Rev. WILLIAM RICE. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860. 4to. Pp. 338. This volume comprises short selections from some six hundred poets, alphabetically arranged by topics. The selections are gleaned from Latin, old English, and German sources, as well as from modern literature. The work is prepared with scholarly taste, and beautifully got up—a very appropriate holiday gift.

Travels in the Regions of the Upper and Lower Amoor, and the Russian Acquisitions on the Confines of India and China. By T. W. ATKINSON. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860. 8vo. This volume has a much higher interest and value than an ordinary book of travels. It introduces us to vast regions, as yet little known, which must soon acquire a historic as well as commercial interest, in connection with the rivalry and progress of Russia and England in the farthest East. A valuable map accompanies the work, delineating Central Asia from the Caspian Sea to the Pacific Ocean, and from Cashmere and Pekin on the South to Siberia on the North. The work is issued in handsome style, with numerous landscape illustrations of scenes of impressive grandeur, and characteristic portraits. The geology, botany and ethnology of the region are so fully described as to give to the work a scientific value. The progress of Russia in these regions is detailed step by step. The narrative itself is full of romantic interest; the description of scenes and events often admirable. The work belongs to the very highest class of this kind of literature, and will be eagerly read by the lovers of adventure, and lovers of nature, as well as for scientific and commercial purposes.

The Christian Maiden. Memorials of ELIZA HESSEL. By JOSHUA PRIESTLEY. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860. Pp. 357. These Memorials, slightly abridged from the London edition, are the instructive record of a simple, cultivated and Christian life, well adapted to stimulate young women to higher literary and religious attainments.

Tom Brown at Oxford: A Sequel to School Days at Rugby. Part First. New York: Harpers. 1860. Pp. 360, breaking off in the middle of a word. The announcement of this work will be enough to stir the eager pulse of many a youth, until it is read all through. Tom Brown is well known among all the boys and collegians. The frank and robust spirit, the hearty tone and clear ring of the book will ensure it a wide circulation.

American History. By JACOB ABBOTT. Vol. III. *The Southern Colonies.* New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. Pp. 286. An excellent history, written with Mr. Abbott's usual felicity, and in every way well got up.

Our Year: A Child's Book in Prose and Verse. By [Miss Muloch] the Author of "John Halifax." Illustrated by Clarence Dobell. New York: Harpers. 1860. A beautiful collection of stories and poems for each month of the year, amply illustrated, making a nice book for a Christmas or New Year's gift.

News of the Churches and of Missions.

UNITED STATES.

WITHIN the last twenty-five years about a quarter of a million of dollars have been raised in this country for aiding churches in Europe. Among the larger amounts are: for the Free Church of Scotland, $80,000; for Irish Presbyterians (through Drs. Edgar and Dill), $30,000; for French Churches, $25,000 (besides the American Chapel in Paris); for Belgium, $8,000. A chapel in St. Petersburgh, one in Stockholm, the Theological Seminary of the Waldenses in La Tour, are among these benefactions. These are a part of the fruits of special applications, in addition to all that is done through the various societies.

German Reformed Church.—The General Synod held its 114th annual session at Lebanon, Pa. The Church now numbers 2 Synods, 24 classes, 391 ministers, 1,045 congregations, 92,684 members. The number confirmed last year was 5,769; baptisms, 10,551. In Pensylvania the number of churches is greater than those of the Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Dutch Reformed together.

The *American Missionary Association* had its anniversary in Syracuse, N. Y. Receipts, $56,092, and 6,000 acres of land (valued at $8,000).

The Episcopal *Evangelical Knowledge Society* received last year $34,015; its property amounts to $49,264.

Episcopal Foreign Mission.—Receipts to Oct. 1, $85,389; expenditures, $86,833, viz., South American Missions, $19,300; China, $8,531; Japan, $1,705; $11,624 for specific objects; and $43,623 for the general fund.

The *American Church Missionary* is a voluntary *Society* for missions in the Episcopal Church. At its recent anniversary, Rev. Dr. Tyng read the annual report, which was of considerable length. It sets forth that the American Church Missionary Society originated in the desire and purpose of a large portion of the evangelical clergy and laity of the Episcopal Church in the United States to direct and manage the interests of Gospel missions, for which they rejoiced to contribute, according to their own principles, and by their own views of truth and duty. It complains that the constitution and agency of the Board of Missions, in its actual history, have not been satisfactory to those in the Church, whose views of personal right and duty have now led to the formation of the Church Missionary Society; that the evangelical portion of the Church have never had a just or reasonable allowance of influence or authority, either of persons or position in the board; that the churches representing their views, and maintaining their ministry have contributed the larger portion of the missionary funds expended, though defrauded by ecclesiastical power of their proper measure of influence in their dispensation.

Rt. Rev. Manton Eastburn, D.D., Bishop of Massachusetts, was introduced, and moved the first resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the true principle of operation in missionary labors, as well as in other works of benevolence, is by the voluntary association and action of Christians united in sentiment, and governing the distribution of their own funds."

The *New York Evangelical Alliance* was last month formally inaugurated at the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian church (late Dr. Alexander's). The Secretary, Rev. Chas. C. Goss, read an introductory statement of the causes which had led to the organization of the Alliance. His report opened with the following statement, showing, out of the present population in this city, how many were provided with places of worship, and the numbers entirely destitute of church accommodations: present population, 843,741; places of worship, 274; number provided for, 205,580; number unprovided for, 638,161. (But this includes the *whole* population: there need be church sittings, at the utmost, only for about three fifths.)

Following the above statement, the report proceeds:

The above places of worship include some 25 mission stations, 25 Catholic churches, besides 20 others usually termed *un*evangelical. Deducting these from the whole number, 274, and we have only some 200 evangelical churches in our city.

The *Southern Aid Society*, of which Dr. Baird is the General Agent, held its 7th annual meeting in New York, Nov. 25th. It has aided 100 churches in 14 southern states: Presbyterians, Baptists, Episcopalians, Lutherans, and German Reformed. The total receipts were $17,031; the churches aided also raised about $30,000 for religious uses.

Germans in New York City.—The statement is made that "there are 85,000 Germans in the city, of whom 28,000 are Roman Catholics, 7,000 Jews, 8,000 *Protestants*," and 42,000 infidels, atheists, etc.

An error of 11,000 in the statement of an aggregate population ought to discredit these statistics. The census of '55 gives the total of 95,986 as from "Germany." Then, turning to the directory, it is found that there are *twenty-four* Protestant German and but *five* Roman Catholic churches. A German familiar with these Protestant places of worship, estimates the ordinary Sunday *attendance* at 11,600. Taking into account the children, sick and infirm persons, and irregular attendants, it would not be far from the fact to estimate the aggregate Protestant church-going population at 30,000, or an average of little more than 1,000 for each Protestant congregation. If three times this number be granted as connected with each of the German Catholic congregations, it would give a total of 15,000 for that community. Then add the 7,000 Jews, more or less, and it would leave some 40,000, or more, of "free Germans," including many infidels and atheists, indeed, but also embracing many hundreds who are so far Americanized as to have become members of English congregations, and many thousands who are simply indifferent to all religious questions and organizations.

Dutch Reformed Church. The half century anniversary of the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick was celebrated Dec. 5th. Dr. John H. Livingston was appointed Professor of Theology in the College in 1784. The *Intelligencer* says: "It ought to be remembered that small as our Church was in 1784, and crippled as it had been by the Revolutionary war, it was, nevertheless, the first in America to undertake the establishment of a theological seminary. St. Mary's in Baltimore was founded in 1791; Andover Seminary, in 1807; Princeton, in 1812; and the Harvard Divinity School, in 1816. In 1810, Queen's College having been

reöpened, and a professorial fund created, Dr. Livingston removed to New Brunswick, having served, says Gorwin, 'in the professorship in this city for twenty-six years without compensation.'

"Thus far, if statistics can be trusted, the Reformed Dutch Church has pursued a policy towards its own Seminary which ought not to be continued in the future, unless there is a serious desire to abolish it altogether. The statistics to which we refer may be briefly given; they are as follows: graduates of the seminary from 1784 to 1860, 501; ministers received from other denominations, from 1784 to 1858, 311.

"Thus it will be seen that more than half of the working ministry of the Church has been drawn from other denominations, since the year 1784, to the manifest discredit and injury of our own institutions. This policy, in the past, may have been the result of necessity. It is no longer so. We have now in preparation for the ministry 118 persons, distributed as follows: in Rutgers College, 56; in the Seminary, 57, of whom 18 are in the Senior Class, expecting licensure in the coming spring."

The *American Bible Union* (Baptist), for the revision of the Scriptures, held its anniversary in New York, Oct. 4. The receipts of the last year were about $40,000. The following table shows the number of the Union's publications since its formation. In case of foreign Scriptures, where the details have not been returned, the statement is estimated on the basis of the appropriations and probable cost of publication.

Publications.	*Copies.*	*Pages.*
Karen Scriptures,	3,500	800,000
Chinese "	6,000	1,800,000
Siamese "	4,000	961,700
German Bibles and Testaments,	140,125	65,491,625
Italian New Testaments,	2,000	686,000
French Gospels,	1,009	31,000
Spanish Gospels, Epistles, and New Testaments,	10,118	884,044
Bible Union Reporter, containing revisions,	219,105	4,674,232
The Book of Job in various forms,	14,869	1,168,975
Matthew's Gospel, (in part,)	9,823	393,998
Mark's "	1,275	189,500
Luke's "	969	75,569
John's "	206	88,596
Acts,	2,421	554,186
Ephesians,	3,191	181,786
Thessalonians, in various forms,	3,227	266,814
Hebrews,	2,202	211,392
Philemon,	3,235	276,190
First Peter to Revelation, inclusive,	4,560	1,000
Scripture Publications,	430,663	78,699,630
Quarterlies, tracts in packages, etc.,	630,458	21,602,265
Total,	1,060,121	100,292,044

Baptist Denomination.—The *Baptist Almanac* for 1861, contains interesting information regarding the present condition of the denomination. From the table of "Grand Total of Regular Baptists in North America," we learn that the number of associations in the United States is 576; number of churches, 12,371; ordained ministers, 7,837; licentiates, 1,115; baptized in 1859, 72,086 — total, 1,020,442. The number of Baptists in Nova Scotia is 18,057; in New Brunswick, 7,703; in Canada, 13,715; West India Islands (estimated), 36,350 —making a grand total in North America of 1,091,167 regular Baptists. Of other denominations which practise immersion, the *Almanac* sets down the Anti-Mission at 60,000; Free-Will Baptists, 59,791; Six-Principle Baptists, 2,000; Seventh-Day Baptists, 6,577; Church of God, or Winebrenarians, 13,800; Disciples, or Campbellites, 350,000; Tunkers, 8,200; Mennonites, 36,280. If these are added to the above, it will make 1,618,815 who give in their adhesion to the doctrine of immersion.

Decrease of Free-Will Baptists.—The *Free-Will Baptist Register* for 1861 gives the following statistics of that denomination: 31 yearly meetings, 145 quarterly meetings, 1,286 churches, 1,022 ordained preachers, and 58,441 communicants. This, compared with the statistics of the preceding year, shows a decrease of 12 churches, 22 ordained ministers,

and 1,350 communicants, though the number of yearly meetings has increased by one, and that of quarterly meetings by two. Of the 80 yearly meetings which were in existence last year, 15 show an increase and 15 a decrease of membership.

Missionary Efforts of Southern Baptists.—*The Commission*, the organ of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Southern Baptist Convention, makes the following statement respecting contributions to that Board: "The contributions for the year ending 31st of March, 1857, were $31,932.29. Those for 1858, $34,302.55; making for the two years, $66,284.84. For the year ending 31st of March, 1859, the amount was $39,824.37; for 1860, $40,596.17; an aggregate of $80,420.54. This is an increase of $14,185.70 over the preceding two years."

The *Welsh Congregational Churches* in the United States number 95, with 55 pastors, 21 preachers, 8,601 regular hearers, 4,366 church members, 190 church officers, and 4,001 Sunday-school scholars. The largest number, 27, is in Pa., 23 in Ohio, 22 in New York, 17 in Wisconsin, 1 in Iowa. They have 5 weekly journals, 2 of them published in New York.—*Cong. Quarterly.*

In the North-Western and Pacific States and territories, the *Congregationalists* have 646 ministers, 789 churches, 38,366 church members; the New School Presbyterians have 467 ministers, 566 churches, 29,494 members; the Old School Presbyterians, 459 ministers, 700 churches, 35,249 church members.

Universalists.—The National Convention, assembled in Boston in Oct., reports 692 preachers, 969 meeting-houses, 1,276 societies. It has Conventions in 22 States; 17 periodicals, 3 colleges, a theological school, and 6 academies.

A *National Convention of Infidels* met in New York on Sunday, Oct. 7, and had an audience of about 200. "Reams of resolutions were read," and long speeches made on them. The *Tribune* says "that the grand staple of business before the Convention was gross blasphemy, stale assertions, and trivial talk;" and that the meeting was "darkly tinged with disappointment and doubt" as to the progress of infidelity.

CANADA.

The *Union of Free and United Presb. Churches* has been consummated at Montreal. The united body is called the Canada Presbyterian Church.

In Nova Scotia a similar union has been effected.

SOUTH AMERICA.

There are not now ten Protestant missionaries in this country; not one in Mexico. The Rev. David Trumbull has labored fifteen years at Valparaiso, preaching the Gospel to a congregation of English and American merchants, seamen, mechanics, and doing good to the native people, as he has opportunities. In a recent letter to the American and Foreign Christian Union, he communicates some interesting information:

"During the last year, I have printed seven pamphlets on questions pertaining to the Gospel as distinguished from Romanism:

	Copies.
1. Vindication of Bible Societies and Bible Distribution,	2,000
2. Sermon on the Death of the Governor, (who was shot),	1,000
3. El Arca; Reprint of a Sermon from England,	3,000
4. St. Jerome's Epistle to Palinus, A.D. 400, showing the true books of the Sacred Canon,	2,000
5. Translation of a Letter showing the distribution of Scriptures in Constantinople,	1,000
6. Which are the Inspired Books? giving extracts from Jerome's Epistle,	4,000
7. Results of Reading God's Word. Case of an American Banker. (From *Missionary Herald*),	3,000

"Beside, two tracts are now ready for printing—one giving the origin of the name Protestants, and the protest itself; and the other, a short notice of Bible results in the case of one man in France."

EUROPE.

ENGLAND.—An increase of bishoprics begins to be demanded in England; for two centuries there has been an increase of only one, though the population has more than doubled. An earnest effort is made for the revival of the Convocation of York. The Convocation of Canterbury is discussing ecclesiastical matters with greater directness and earnestness.

Such strong representations have been made to the British Government, against the appointment of William Barclay Turnbull, as the Calenderer of the Foreign papers in the State Paper Office, that it is supposed he will be removed. The objections are on the ground that he is a Roman Catholic convert, and has shown in his published works such hostility to Protestantism, that these important papers would hardly be safe in his keeping.

Wesleyan Statistics.—The official number of fully accredited members is 492,667; of members received on probation, 50,592; and of ministers, 2,612. The number of communicants is greater since the whole of them are not "members of society," so that probably the number in actual fellowship is about half a million. The increase during the past year is remarkable, having taken place, with a few minor exceptions, in all parts of the British colonies. At home the members in Great Britain are 310,311; five years ago they were 260,858. The increase reported at the conference of 1859, was 15,104, and at the conference of 1860, it was 17,716. Including Ireland, the whole increase last year was 20,645. In the Australasian Methodist church there has been, during the same year, a very considerable increase. That colonial bureau is reported by its own conference to be 1,355, and the increase on the missions is 2,681, making in all, 4,306.

The Methodist New Connection, established in 1797, held its annual conference in June, 109 being present, 52 ministers and 57 laymen. The receipts for missions were £5,959; £10,196 have been expended for chapels. They have 473 chapels, 189 preachers, 1,204 local preachers, 29,391 members, 60,758 scholars; on probation, 2,562. A theological institution is projected.

Independents.—Number of Ministers and Missionaries in the British dominions, 2,734; churches in England 1,600, in Wales 636, in Scotland and Channel Islands 147, in the Colonias 208; total, 2,591.

The Swedenborgians. —The English Swedenborgians held their annual conference in Newcastle-on-Tyne. Some forty or fifty ministers and representatives from different parts of the kingdom attended the meetings. This body devotes much time and attention to day schools, of which some stand in the foremost ranks of the Government Inspector's reports; one large school in Manchester in particular. Bequests of money are left from time to time for this purpose, and last year no less than £18,000 was so bequeathed, and put at the disposal of "The Conference." They have also numerous Sunday-schools, and support a "Society for printing and publishing the works of Swedenborg," two tract societies, and two missionary societies. A monthly magazine has a sale of about 3,000 copies; but there are others published by private members.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.—This Society which was incorporated by William III in 1701, has now been engaged for 157 years in endeavoring to plant the church of Christ among our countrymen abroad and among the heathen. From North America, in 1701, its operations have gradually been extended to the West Indies (1710), Australia (1795), India (1818), South Africa (1820), New Zealand (1839), Ceylon (1840), and Borneo (1849.) When the Society

was first founded, there were probably not twenty clergymen of the Church of England in those lands. There are now congregations in its pastoral care of upwards of 3,000, of whom 413, stationed generally in the most destitute places, are assisted by the Society. There have been established in the British colonies seventeen colleges, in which clergymen are educated, to fourteen of which the Society lends aid. The British possessions abroad extend over a surface of about 9,000,000 square miles, and are the seat of thirty-eight bishoprics. In 1851, the Society's income was £102,592.

Roman Catholics in England have 1,236 priests, 950 chapels, 37 cloisters, 12 colleges. The British Government expends for Roman Catholics, £226,487; viz. for chaplains, 7,229; schools, 36,258 (for 45,907 scholars and 1,044 teachers); hospitals, etc., 8,000; Maynooth College, 30,000; Irish schools, 115,000; prisons, 10,000; in the Indian colonies, 20,000.

Hostels at Cambridge.—The singular movement originated by Dr. Wolff, of Bokhara celebrity, for the formation of "hostels" at Cambridge, for the education of young members of the eastern churches, promises to be attended with complete success. The Patriarch of Armenia is represented as having expressed "a great desire for a nearer communion" with the Church of England, and the Rev. George Williams has proceeded to the East, with a view of promoting this object, by assisting the oriental Christians in completing their arrangements for sending young men to Cambridge. The Russian government has already determined upon the establishment of a "hostel" in connection with the seat of learning. —*London Watchman.*

Dr. Wolff also proposes, if his friends and the religious public will furnish him the requisite means, to undertake a new mission into Armenia, Yarkand, and other places in Chinese Tartary. "This mission," he says in a letter, an extract from which has been published, "I intend to pursue quite in a different mode to that adopted in my former missionary travels; and the mode will be this: I shall assume the garment of a monk of the Eastern Church, with a Bible in my hand and the cross figured on my gown—which gown shall consist of black cloth. Wherever I find a bishop of the Christian Church (let him be either of the Russian, or Greek, or Syrian Church), I shall act under his advice and direction; and the preaching of the Gospel shall consist, not in disputing about points of difference, but in showing to them the beauty of the Gospel of Christ by my word, and in my life and conversation."

The annual report of an English Anti-Pew Society says: "In churches where the change has been made from appropriated to free seats, the result has been that the churches have been crowded, that the attendance has been doubled, nay, even trebled, and most important of all, that the poorer classes, and those who rarely, if ever, attended divine worship of any kind, now throng those churches, wherein the invidious distinction between rich and poor has been entirely abolished."

Ragged Schools in London.—This great movement is attracting more and more largely the active benevolence and self-denying labors of Christians of all denominations in the British Metropolis. No fewer than 2,670 persons are engaged in gathering the waifs and strays of the juvenile population from the alleys and lanes of London, and imparting to them some ideas of truth, honesty, and religion. "Poor Joe," the street-sweep, "who don't know nothing," has found at last that there are Christian hearts that can recognize his humanity even in rags. In addition to these unpaid teachers, there are 416

paid ones and 380 paid monitors. There are no fewer than 47,530 names on the list of Sunday and week-day schools, but as many attend both, the committee reckon the number of children under their control not less than 25,000. The amount of good accomplished in elevating this class of London poor, is incalculable. It has been the means of instilling an honorable ambition in the minds of thousands of poor boys, who would otherwise never have dreamed of any thing above life in a kennel.

THE English press at the present time consists of 1,050 newspapers, which may be divided under the heads of liberal, conservative, independent, and neutral. The numbers assigned to these classes respectively in the order of their arrangement are, 397, 193, 106, and 354.

The Temporalities of the Established Church of England and Ireland.—There are in the patronage of the sovereign, that is, virtually, of her majesty's ministers, about 200 dignities, such as archbishops, bishoprics, deaneries, etc., and 290 livings, of the annual value of $1,776,000. The Lord Renfrew has the disposal of 29 livings, worth $35,520. The Lord Chancellor disposes of 778 dignities and livings, of the value of $888,000. The Duchy of Lancaster has 48 livings, value $66,600. The archbishops and bishops, the deans and chapters, have the disposal of 4,000 dignities and livings, of the value of $4,440,000. There are in the gift of the University of Oxford 482 livings; value, $666,000. Cambridge has 306 livings; value, $444,000. The livings under private patronage are 6,063, with an income of nearly $8,880,000, This gives for the church in England 13,215 dignities and livings, with a gross income of nearly $17,760,000. The Irish branch of the church has two archbishops and thirteen bishops, with 300 dignities and 2,000 livings, possessing an annual income of nearly $4,440,000. The total number, therefore, of dignities and livings in the United Church of England and Ireland is 15,500, realizing an aggregate income of more than $17,000,000, or nearly £5,000,000 sterling. These calculations are based on the published values of the various dignities and livings, the actual value being in very many cases much greater.

"The average salary of the deans all over the country is £1,470, and the chapters, consisting of from half a dozen to half a score of prebends, with a few trifling incumbrances, in the shape of school-masters and singing men, absorb about £200,000 of church money. The canons of Durham alone have £6,700 allotted to them as the income of their office, but this trifling pay is made up by the addition of livings to the value of £27,000. The cathedral establishments, which add so much venerable dignity to our country, may be set down as costing £30,000 each, or £900,000 in all."

A CORRESPONDENT of *The World*, writes: "An act of parliament has just passed, and having obtained the royal assent, it is now the law of the land, authorizing the sale of certain churches of the city of London, because they have ceased to answer the purposes for which they were designed. The act embraces fifty-nine churches in the city proper, but is incomplete in reference to ten. Omitting them, it shows there are forty-nine churches, capable of accommodating 22,352 persons. The incumbents receive incomes amounting in all to £17,000, beside their parsonages, and the entire clerical staff amounts to sixty-four. If the annual costs of organists, beadles, etc., be taken into account—amounting on an average to one hundred pounds each — the whole amount will be £21,900. The buildings are capable of holding 22,352 worshippers; but, instead of a fair proportion of that number being present, the aver-

ge attendance each Sunday, includ-
ng children, was only 8,498 persons,
r an expenditure of three pounds
even shillings and six pence per
ead. If a severer test of the mean
ttendance be taken — viz., of the
umber of communicants — the fail-
re is still more conspicuous, for it
as as low as 1,093. Even the num-
er of baptisms was small, for it
eached only 944."

Religious Meetings in Edinburgh. —Since the exciting times of the Re-
rmation in the sixteenth century, he city of Edinburgh has seen noth-
g like the scenes of religious in-
erest which are occurring in that
enerable capital of North Britain
ithin the last few weeks. Great
eetings for exhortation and prayer
re holding in the Grassmarket, on
alton Hill, in Queen's Park, and
ther places of resort, in the day-
ime (when the weather has permit-
d), and in the "Assembly's Hall,"
nd other suitable places at night.
he persons who have conducted
hese religious exercises belong to
he highest ranks of the Christian
eople of the several evangelical
hurches of that city, and some of
he neighboring towns.

Baptists in Wales. — There has
een a net increase of Baptists in
Vales for the associational year end-
g June, 1860, of seven thousand one
ndred and ninety-seven. There
re eight associations, and four hun-
red and seventeen churches in the
ittle principality of Wales. It is
ithin the recollection of persons still
iving when there was but one asso-
iation.

IRELAND.—The last meeting of the
rish General Assembly, was by far
he most numerously attended and
pirited of any yet held. In 1859,
he sums received for the various
missions of the Irish Church, exclu-
sive of £1,172, collected in Scotland,
amounted to £8,324 4s. 7d. In 1860,
exclusive of £6,068 19s. 3d., obtained
by the deputation in the United States, and also of the amount raised in Scotland, the sum contributed by the various congregations of the assembly, amounted to £12,108 3s. 8d., thus showing an increase of £3,783 19s. 1d., being 45 per cent more than the contributions of 1859.

THE *Irish Presbyterians*, in 1840, had 430 congregations, but now they have 530. They have thus added 100 churches in 20 years. Of 53 churches, the fruit of purely missionary labors, 41 are in Romish districts. Scotchmen in those districts, who had no churches, are among their most active and useful members. In 36 schools, with 4,580 scholars, 1,400 were Romanists. In one district 5,000 Romanists have been scholars, and of 1,440 no less than 870 were Romanists. In 1859 they aided 36 mission churches, 16 of them having 70 hearers each, and 30 mission stations, distant from 3 to 20 miles. Some of their members travel to church from 30, 36, and 40 miles, and two of them live 43 miles apart. In the most Romish province in the country — Connaught — they had last year 19 churches, with 43 preaching stations, and 2,000 hearers; 23 ministers, 20 Scripture readers and colporteurs, and the teachers of 56 Sunday and daily schools.

ITALY.—*The Church of Rome in the Two Sicilies.*—King Ferdinand II conceded to the Church greater privileges than it had previously had —though not in the form of a *Concordat*, which could be abolished only by the consent of both parties, but in the form of Decrees and Rescripts, which the government might at any time annul. By these decrees, issued in April and May, 1857, property left to the church does not need additional state authorization; the church is left free in the management of its property; provincial synods may be called without the royal revision, education is put into the hands of the clergy, etc. Though Naples and Sicily are united under one sceptre,

yet Sicily has always had special rights in the way of jurisdiction, dating from the time of the Norman rule under Count Robert, brother of Robert Guiscard, who rescued it from the dominion of the Arabs, and became its ruler in 1085. In 1097, Urban II conceded to him and his successors the extraordinary privilege of being in perpetuity, legitimate Legates of the Apostolic See. This is the origin of the famous Sicilian Monarchy. The privilege was confirmed by Pope Lucius II to Roger II in 1144, when Sicily became a distinct kingdom. When Sicily came, after the Peace of Utrecht, in 1713 into the hands of the weak Duke of Savoy, Pope Clement XI endeavored to recall this privilege, and to abolish the Tribunal of the Monarchy, but unsuccessfully, and the privilege was renewed in 1728 in a Concordat with Charles VI. This still remains in force. As to Naples, the Concordat of 1818 has been the basis of the ecclesiastical rule. — Abridged from the *Deutsche Zeitschrift.*

Confiscation of Church Property in Naples.—On the 22d September the following decree was published: Art. 1. All the archiepiscopal and episcopal funds are declared national property. Art. 2. Every bishop and archbishop shall be paid by the state a suitable emolument, which shall not exceed the sum of 2,000 ducats. The balance of the ecclesiastical funds shall be spent in providing for the decorous provision of the lower clergy, etc.

Of the Provinces which still remain to the Pope, Rome and Camarca have 326,504 inhabitants; Civita Vecchia, 20,701; Velletria, 62,013; and Frosinone, 153,569; a total of 560,867 inhabitants. The Piedmontese have deprived him of the Marches, Umbria, and the province of Viterbo. The population of the Marches is 924,055, of Umbria 472,639, and of Viterbo 129,372 inhabitants. Thus, 1,255,019 inhabitants have been withdrawn from the temporal sway of the Pope, not to mention Sicily.

Italian New Testament.—A new large type edition of the Italian New Testament, Diodati's version, has just been issued from the Waldensian printing press in Turin, the funds for which were chiefly supplied by a joint donation from the Edinburgh and Glasgow Bible Societies. It is very creditably got up; sells for one franc, sixty centimes, the copy, and supplies a desideratum for the aged, and those who can only read with difficulty. It is the first edition of the Protestant Scriptures printed in Piedmont, and its publication settles the question of the right the Waldenses have to print the book they need for their religious worship—a right which had been called in question, as the constitution prohibits the publication of all books which treat of religion, without the leave of the diocese.

Bologna.—In Bologna, one of the most ancient and strongest fortresses of the Romish faith, a Protestant has purchased the palace of Sixtus V, and has arranged the chapel of the pontiff for the celebration of worship under the Protestant form. A pastor from Geneva has held service there for four or five months, and has already gathered around him quite a flourishing little society. This is certainly a great and hopeful change from the time, but a few months ago, when the only places in which Protestant service could be held in the Pontifical State and the Two Sicilies, were in the legations of the Protestant governments at Rome and Naples.

Waldenses.—The receipts of the Synod for the last year were 158,283, of which 25,358 francs were devoted to evangelization beyond the valleys. M. Malan of La Tour, is the President of the Synod. Mr. Pendleton reports the raising of £2,000 for the Vaudois colony in Monte Video.

France.—The Central Committee of the Reformed Church Council, to

the reproach of Protestantism, have recently decided, in a case submitted to them, that a Protestant soldier may rightfully be called upon to kneel at the elevation of the host—that it is a mere military act. This decision is arousing a strong feeling against the Council.

In a recent debate in the Senate upon the increase of monastic orders, it was stated, that there are now in France 4,932 authorized religious associations, and 2,870 unauthorized. They own property, houses and lands, of more than 100,000,000 francs in value. The Senate sent to the government a petition, which asked for restrictions upon their increase.

The *Moniteur* publishes a decree suppressing the *Gazette* of Lyons. The ministerial report, proposing the suppression, says: Under existing circumstances the government found it convenient to allow great liberty to the journals; but toleration would be weakness if discussion were allowed to degenerate to injurious hostility and guilty provocation. For several days, the portion of the press which pretends to represent the sacred cause of religion has redoubled its violence. An act of firmness becomes necessary. Conscience is troubled, authority and faith are lessened, by the confusion that party spirit engenders between passion and religious duty.

"Religion would be compromised if her most respected principles were lowered to complicity with that revenge or ambition which the country has so often repudiated. The *Gazette of Lyons* has signalized itself before all others, by its incessant appeals for agitation, by the perfidy of its attacks against the government, and by the disdain it has opposed to the good advice of the administration. Its number of the 17th inst. more especially reached an excess that can not be tolerated."

A Great Change. — In France, prominent men of letters, hitherto nominally Catholic, and for the most part really infidel, are now advocating the historical, literary, missionary, and theological claims of Protestantism. Some of these writers, though brought up in the bosom of the Romish Church, avow fearlessly the superiority of Protestantism as a system of religious faith.

There are at Paris, at the present time, nineteen Protestant churches in full operation, ninety-seven Protestant clergymen, and 2,500 children regularly attending Protestant Sunday-schools.

Swiss Anniversaries — The Geneva Societies.—From the 17th to the 22d of July the anniversaries of the Bible and Missionary Society, the Evangelical Society, the Union for the Evangelical Diaspora, and of the Evangelical Alliance, were held in Geneva.

The Bible Society had distributed 3,000 New Testaments among the Swiss troops; and in all, 900 Bibles, above 5,000 New Testaments, and 10,000 tracts.

The income of the Missionary Society reached the sum of 22,631 francs, of which sum 8,500 francs were contributed by the ladies' auxiliary in the National church, 9,000 francs by the Sou Union of Basle, and 561 francs by the French Sou Union.

The income of the Evangelical Society amounted to 155,000 francs. By means of 30 colporteurs they had distributed 1,400 Bibles, above 4,000 New Testaments, 25,000 copies of "Good Advice," and 11,000 tracts.

In the meetings of the Diaspora Union, and of the Evangelical Alliance, earnest and warm addresses were delivered in behalf of the objects contemplated by them.—*Neue Evang. Kirch, Aug.* 25.

The *Swiss Pastoral Society* held its annual meeting in Zurich on the 14th and 15th of August. There were 368 members present, and several German *savants*, among others, Pro-

fessors Piper, of Berlin, and Tholuck, of Halle. The first question submitted to the assembly was—"What are, in outward events, in science and arts, or in the church herself, the causes which in our days, and for our country in particular, have contributed to the religious movement; and what duty and what course does it impose on the ministers of the church?" The rationalism of the Outer-Rhine, unhappily planted among many pastors of Swiss Germany, excited a keen debate; on the other hand, sound doctrine found many faithful defenders. The second question—"What ought pastors to do in presence of free religious societies?"—was treated in a good spirit; zeal, charity, activity, largeness of views, were recommended. The assembly was remarkable for the cordial interest taken in its proceedings by the Helvetic population.

The Evangelical Society of *Belgium* publishes and circulates tracts (75,000 copies last year), employs colporteurs, teachers, evangelists, and ordained missionaries, and educates young men for the ministry. Its expenses, last year, were 106,748 francs or somewhat more than $21,000. Through the blessing of God on the labors of this excellent society, the Gospel is now preached in many cities and large towns in Belgium.

The Revival in Sweden.—The lowest estimate of the number of converts is 250,000. Drinking has so decreased that two thirds of the distilleries have been closed since 1836. In the parishes near Russia, where nearly every man was guilty of smuggling, hundreds of persons refunded the duties of which they had defrauded the Government. Many sold their property to obtain the money, and others paid little by little. The perplexed officers of customs laid the matter before the King, who decided that the proceeds should be distributed among the poor. Lawsuits, which were very numerous, are almost unknown.

Germany. — The *German Church Diet*, in its eleventh annual session at Barmen, was opened Sept. 11, with a sermon by the court-preacher Snethlage. Bethmann-Hollweg, being in the ministry, declined acting as president, and Dr. von Mühler was elected. A large attendance was present; though the High-Church party generally staid away. Prof. Schlottman, of Bonn, read an essay on the Importance of the Old Testament in Christian Training and Culture. Krummacher, Nitzsch, Fabri, and Hoffmann all engaged in this discussion, testifying to the value and need of the Old Test. Dr. Nitzsch said that those who depreciate the Old Test., must take out of the New all that it has from the Old; and this would make it wholly unintelligible. Dr. Lange, of Bonn, read on the Relation between Profane Literature and Christianity, and the relation of the former to our social habits.

Bohemia.—The present year is to be celebrated as the 1,000th since the introduction of Christianity into Bohemia by Constantine (Cyrill) and Methodius. The date usually assigned for their coming into Great Moravia, is 862. Methodius was made bishop of Moravia in 868. These missionaries gave to the Slavonians a liturgy in their own language, which was sanctioned by Pope John VIII, but afterwards revoked by Rome. Vigorous efforts will be made to procure the restoration of this national liturgy.

Moravia.—The collections for the destitute evangelical pastors, made by Madame De Wette, amount this year to 35,000 francs.

Bulgaria. — The Bulgarians are moving for an entire separation from the ecclesiastical domination of Constantinople. The matter has come to a head in a Council of the Eastern Patriarchs at Constantinople, where the Bulgarian Archbishop declared that his people was ripe for the separation.

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ART. I.—ANNIHILATION.

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AMONG the advocates of annihilation, different theories have prevailed at different times. Some have held that annihilation is the lot of all men, and that it takes place in death. Death is to be the end of us; it terminates our being. It is, as it is sometimes called, an eternal sleep. Those who hold this opinion are in general *Materialists*. They deny that man has any proper soul, as distinct from the body. He is all body, altogether material; and, consequently, when the body dissolves in death, the entire man goes out of existence.

This was the doctrine of the ancient Sadducees, who said that, "There is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit." It should be enough to satisfy *Christians* of the falseness of such a sentiment, that it was expressly condemned by our Saviour. He reasoned with the Sadducees, contradicted, and refuted them: "Ye do greatly err, not knowing the Scriptures, and the power of God." Matt. xxii: 29.

Other annihilationists (who are also for the most part materialists) admit that the final destruction does not take place at death. To be sure, the whole man then dies. He loses his intelligent, conscious existence. The entire man sleeps in the grave; but then the sleep of the grave is not eternal. There shall be a resurrection, both of the just and the unjust, and all will stand together at the judgment bar. But at the close of the judgment, while the righteous will enter on an immortal life, the wicked will be annihilated.

This theory is contradicted by numerous arguments, setting forth the spiritual nature of the soul, and its separate, active, conscious existence between death and the resurrection. It is also contradicted by the declaration of our Saviour, that at the close of the judgment the wicked shall be, not annihilated, but sent away "accursed, into everlasting fire." Matt. xxv: 41.

But neither of the above theories of annihilation is the one most commonly advocated at the present day. The most plausible view of the doctrine, and that most generally received, at least by those who have any claim to be regarded as evangelical Christians, is the following: Man has a soul distinct from the body, which survives the body, and which was originally designed, and is adapted, to be immortal. But, by sinning against God, man has forfeited and lost his immortality. The death threatened to our first parents in case of disobedience, was annihilation; and the threat would have been immediately executed upon them, but that a *reprieve* was mercifully granted, that so they and their posterity might have a probation of grace. And such a probation we now enjoy. Christ has died for us; free offers of mercy are made to us in his name; and all who accept these offers will receive, in the most literal acceptation of the term *eternal life*. Their lost immortality will be restored to them, and will be a blessed and glorious immortality. But upon all who refuse to accept of Christ during the time of their probation, the sentence of annihilation will be finally executed. They will be, in the most literal sense of the term, *destroyed*. Some suppose this destruction will take place immediately after the

judgment; others, that it will be preceded by a long period of suffering in the other world. But, ultimately, all the wicked will go out of existence; they will be as though they had never been.

Such is the doctrine, so far as we have been able to gather it from conversation with its advocates, and from their writings. In support of it, it is alleged, first of all, that death literally signifies *extinction of being;* that so our first parents must have understood it; and that, wherever the word death is used in Scripture to set forth the final doom of the wicked, it can mean nothing else. But is it true that death literally and properly signifies extinction of being, or annihilation? What does it annihilate? Not the body, for the dead body still remains; it may be seen and handled as before. No one can doubt this who has ever seen a corpse, or assisted in preparing one for burial. Your neighbor kills a lamb, and invites you to his table to partake of it with him. Does he ask you to come and feed upon nonentity? You cut down a tree, and prepare it for the fire; do you burn what has been before annihilated? The truth is, that death, in its primary and literal signification, annihilates no outward material thing; it changes the form of living substances; in its issues, it dissolves them and turns them back to their primary ingredients; but, we repeat, death annihilates nothing of this nature.

And if death cannot annihilate material substances, much less does it put an end to human souls. Who ever heard of a soul's being annihilated? Where did it live? To whom did it belong? The sacred writers often use the words *dead* and *death* (in figurative senses) as applicable to the soul, but never in the sense of annihilation. "I know thy works, that thou hast a name, that thou livest, and art *dead.*" Rev. 3 : 1. Was the whole church at Sardis at this time in a state of annihilation? "She that liveth in pleasure is *dead* while she liveth;" physically *alive*, but spiritually *dead.* 1 Tim. v : 6. "We know that we have passed from *death* unto *life*, because we love the brethren. He that loveth not his brother abideth in *death.*" 1 John iii : 14. "You hath he quickened, who were *dead* in trespasses and sins." Eph. ii : 1. "To be car-

nally minded is *death;* but to be spiritually minded is life and peace". Rom. viii: 6. In all these, and in many like passages, the word death is used in reference to the soul, importing what is commonly called *spiritual death.* But none of them set forth the annihilating the soul. So far from this, the very idea of annihilation is precluded.

We also read in the Scriptures of "the second death;" the same which is sometimes called *eternal death.* But here, again, the idea of annihilation is precluded. "The fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, *which is the second death.*" Rev. xxi: 8. Here we have a divinely inspired definition or description of the second death. We are told, infallibly, what it is. The miserable subjects of it are not annihilated, but "have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, *which is the second death.*"

But, we are told, that as eternal life imports an immortal existence, eternal death, which is its opposite, must import annihilation. But does eternal life import simply an eternal existence, or not rather an eternally *blessed* existence? On this point we may quote Mr. Hudson, one of the principal advocates of annihilation. "We disclaim," he says, "the representation that eternal life signifies mere eternal existence. We certainly believe in *eternal blessedness*, and we think this implied in the phrase *eternal life.*"* We may quote, to the same purpose, a greater than Mr. Hudson. "This is life eternal," says our Saviour, "that they might *know thee*, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." John xvii: 3. We see, then, what is meant by eternal life; not a mere eternal existence, but an eternally *blessed* existence with God and with Christ in heaven. And now, what must be its opposite, eternal death? Certainly not the mere cessation of conscious existence. This is not the suggested idea. The opposite of eternal holiness and happiness in heaven can be no other than eternal sinning and suffering in hell.

* Christ our Life, p. 4.

But there are other words besides death on which great stress is laid in this argument for annihilation. The wicked are said in the Scriptures, to be *consumed, destroyed, burned up, lost;* a phraseology which imports that they pass out of existence, or, which is the same, that they are annihilated. "The Lord preserveth all them that love him, but all the wicked will he *destroy.*" Ps. cxlv : 20. "Fear him who is able to *destroy* both soul and body in hell." Matt. x : 28. "Who shall be punished with everlasting *destruction*, from the presence of the Lord, and the glory of his power. 2 Thess. i : 9. "For behold the day cometh that shall burn as an oven, and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly, shall be stubble, and the day that cometh shall *burn them up*, saith the Lord of hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch." Mal. iv : i. "He shall *burn up* the chaff with unquenchable fire." Matt. iii : 12. It is supposed that these and the like expressions, which occur with an awful frequency in the Bible, can import nothing less than the utter annihilation of the wicked. A thing which is *consumed, destroyed, burned up, lost*, can be no longer in existence. It is annihilated. Such is the literal and proper meaning of the words.

But is this declaration true? *Is* such the literal and proper meaning of the words in question? Joshua and his army destroyed the Canaanites; but did he annihilate them, soul and body? Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Jerusalem; but did he annihilate it? Did not its "dust and ruins" still remain? "O Israel, thou hast *destroyed* thyself; but in me is thy help." Hos. xiii : 9. Did these Israelites annihilate themselves? If so, with what propriety is it added, "in me is thy help"? Our Saviour is said "through death to have *destroyed* him who hath the power of death, that is, the devil." Heb. ii : 14. But did our Saviour literally annihilate the devil when he hung upon the cross?

We may take the two strongest of the passages above quoted, the strongest probably which the Bible contains, and see if they import a literal annihilation. "Behold the day cometh that shall burn as an oven, and all the proud, and they that do wickedly, shall be stubble, and the day that cometh shall *burn*

them up, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch." "He shall *burn up* the chaff with unquenchable fire." Suppose a thing to be burned up, so as to leave neither root nor branch, is it thereby annihilated? By no means. To burn up and consume is only to change the form of things, not to annihilate them. The fuel which we burn upon the hearth passes into other forms of existence, but not one particle is lost. Water may be evaporated, gas may be burned, but the substance of both still remains. The dissolved particles may be again collected, and they will be found to weigh as much as before. "And so through the entire range of substances of which we have any knowledge. Through every disorganization and reconstruction, and under the action of every element—heat, light, electricity, no matter what—the particles composing the substance still exist, and, for aught we know, will exist for ever."

The state of the wicked in the other world is sometimes represented by the term *lost*; and to be lost is thought to be the same as annihilation. But a comparison of passages shows that there is no soundness in this conclusion. "What man of you, if he have an hundred sheep, and *lose* one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is *lost*, until he find it?" Luke xv: 4. This lost sheep surely was not annihilated, for in that case it could never be found. "This my son *was dead* and is alive again; he *was lost*, and is found." Luke xv: 32. Here the prodigal son is said to have been both *dead* and *lost*; and yet he was all the while alive, and ere long was restored to his father. "The son of man is come to seek and to save that which *was lost*"—not annihilated; for in that case there would be nothing left to seek or save. Luke xix: 10.

It will be said, perhaps, that we use the word annihilate in too strict a sense. The particles of which a human being consists may never be literally annihilated; yet, if they become so disorganized and scattered that he no longer exists as a conscious, active being, he is, as to all punitive, practical purposes, annihilated. But how are the parts and particles of which a man consists to be so separated and scattered, that he

is no longer a conscious, active being? If he was all particles, altogether material, perhaps this might be done; but we are now at issue with those who believe that man has a soul as well as a body—a soul that can exist without the body, a soul that is not made up of particles, but is one simple, uniform, spiritual substance, like that of God; and how is such a soul to lose permanently its active, conscious existence, but by a literal annihilation? It cannot be dissolved and separated into elementary particles, for it is not made up of them; such is not the nature of its substance or existence. Obviously, a soul, such as we all possess, must exist for ever—a thinking, feeling, conscious, active being, or it must be annihilated.

Finally, we are referred to certain passages in the Old Testament, which are thought to teach annihilation. "In death there is no remembrance of thee; in the grave who shall give thee thanks?" Ps. vi: 5. "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest." Ecc. ix: 10. "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help. His breath goeth forth; he returneth to his earth; in that very day his thoughts perish." Ps. cxlvi: 3, 4. Jeremiah says of the princes and wise men of Babylon: "I will make them drunk, and they shall sleep a perpetual sleep, and not awake, saith the king, whose name is the Lord of hosts." Jer. li: 57.

Our first remark in regard to these passages is, that if they prove any thing, they prove too much for the class of men with whom we now reason. They prove that the cessation of active, conscious existence takes place *in death*, and pervades the entire region of the grave. "In death there is no remembrance of thee; in the grave who shall give thee thanks?" "There is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest."

But the probability is, that these and the like passages have no reference at all to the subject before us. Some of them refer to the state of the body which lies unconscious in the dust; others show that even the souls of the dead have no longer an active interest and concern, such as they once had,

in the affairs of the present life. "His breath goeth forth; he returneth to his earth; in that very day his thoughts perish." As much as to say, in the moment of death the designs, the plans of men for this world, are all cut off. The rich fool in the gospel was planning to pull down his barns and build greater, and enjoy life for many years. But death came unexpectedly, and in that very day his thoughts perished.

Certain arguments from *reason*, and from the *divine perfections*, have been urged against the eternal punishment of the wicked, and in favor of annihilation; but as they are the same in general that are brought forward by Universalists in support of their peculiarities, we shall have no occasion to examine them here. We proceed, therefore, to urge reasons *against* the doctrine which has been considered, to show that the wicked, in the other world, will not be annihilated, but will exist, and be punished for ever, as they deserve.

1. The theory of annihilation contradicts, palpably and confessedly, the commonly received doctrine of the immortality of the human soul. The arguments from *nature* and *reason* in favor of the soul's immortality, are some of them of the most convincing character. They are so strong that all nations, even where the light of the Gospel has not shined, have held to the doctrine.* The sense of *accountableness* which every human being feels, and of which he can never entirely rid himself, directs him to a future, where every one must give an account of himself to God. Then the unequal distribution of rewards and punishments in the present life, points infallibly in the same direction. If God is a righteous moral governor

* "The savages of North America, the Indians of Mexico, the islanders of the Pacific, the races of Southern Africa who seem to dwell in the shadowland that lies between the beastly and the human, Bushmen and New Zealanders, Kamtschadales and Fijis, Peruvians and Esquimaux, Papuans and Caribs, the sad-eyed natives of Hispaniola, and the fierce Patagonians swift of foot, the scorched barbarians of the South, and the bleached barbarians of the North, without exception confess, fearfully and grotesquely enough, but all the more vehemently for that, their anticipation of another life. The form which the anticipation assumes may be fanciful, but the anticipation is clear and deep; clear enough not to be obscured by superstition; deep enough not to be obliterated by misery or fear."—*Christian Examiner for Jan.* 1861, p. 18.

and judge, then there must be another world, where the disorders of the present will be rectified, and every one will be treated according to his works. And then the capacities and faculties of the human soul, all fitted and accepted for a measureless improvement, show clearly that it was made for eternity. This argument is as conclusive upon the final destiny of the soul, as is that drawn from the different structures of animals in regard to their different habits and modes of life.

These arguments from nature for the immortality of the human soul, are all of them confirmed by the clearer light of revelation. Even in the Old Testament we have enough to convince us that, while the body and the brute are mortal, the human spirit is immortal. "Who knoweth the spirit of man that goeth upward, and the spirit of the brute that goeth downward to the earth?" Ecc. iii : 21. "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it." Ecc. xii : 7. "They that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." Dan. xii : 2. But it is in the Gospel emphatically, that "life and immortality are brought to light:" *immortality*, not for a particular description of men, but for all. Whether righteous or wicked, all are partakers together of immortality; all have entered upon an existence which is to have no end.

Now, it is objection enough to the theory of annihilation, that it contradicts confessedly this great doctrine of immortality. For all the wicked who die in their sins, there is, we are told, no immortality. They are to be annihilated. Shame upon the men, living under the glorious light of the Gospel, whose opinions, on this subject, are more gross and false than those of the heathen!

2. Annihilation is *no proper punishment for sin*, and can not be regarded as the penalty of God's law. According to the doctrine which has been considered, annihilation *is* the penalty of God's law. This was the death threatened to our first parents, and the death which will ultimately come upon all those who obey not the Gospel. Thus Mr. Grew, one of the teachers of this doctrine, asks, "What is the penalty of

the law? Not life in misery, but *death*. The wages of sin is death. The soul that sinneth, it shall die. Sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death;" understanding by death, in all these passages, not life in misery, but annihilation. (Tract, p. 3.)

Now, in contradiction of all such statements, we insist that annihilation is not, and cannot be, the penalty of the Divine law. We know what the penalty of the law is, for it has been executed. It was executed upon the angels when they sinned. For them, there was no probation of grace. They had no reprieve. The penalty of the law fell upon them in the moment of their transgression, and has been upon them ever since. And what was it? They were not annihilated, but "cast down to hell," where they "are reserved in everlasting chains, under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day." 2 Peter ii: 4; Jude vi. The penalty of the law *will be executed* upon all the wicked at the close of the final judgment. The wicked of our race will then be brought up together for trial. They will have a trial, at the close of which their sentence is pronounced, and is immediately executed. "Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." "And these shall go away into everlasting punishment." Matt. xxv: 41, 46.

We know it is said that annihilation *is* everlasting punishment, because it is everlasting as to its consequences. But as well might it be said that hanging or flogging is everlasting punishment; for these are everlasting in their consequences. Indeed, with more propriety may it be said of the ordinary modes of human punishment, that they are everlasting, because they are followed by a train of consequences that will have no end; whereas, to the subject of it, annihilation cuts off all consequences. A perpetual nonentity is beyond the reach of consequences forever.

And this shows us that annihilation, so far from being the penalty of the law, is, in no proper sense of the term, a punishment. On the contrary, it cuts off all punishment. It renders it impossible that the subject of it should ever be punished more. Punishment necessarily implies the existence of

a subject to endure it. If it is a just punishment, it implies the existence of a guilty subject, who feels, or who ought to feel, that his punishment is just. But on the theory before us, the subject of punishment is no longer in existence. He is a nonentity—a nothing; and how is it possible to punish nothing?

Mr. Grew does not seem quite satisfied, after all, to make annihilation the whole penalty of the law; and so he couples with it, at least in many instances, long periods of antecedent suffering. "The doom of the wicked," he says, "will be inconceivably dreadful. The duration of their suffering may be a long period prior to their final destruction." It is in this way that he accounts for the different degrees of punishment among the finally lost. (Tract, pp. 6, 10.)

But this shows still further, that annihilation, so far from being a punishment, is rather to be considered as a release. How must the miserable subjects of these dreadful antecedent sufferings look forward to it, and pray for it, as their only remaining hope? The devils who, we are told, are to be hereafter annihilated,* have already been suffering for many thousands of years, and are yet to suffer we know not how long. With what intense desire must they be looking forward to the time when their existence, and with it all their miseries shall come to a final end? And yet we are told that this longed for annihilation is the proper penalty of the Divine law, and all the penalty which is threatened to the transgressor.

3. The doctrine of annihilation is disproved by many Scriptures. We have before seen that it is not proved by those passages which are most relied upon to support it; as where the wicked are threatened with *death*, *destruction*, *perdition*, etc. These words signify, to the miserable subjects of them, the destruction, not of their being, but of their well-being; the loss of spiritual life; the death and ruin of all their comforts and hopes.

We are now to show that the annihilation of the wicked is contradicted by a vast amount of Scripture testimony. It is

* See Mr. Grew's Tract, p. 10.

contradicted in the Old Testament. The prophet Daniel says of the wicked, in the last great day, that they shall be, not annihilated, but raised "to shame and everlasting contempt." Dan. xii : 2. In the prophecy of Isaiah, the sinners in Zion are represented as afraid, not of annihilation, but of something infinitely worse. "Who among us shall *dwell* with the devouring fire? Who among us shall *dwell* with everlasting burning?" Isaiah xxxiii : 14.

But in the New Testament, the evidence against annihilation, and in proof of eternal sinning and suffering, thickens and becomes more decisive. "Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." Matt. xxv : 41. We know it is said : "Though the fire should be everlasting, they who are plunged into it may not live and suffer in it forever." But this is a mere quibble. Suppose the sentence had ran thus : Depart, ye cursed, into a fire that shall burn a hundred or a thousand years ; who could think otherwise than that the persons so sentenced were to suffer in that fire as long? Why should the duration of the fire be specified at all, if the suffering was not to be commensurate with it?

"These shall go away into everlasting punishment." Matt. xxv : 46. But everlasting punishment, we have before seen, implies the everlasting existence of its guilty subjects to endure it. Annihilation ends all punishment, as naught remains, after this, which can be punished.

It is said of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the surrounding cities, that, "giving themselves over to fornication, and going after strange flesh," they "are set forth as examples, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire." Jude 7. It is pretended, we know, that the language here applies to these guilty cities, and not to their inhabitants. But was it the cities, or their inhabitants, that "gave themselves over to fornication and went after strange flesh"? Besides, the cities, as such, have not suffered "the vengeance of eternal fire." They were in a little time consumed and sunk ; and the Dead Sea has rolled its waves over them ever since.

The apostle Paul tells us that "unto them who, by patient continuance in well doing, seek for glory, honor, and im-

mortality," God will render "eternal life." But "unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth," he will render, not annihilation, but "indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil." Rom. ii : 8, 9. To all such "is reserved the blackness of darkness forever." Jude 13.

At the conclusion of his parables of the tares, and of the net, our Saviour sets forth the final destination of the wicked. "At the end of the world, the angels shall come forth, and shall sever the wicked from among the just, and shall cast them into a furnace of fire. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." Matt. xiii : 50. Again our Saviour tells us, that unto those who are finally excluded from his kingdom, "there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." Luke xiii : 28. Neither of these passages can, by any possibility, be made to teach the annihilation of the wicked. They imply a state of intense and continued suffering.

In other passages our Saviour is, if possible, even more explicit. "If thy hand offend thee, cut it off. It is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands to go into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched. Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched. And if thy foot offend thee, cut it off. It is better for thee to enter halt into life, than having two feet to be cast into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched. Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched. And if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out. It is better for thee to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire. Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched." Mark ix : 43–48.

And what are we to think of the following passages from the Revelation? "If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb. And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and

ever: and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name." Rev. xiv: 9–11. Again, the writer of this book, speaking of the wicked just before the end of the world, who have come forth in great numbers for the destruction of God's people, says: "There came down a fire from God out of heaven, and devoured them. And the devil, that deceived them, was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet are, and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever." Rev. xx: 10. Mr. Grew has no way to evade the force of these passages but by saying that the words, "for ever and ever" may signify a limited duration. (Tract, p. 6.) But the *usus loquendi* shows that such a supposition is impossible. The writers of the New Testament have used these words more than twenty times, and the writer of the Apocalypse, fourteen times, and always (unless it be in the cases before us) to denote an endless duration. And yet, by these decisive, unambiguous words is here set forth the duration of the miseries of the lost. Really, if this does not decide the question against annihilationists and Universalists, as to the endless punishment of the wicked, we may well despair of its ever being decided by words. No form of speech more convincing or decisive than that to which we have referred can ever be used.

We shall quote but another passage in proof of the endless sinning and suffering of the wicked, and that shall be from the same wonderful book, the Revelation. Away down the track of time, beyond the millennium, beyond the final judgment, when the righteous have all entered upon their eternal reward, we are told of some who are not in the heavenly city. They are not annihilated, but they are excluded. And who are they? What is their character and state? "Without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie." And are these guilty beings irrecoverably in this state of ruin and sin? Are they without hope? "He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still." Rev. xxii: 11, 15.

4. We urge once more against the annihilation of the wicked, that such an event would frustrate the ultimate end and purpose of God in their creation. "The Lord," we are told, "hath made all things for himself, yea, even the wicked for the day of evil." Prov. xvi : 4. God will be glorified in all his creatures, in all his works. He was as really glorified in Pharaoh as in Moses, though not, of course, in the same way. "In very deed, for this cause have I raised thee up, for to show my power in thee, and that my name may be declared throughout all the earth." Ex. ix : 16. The finally miserable, though lost to themselves, are not lost to the universe or to God. "We are unto God a sweet savor of Christ, both in them that are saved and in them that perish. To the one we are a savor of death unto death, and to the other of life unto life." 1 Cor. ii : 15. "Though Israel be not gathered, yet shall I be glorious." Isa. xlix : 5.

God will be glorified in the final doom of his enemies, and the universe will be benefited through their instrumentality for ever. Like the Sodomites of old, they "are set forth as *examples*, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire." They are held up, *in terrorem*, before the universe, to declare God's justice, and deter from sin. There are certain traits of God's holy character, traits of the utmost importance to him as a righteous moral governor, such as his inflexible regard for the honor of his law, his inviolable truth, his glorious justice, his holy hatred of sin, and his determination to punish it as it deserves for ever, which can not be adequately displayed but by his inflicting upon incorrigible transgressors the just penalty of his law, which is eternal death. To cut off this penalty by an act of annihilation would be to defeat these holy purposes, and show that God had made at least a portion of his intelligent creatures in vain. We may be sure, therefore, that this will never be. God's truth, his justice, his honor and glory as a moral governor, his regard for the best interests of his holy kingdom, alike forbid it. Of course, it can never be done. The wicked will sin on and suffer on. They will grow more and more hardened, incorrigible, and miserable to all eternity.

Some tell us that the doctrine of annihilation, if it *be* an

error, is an amiable and harmless one, one which can be followed by no injurious results. But we can not be of this opinion. All error is more or less dangerous; but the one we have considered is, in some of its aspects, peculiarly so. It detracts from the fear of God, and from the regard which we all ought to have for his holy law. In the same proportion, it diminishes our sense of the great evil of sin. The apostle Paul tells us, that "by the law," the *whole* law, not only the precept but the penalty, "by the law is the knowledge of sin." And this is true. When we look at the fearful penalty which God has denounced against sin, the greatest which he can inflict, or we endure, one differing in degree according to the degree of our capacity and guilt, but in all cases measureless in its duration, we see at once that sin must be an infinite evil. Or, if any dislike the term infinite, it must be the greatest evil which we can possibly commit, and deserves the greatest punishment which we can endure.

Such are the views which the commonly received doctrine of eternal punishment is fitted to impress upon us as to the evil of sin. But if we take away from the fearful penalty of God's law, if we remove it, or cut it short by annihilation, just so much we weaken the law. We detract from its majesty and its binding authority. Our sense of the evil of sin is proportionally removed, and the probability is that we shall never see it in its true light, or repent of it in dust and ashes.

By detracting from our sense of the inviolable strictness of God's law, and the dreadful evil of transgressing it, this doctrine of annihilation tends to diminish the worth, and even the work, of redeeming mercy. Redemption from everlasting burnings is one thing; redemption from annihilation is quite another. The former requires an infinite atonement; the latter, being a mere act of power, may be accomplished in a different way. The former creates an exigency and a necessity for the interposition of the eternal Son of God; the latter may be effected immediately by the Father, or, if he pleases, through the instrumentality of some inferior being. Hence the connection, logically, and in frequent instances, actually,

en the doctrine of annihilation, and Arian or Socinian
lations as to the person of Christ.

e doctrine we have considered has also a lax moral ten-
. It removes some of the strongest motives, or moral
ances, which God, in his mercy, has thrown in our way,
ter from sin. The penalty which God has affixed to his
s a dreadful penalty, warning us from the perpetration
l by every motive of terror and of fear. And yet even
s no more than sufficient to sustain the authority of law,
a myriads of instances has proved insufficient to prevent
gression. In full view of "the devouring fire and ever-
g burnings," creatures have had the madness to stand up
ransgress. What then must be the effect of diminishing
enalty of God's law, and ultimately of taking it quite
, of quenching and driving away the smoke which God
sured us shall ascend up from the bottomless pit for

e natural effect of such teaching is perfectly obvious. It
to weaken those good moral influences which God, in
ercy, has thrown around us. It tends to strengthen the
d in their evil courses, and make them bold and easy in
sins. The worst they have to fear is annihilation, which
an end at once to all suffering, and they are quite willing
et such an issue, if they may be indulged at present in
ractices which they love.

e do not say that all believers in annihilation reason in this
and draw from it encouragement in courses of sin. By
eans. But we do say that the natural tendencies of the
ine are such as have been indicated, and were it generally
evail, these tendencies would soon be manifest in the
prostration of evangelical religion, both in principle and
ice.

t us, then, avoid the insidious error. Mischief is con-
d under it, and will ere long grow out of it. "A little
n leaveneth the whole lump." "Whatsoever a man sow-
hat shall he also reap."

ART. II.—SLAVERY AMONG THE ANCIENT HEBREWS: FROM BIBLICAL AND TALMUDIC SOURCES.

By Dr. M. MIELZINER, of Copenhagen.

[THE following treatise on Hebrew slavery was published in German, at Copenhagen, 1859, as a "Contribution to Hebrew and Jewish Antiquities." Its author, we understand, is a Jew of high attainments. The tract itself gives evidence of thorough learning and legal ability. For our knowledge of it we are indebted to Francis Lieber, LL.D., who speaks of it as "a work of sterling merit, of candor and simplicity." Its use of the Rabbinic comments, as well as of the Scripture text, its comprehensive treatment of the subject, and its full digest of all the points, entitle it to careful study. Nowhere else, perhaps, can the whole matter be found so clearly and fully presented. The essay is translated with slight abridgments in the Introduction and in a few of the notes.—H. B. S.]

Job xxxi: 13–15.

Aristotle, Ethic. Nicom. viii, 13: Ὁ γὰρ δοῦλος ἔμψυχον ὄργανον, τὸ δ' ὄργανον ἄψυχος δοῦλός ἐστι.

INTRODUCTION.

SLAVES formed an important element in the domestic life of all the nations of antiquity. The differences in the moral traits of these nations are exhibited in the different position, which the laws and customs of each people assigned to slavery, as well as in their ordinary treatment of the slaves themselves. It has seemed to us a desideratum to examine, from this general point of view, the relations of slavery among the Hebrews. For this institution, as it existed among this people, differed in essential particulars from the same institution as found among other nations. Here, too, is revealed that higher moral spirit, which is manifest to every unprejudiced mind, in the other relations and institutions of the Hebrew nation.

This subject has, indeed, been investigated by learned men in recent times; but usually in an incidental way in commentaries and works on the Hebrew antiquities in general; and, of course, not so fully as were on many accounts desirable. And besides, the Talmudic sources have been but little used, although they are unquestionably of much value in all matters pertaining to Hebrew and Jewish archæology. We often find in them a distinctly colored picture of what is given in the Bible only in slight outlines. As far as our present subject is concerned, too, it is to be noted, that at the time of the Talmud teachers, slavery still existed, at least in the shape which it assumed after the return from the Babylonian captivity. We propose, then, in this monograph, to give a full exposition of the Relations of Slavery among the Hebrews and Jews, carefully collating and examining all the legal statements and hints laid down in the holy Scriptures and in the different Talmudic writings, and citing the sources.

The chief legal investigations, traditions, and opinions of the Talmud writers on this subject are found in part in the *Mechiltha* on Exodus xxi, and in the *Siphra* on Leviticus xxv: in part, in the Talmud treatise, *Kidushin*, fol. 14 to 25, in the treatise *Gittin*, fol. 37 to 45, and in many scattered passages of the other tracts. Among the so-called *Seven Jerusalem Tracts*, edited by R. Kirchhein, 1851, there is one in three sections, *Miskath Ebdim*, which, however, appears to be only a collection of those parts of the Talmud, that refer to this topic.

From Maimonides we have a systematic arrangement of the prescriptions of the Talmud in respect to slaves, in the fourth part of his incomparable Talmudic Compendium (*Jad Hachasaka*), under the title *Abadim*, in nine sections. The first two sections were translated into Latin, with a commentary, by J. C. Kall: Maimonidis de Servis et Ancillis Tractatus, Hafniæ, 1744. With the exception of Maimonides, the Jewish learned men and rabbis of the middle ages gave on the whole little attention to this subject; though there are some noteworthy remarks in the commentaries on the Pentateuch by Rashi, Ibn (Aben) Ezra, Nachamanides, and Abarbanel; also in Rashi's

explanations of the passages of the Talmud that bear on the subject. Wholly useless for our object are the compendiums of the casuists, as they have reference only to the relations, in altered circumstances, of the non-Jewish slaves among the later Jews of the East.

Of learned men, not Jews, besides Kall, the following have written on the subject in Latin: *J. Alting*, Opera, v, 222 sq.; *J. G. Abicht*, De Servorum Hebraeorum Acquisitione atque Servitiis, 1704; *Leon. Hoffman*, Dissert. de Ancilla Hebraea. Jenae, 1712; *J. C. Mieg*, Constitutiones Servi Hebr. ex Script. et Rabbin. collectae. Herborn, 1735. The subject is treated, with more or less fulness, in several recent works, by both Christian and Jewish authors.*

§ 1.

The Principles of the Mosaic Legislation in respect to Hebrew and non-Hebrew Slaves.

No religion and no legislation of ancient times could in its inmost spirit be so decidedly opposed to slavery as was the Mosaic; and no people, looking at its own origin, would feel itself more strongly called to the removal of slavery than the people of Israel. A religion which so sharply emphasized the high dignity of man, as a being made in the image of God (Genesis i, 26, 27, v, i; Levit. xix, 2): a legislation, based on that very idea of man's worth,† and which, in all its enactments, insisted not only upon the highest justice, but also upon the tenderest pity and forbearance, especially towards the necessitous and the unfortunate; a people, in fine, which had itself smarted under the yoke of slavery, and had become a nation only by emancipation,—would necessarily be solici-

* *Michaelis*, Mosaisches Recht, II, § 122–128. *Jahn*, Biblische Archäologie, II, 292 sq. *Salvador*, Histoire des Institutions de Moïse, livre vii, ch. v. *J. M. A. Scholz*, Biblische Archäologie, § 91. *Munk*, Palestine, p. 208 sq. *De Wette*, Hebr.-jüdische Archäologie, 161 sq. *Winer*, Biblisches Realwörterbuch, Art. Sklaven. *Saalschütz*, das Mosaiche Recht, cap. 101. *Ewald*, die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel (1854), 241 sq. *L. Philippson*, die israel. Bibel, (1858), I, 423 sq.

† Genes. ix, 6: not elsewhere expressly announced, but implied, e. g. in Deut. xxi, 23, xxv, 3.

tons to do away, wherever it was practicable, with the unnatural state of slavery, by which human nature is degraded.

Still at the period of the Mosaic legislation, slavery was so closely intertwined with the whole economy of all nations, that its entire abolition could not at once be taken in hand, even by the Israelites, without serious peril to the domestic constitution. Besides, slavery, under certain restrictions, offered many important advantages, to which regard must be paid under existing circumstances. The system of labor for daily wages was not yet established; so that when any one, through his own fault, or through misfortune, was reduced to so low an estate that he could not support himself and his family, servitude was the only means of providing for his necessities, the only way of escape from the temptation to open robbery or secret theft. And, further, as the most ancient Hebrew legislation did not recognize the punishment of imprisonment,* when any one was found guilty of robbery or theft, slavery was also a fitting means of chastisement, so that the thief, who could not pay the pecuniary penalty, might still be punished by the loss of his freedom. Under these circumstances, the Mosaic legislation allowed slavery to exist provisionally; aiming at first to do away with all the inhumanity and harshness that characterized it in the other nations, and preparing for its complete abolition, in the first instance in the case of Hebrew slaves, by so limiting its duration and conditions, that it hardly deserved to be called by the name of slavery. How much the law-giver had both of these points at heart, viz. its amelioration and final extirpation, is seen in the fact, doubtless not accidental, that in the Decalogue (the basis of the whole legislation), after servants are mentioned in the 4th Commandment (not distinguishing them as Hebrews or otherwise), and the rest of the Sabbath has been assured to them,

* Though the punishment of imprisonment was known to the Hebrews from Egypt (Gen. xxxix, 20; xl, 3, 4, xli, 10, xlii, 19), yet it is nowhere prescribed in the Mosaic laws. In Levit. xxiv, 12, and Numb. xv, 34, it is mentioned, not as a punishment, but as a duress of the transgressor until judgment was pronounced. Only under the later kings does it occur as a punishment; probably not as a judicial sentence, but dependent on the will of the sovereign.

the very first law is one limiting the slavery of the Hebrew servant; and this law is thus put at the head of all special legal enactments (Exod. xxi, 2).

In the course of the further legislation, there are two principles brought out, which we may regard as the heart and soul of all the ordinances about slavery.

The first of these principles is often avowed, especially in those laws which enjoin lenience and forbearance towards all strangers, towards the oppressed and the unfortunate (Exod. xxii, 20; xxiii, 9. Deut. v. 14, 15; x, 19; xv. 15; xvi, 11, 12; xxiv, 18, 22), which had their special application to the case of slaves. The substance is this: "Israel itself was once a slave in Egypt, and there suffered cruel oppression, from which it was at last delivered by the divine mercy; how then can it in like manner oppress the unfortunate, who are in its power, and not rather show them compassion?"

While this first principle determined all the special injunctions of the law in favor of all slaves, whether Hebrew or foreign, the second principle is the basis of the still more favorable position assigned to the slave of *Israelite* descent. "Israel, since his deliverance from Egypt, has been in the service of God, has become *his* servant. But the servant of the Lord should not be the slave of man. Permanent and real slavery cannot, then, exist in Israel, for this would be a virtual denial of the dominion of God" (Levit. xxv, 42, 55; xxvi, 13). Hence the limitation of the duration of the servitude of an Israelite; and the ordinance, that, while it continued, he should be treated as a hired servant rather than as a bond slave. Though this second principle originally enured only to the benefit of the Hebrew slaves, yet, when enforced, it surely prepared the way for the complete abolition of slavery, not only in Israel, but also among all nations. For, with the diffusion of the true knowledge of God among the nations, they would be elevated to the dignity of servants of God; and the principle, that he who serves God ought not to be the slave of man, would be applied, not only in respect to them,* but also in their institutions. But

* That Judaism led to this, by strict consequence, is evident from the Rabbinical

long as this was not yet the case, as long as the heathen na-
ons had not come into the true relation to God, but still al-
wed that men be degraded into slaves, so long, too, the Mo-
ic law viewed their slaves in the same light, only providing
at they should in the mean time be treated with all possible
manity and mildness.

§ 2.

General Designation of Slavery among the Hebrews.

The most general term in the Hebrew language for slave is
עֶבֶד (*Ebed*). This word which is derived from the verb עָבַד
bad, to *labor*, to *serve*), was at first used, not merely to desig-
te the condition of one wholly deprived of freedom, a slave,
bondman, but also as a common name for all who stood in a
pendent or subordinate relation. Sometimes, in fact, it ex-
esses only the idea of moral subjection, or even of mere
commodation to circumstances, or compliance with a wish;
e Proverbs xix, 29; 1 Kings xii, 17. Hence the term itself
d not the degrading sense, which we connect with the words
ave or *bondman;* but it often has the mild significancy which
e associate, in certain relations, with the word *servant.* Thus,
en the highest officers of state were called the *servants*
bedi) *of the king;* just as we say, the *servants of the state;*
d the *servant* (*Ebed*) *of God* was the highest title of honor
the case of prophets and devout worshippers. In intercourse
ith those of high rank the same word was often employed as
term of courtesy, as when one spoke of himself, or of a third
erson, as "thy servant" (Gen. xviii, 3, and frequently).†

ovision in the Talmud, in the treatise *Gittin*, fol. 38 and 39, that the Hebrew
aster was bound to release his heathen slave, as soon as with his consent he had
ken part in certain acts of religious worship. For, by this participation, the slave
as raised to the position of a servant of God, and, as such, could no longer be the
ave of man. In like manner it is determined, in the tract *Jebamoth*, fol. 46, that
slave, bought by an Israelite from a heathen (the rights of the new master not
ing yet assumed) might at once obtain freedom, by voluntarily accepting the pre-
ribed baptism, and expressing his wish to be fully received into Judaism. See
aimonides. *H. Issure biah*, xiii, 11.

† This latter usage seems to have come into disuse in after times. In the later
Biblical books it is only found in prayers, or, at the utmost, in the presence of ac-

Hence it is only the connection which can decide, whether the word refers to the actual relation of slave, or whether it is to be interpreted in another sense.

The opposite of *Ebed* was, either אָדוֹן adon (frequently used in the plural form), meaning *lord*—one who commands; or חָפְשִׁי (*hophshi*), a *freeman*, one who is independent.

Stronger terms, but more unusual than *Ebed*, are those which also express the mode in which the master may have obtained possession of the slave, as by purchase, or by birth from the marriage of his slaves. Here belong such designations as *one bought with money* (Genes. xvii, 12, 13, 23. Exod. xii, 24. Levit. xxii, 11); *one born in the house, a son of the house, a son of a maid servant* (Gen. xiv, 14; xv, 3; xvii, 23. Exod. xxiii, 12. Levit. xli, 6. Eccles. ii, 7. Psalm lxxxvi, 16; cxvi, 16. Jerem. ii, 14).

For the female servant there are two words, אָמָה (*amah, ancilla, serva*), and שִׁפְחָה (*shiphcha, famula, ancilla*). The latter, often contrasted with the mistress (גְּבֶרֶת *domina*), seems to denote a more dependent, a lower, relation than *amah*.* (See 1 Sam. xxv, 41. Exod. xi, 5).

tual sovereigns. At the time in which the Talmuds were written, the word had already so completely lost its milder significancy, that to call a free person, an *Ebed*, was considered the highest stigma to his honor, punishable with excommunication. *Kiduschin*, 28.

* *Amah* probably means the bond-woman *in general*; the corresponding and similar terms in Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic are used exclusively in the sense of female slave; but *Shiphcha* is found only in the Hebrew (cognate with משמרות) and probably designates a class of bondwomen, who performed the most menial services, and were under the special orders of the mistress. Thus it may be explained why Hagar, who in Genesis xvi is always called the *shiphcha* of Sarah, is afterwards constantly called *amah*; with the birth of Ishmael she came out of the dependent relation in which she had before stood to Sarah, and became *amah*. *Bilhah and Zilpah*, on the other hand, always remained in their humble position in relation to Jacob's two wives, to whom they were given by Laban; hence they are always called by the word *shiphcha* (excepting Gen. xxx, 3, in which *amah* is to be explained as mere euphemism in the mouth of the youthful Rachel). The Mosaic law, addressed directly to the man, where it speaks of the bondwoman, uses the general term "thy *amah*," his "*amah*." Only once (in Levit. xix, 20) is *shiphcha* employed, manifestly to emphasize the degradation, which distinguishes this case of cohabitation from that in Deut. xxii, 23, 24. In the historical parts of the Bible, where there is no need of marking the distinction, and especially when a

as, in a familiar way, the Romans used the word *puer*, e Greeks παῖς, for slave, so did the Hebrews employ ord נַעַר, meaning, *boy;* and it is often applied to aged g. g. to Ziba (2 Sam. xvi, 2), who was already the father n children (2 Sam. ix, 10). For the female slave, too, responding term נַעֲרָה (*puella*, maid) was also employed. whole body of servants belonging to a master, his family man *familia*), was called עֲבוּדָה (*ebdah*); Gen. xxvi, 14.).

I. SLAVES OF HEBREW DESCENT.

§ 3.

A. The Hebrew Man-Servant.

עֶבֶד עִבְרִי

have conjectured that the name *Hebrew* (עִבְרִי) is a mprehensive term than *Israelite*, so that the ordinances ect to Hebrew slaves were to be applied, not only to aelite servants, but also to slaves from other nations, led from Abraham, the Hebrew (Gen. xiv, 13), or from he ancestor of Abraham (Gen. xvi, 21, 24; xi, 16). iew has been justly contested by Ibn Esra (in his ntary on Exodus, xxi), by proving from Exodus i, 13, 3, and Jonah i, 9, that Hebrew means only an Israel- respect to the Hebrew slave in particular, he appeals

speaking (not in a strict, but only in a general sense), either term is the Mishna and Gemara, *amah* is usually employed for the Hebrew nd *shiphcha* for the heathen (such exceptions as *Baba Mez.* 1, 5, and , 6, are infrequent). Saalschütz, Mos. Recht, p. 708, Note 911, conjec- *shiphcha* is an unmarried, and *amah* a married maid-servant: against this , that in the Law, only *amah* is used, and in the only passage in which s there found (Levit. xix, 20), it has respect to a marriage relation.

d, in his Krit. Gramm. d. hebr. Sprache, § 4, remarks, that all the de- of Eber (the Ishmaelites, Esauites, etc.) might be called Hebrews; but side lines gradually received names of their own, the word Hebrew was to the direct descendants of Eber through Abraham. Ewald (§ 3) makes nce of the two names to be this — Israelite, is the holy, the religious ebrew, is the common, lower, and popular name, to distinguish this peo- thers, without respect to their religion.

to Deut. xv, 12, and Jeremiah xxxiv, 9, where the law is expressly restricted to Hebrew servants. Michaelis (in his Laws of Moses, § 127) also refers to Leviticus, xxv, 44, where the Israelites are allowed to have slaves for life from the surrounding nationalities. But these nations were for the most part direct descendants of Abraham, or of his brother's son; e. g. the Ishmaelites, Midianites, Edomites, Ammonites, and Moabites. And since, according to Deut. xx, 16 sq. no Canaanite could be made a slave, if the above nations are also to be excluded, there would hardly remain any neighboring people from which slaves could be acquired. According to the principle developed in the first section, which was to guide the Mosaic legislation about slavery, it cannot any longer be a matter of doubt, that by the Hebrew slave was meant only an Israelite slave, since the basis of the legislation (given in Levit. xxv, 42, 55) must in the first instance have had respect only to *Israelites*.

1. The Hebrew Bondman in the Service of a Hebrew.

§ 4.

a. How a Hebrew could become a Slave.

When the Mosaic legislation allowed the enslaving of a Hebrew, this was, as we have already seen, so opposite to its general spirit, though the slavery was only temporary, that such permission must be restricted to cases of extreme necessity. Two such cases, in particular, were conceivable in the circumstances of the times.

1. When one had lost his patrimony, and could not support himself or his family by free labor. To protect him and his family from extreme need, and the consequent temptations, and perhaps, also, to give him an opportunity by several years of service to acquire enough to redeem his lost possessions (Levit. xxv, 26), and to restore his prostrated family condition, he was allowed for a given time to sell himself to some rich man as a servant (Levit. xxv, 39).

Guarded by that love of freedom, which burned in the breast of every Israelite from his perpetual memory of the deliverance out of Egypt, and by that sense of degradation, connected with slavery in the eyes of a people, who were told in their sacred primeval history, that it was a curse (Gen. ix, 25), and the consequence of moral corruption—such a law might well assume, that no one would make use of this permission of voluntary servitude, except in cases of extreme poverty, where no other resource remained.*

2. When any one had been guilty of stealing, and was not able to make compensation for the theft. In this case, the object was, not only to restore the property to the one who had suffered the loss, but also, in the absence of all other punishment, to punish the thief by depriving him for a time of his freedom. (Exodus, xxii, 2.)

According to Josephus, the thief was usually sold to the very one from whom he had stolen,† not only for the bare value of the property stolen, but also for four or five times that amount; as laid down in the law (Exod. xxi, 26). The Rabbins say, that the thief might be sold to any other Hebrew, but not publicly in the slave mart, or "from the stone," and that, at the sale, regard was had only to the simple amount of the theft, but not to a fourfold or fivefold compensation.‡

These, now, are all the cases, in which the law allowed the sale of a Hebrew. Michaelis, Jahn, Scholz, Ewald, and even Saalschütz, maintain, that insolvent debtors, or their children, could be made slaves by the creditor, or could be sold as slaves; but we believe that this view is decidedly incorrect. For such a case, there is no basis whatever in the Mosaic law;

* The Rabbins have even given to this presumption the force of a legal injunction, by teaching, that no one should sell himself for the mere sake of gain, but only after every thing, even to the last garment, has been sold for the support of life. (Maimonides, *H. Abadim*, i, 2.)

† δοῦλος ἔστω τοῖς κατακριθεῖσιν; Joseph. Antiq. iv, 8, 27.

‡ *Kiduschin*, 18, a; Comp. Maimonides, *Hilch. Gnevah*, iii, 12.

and in the Rabbinic tradition there is not the most remote trace of its existence.* It is entirely incompatible with the spirit expressed in the provision of the Mosaic legislation in respect to debtors. That law which forbade the creditor to retain over night the pawned garment of the poor (Ex. xxii, 26, sq. Deut. xxiv, 12, sq.); or to take in pledge what was needed in housekeeping (Deut. xxiv, 6); or even to enter the house of the debtor in order to take as pledges whatever might best suit him (Deut. xxiv, 10, sq.); such a law could not by any possibility subject the body, and the freedom, of the impoverished debtor or his children, to the arbitrary will of a hard-hearted creditor.

In 2 Kings, iv, 1, and in Nehemiah, v, 5, there are indeed two historical instances, in which creditors wished to reduce to bondage the children of insolvent debtors; but we ought not to overlook the circumstances in which these cases occurred. The first is in the time of the dominion of the house of Ahab in Israel, when the Mosaic laws in general were not observed; the second is from the period soon after the return from the Babylonian captivity, when the legal status was not reëstablished. Besides this, the whole narrative shows, that the procedure of the creditor was against law, lawless, not supported by any popular custom having legal force.†

Still less is proved by the other passages relied on to show that enslaving for unpaid debts was customary among the Hebrews. In Proverbs, xxii, 7, we read, "The borrower is servant (*Ebed*) to the lender;" but this is no more to be taken literally, than Prov. xi, 29, "The fool is the servant (*Ebed*) of the wise."[2] In both passages, as in so many other cases, *Ebed* merely denotes dependence in civil relations, or a moral sub-

* In the Talmud tract, *Baba Kama*, 97, a, even the case of one who wished to force the servants of his debtor to labor for him, is mentioned with disapproval. For this disapproval, however, another reason is there assigned, viz. it had the appearance of usury.

† This seems to us to be implied in the word צעקה, which occurs in both these passages (as a verb in 2 Kings, iv, 1, and as a substantive in Neh. v, 1); since this word frequently denotes the crying out against severe injustice (e. g. Exod. xxii, 26; Job, xix, 7; and particularly Isaiah, v, 7).

tion to one in a higher station. When the prophet in Isaiah, l, says in the name of God, "To which of my creditors have I ld you?" this only shows that the debtor, instead of paying e money, sometimes sold to the creditor things which he med, perhaps slaves. But it by no means proves, that the btor or his children could be taken as slaves or sold by the ditor, against their will.*

§ 5.

b. The Legal Limitation of the Time of Servitude.

As the law, in the two cases above stated, allowed a Hebrew be made a slave, it must also, in harmony with its general inciple—that an Israelite, being a servant of God, could not ally be the slave of man,—necessarily limit the duration of is bondage; in order, by this limitation, to give to the per-itted sale of an Israelite the character of a hired service. For this object two periods were fixed in which every He-ew slave was to regain his freedom without ransom:

1. The seventh year, that is reckoning from the time at which he was bought. Exod. xxi, 2. Deut. xv, 12.
2. The fiftieth year, or the year of jubilee. Levit. xxv, 40.

Ordinarily the man-servant became free after six years of rvice, that is at the beginning of the seventh year;† but if

* As to the proof atttempted from Matth. xviii, 25, Kall (ubi supra, page 3) ly remarks: "Ibi non historia scribitur, sed pingitur parabola eaque fortasse mores Romanorum adcommodata, qui pridem in Judaea rerum potiebantur. Apud s scilicet malae fidei debitores solebant vendi."

† As this law was only intended to limit the duration of the bondage, the pro-ion, that the bondman was "to serve six years," did not, of course, imply that ll service of six years was to be demanded under all circumstances; it only ant to define the utmost limit to which the servitude could extend. It follows, n, of course, that a shorter period than six years could be made the condition the sale; when, for example, there was no need of a longer time of service than e or *two* years. The Rabbins confirm this view, but only in relation to the per-n who sold himself on account of poverty; one who was sold as a judgment for ft, they say, could only be sold for six years, not for a shorter time. Accord-

he had been sold into servitude a few years before the year of jubilee, he was not to wait for the seventh year, but he regained his freedom in the year of jubilee.*

ingly, if the value of the things stolen was less than the customary hire for six years service, the thief could not be sold (see *Kiduschin*, 18, a, and Maimonides, 'On Theft,' iii, 14). It may also here be noted, that according to the prevailing views of the older Talmudists, as well as of the Rabbinical commentators, there were several points of difference in the cases of one sold as a judgment for theft, and of one who sold himself on account of poverty; viz. the regulations spoken of in Exod. xxi, 2–6, and Deut. xv, 12 sq., applied only to the former, while the provisions defined in Levit. xxv, 40, were applicable only to the latter; so that he who sold himself for poverty could do so for more than six years, and was to go forth free only in the year of jubilee. But this interpretation was early contested by Rabbi Eliezer, who (*Kiduschin*, 14, 6) maintained, that the man who sold himself was in every respect subject to the same conditions as the one sold under a judicial sentence. In favor of this are the following grounds: 1. There is nothing in Exod. xxi, 2–6, and Deut. xv, 12, to indicate that these passages refer only to such as were sold for theft. The phrase '*If thou buy*' (כי תקנה in Exod. xxi, 2), from which something of the sort might be conjectured, proves nothing, for in Deut. it reads '*If he be sold*' (כי ימכר, compare Levit. xxv, 39). 2. Though Levit. xxv, 39, sq. refer primarily to the case of voluntary sale for poverty, yet the other case of sale for theft may be included, as a thief could be sold only when too poor to make restitution. 3. In fine, the prophet Jeremiah (xxxiv, 13, sq.), alluding to the Mosaic law, speaks in general terms of emancipation after the sixth year, without hinting at a distinction between voluntary and involuntary slaves. It is very improbable, that all those slaves whose legal release had not been consummated, were only such as had been sold for theft.

* With this explanation, the statements in Exod. xxi, 2 (also, Deut. xv. 12, sq.) and in Levit. xxv, 40, may be harmonised without contradiction as to the time of manumission. The last passage refers only to manumission in the year of jubilee, because this part of the law treats chiefly of that point; in Exod. xxi, 2 (and Deut. xv, 12,) on the other hand, the direct object is only to define the usual period of release, hence it does not refer to the freedom which the year of jubilee (occurring every fifty years) might bring to a slave before the end of his six years of service.

Professor Saalschütz in his Mos. Recht, 702, attempts an explanation of this same difficulty. He agrees with Rabbi Eliezer (in opposition to the Rabbins), that wholly different persons are intended in Leviticus and in Exodus. The passage in Levit. xxv, 40, he says, refers only to the case of an Israelite reduced to poverty, who had sold his possessions until the year of jubilee, and who was therefore allowed to sell his services for more than six years, that is, till the year of jubilee. The other passages (in Exod. and Deut.) refer, not, as the Rabbins allege, to one sold for theft, but "to a special class of servants, who, without being heathen, were not considered as proper Israelites, but formed *a middle class born in slavery*, between the impoverished Israelites and the slaves purchased of heathen." Under this category come, first of all, those born in the house of an Israelite from

hat the seventh year, in which the servant was to obtain freedom, was really the seventh year, reckoning from the) at which he was purchased, and not (as some assume) the bath year, or the year of rest, is confirmed by the fact, that law always calls it the "seventh year," and never the bbath year," and that in the account of the Sabbath year rit. xxv, 1–7 and Deut. xv, 1), nothing is said of an emancion of the slaves.

his limitation of the period of service to six years, and the cription of the seventh year as the year of release, is mani- y connected (as Abarbanel and Ewald have noticed) with general idea of the Sabbath and the Sabbath year.* The kly Sabbath after six days of toil, and the Sabbath year

rriage of slaves; also, slaves purchased, who had become incorporated with mily by circumcision, and thus attained a kind of naturalisation. This class nown under the name of "Hebrew slaves;" and to them applies the ordi- , that, when sold by their first master, the second owner had no longer the rights over them with the first, but must release them in the seventh year. hütz finds himself compelled to take this view, from the difficulty which he n the words of Exod. xxi, 2, "If thou buy an Hebrew servant," as this could e said of one who up to that time had *not* been "a Hebrew servant," but a r of property. But the difficulty in the passages is less than that of the in- tation. Why does the phrase "to buy a servant" presuppose that he was by a servant, any more than the phrases 'to make a king' (Judg. ix, 8), or ake a wife' (creare regem, ducere uxorem), presuppose that the former was by a king, and the latter already a wife? And opposed to the interpretation of hütz is the fact, that in the repetition of the law (Deut. xv, 12), about emanci- n after six years' service, the *ebed* is not named. And, in fine, we do not see the whole special legislation in Exodus should be introduced with provisions ; this peculiar class of servants, even before the enactments as to the freedom e Hebrews themselves, to which, according to the usual interpretation, this ge refers.

Michaelis, Mosais. Recht, assigns as the reason why freedom was given in the th year, that the law here perpetuates a custom found among the patriarchs, s is seen in Jacob's twice serving Laban for seven years. But here are seven of service, and the law assigns only six. In Jerem. xxxiv, 14, referring to Mosaic law, it is indeed said, 'at the end of seven years let ye go,' but imme- ly added, 'when he hath served thee six years,' which shows that the ex- ion 'seven years' is here to be taken collectively, and translated (with Phi- n) 'at the end of a year-seven,' i. e. in the seventh year; the time being ed by the beginning of the year at which the service was to cease. Comp. maimonides and Abarbanel on Deut. xv, 1.

after six years of service in the field, were to call to mind the Creator and Lord of the earth, who had assigned to man the labor and the fruits of the land; and so, too, the freedom given the seventh year, after six years of service, was to remind the master as well as the servant of the lordship of God, in whose service they both stood. This is expressly mentioned in reference to the deliverance in the year of jubilee (Levit. xxv, 52). And, besides, this emancipation is there conjoined with other ordinances about the year of jubilee, which are plainly intended to restore the original equality of all Hebrews in respect to possessions and freedom.

§ 6.

c. Extraordinary Cases in which the Man-servant was freed.

Besides the seventh year of service, and the year of jubilee, the Hebrew servant, according to the Rabbins, could obtain his freedom in the following cases:

1. By the payment of the purchase-money at any time due. As soon as the servant, during his time of service, obtained property (for example, by inheritance), so that he could support himself independently, and pay what remained due on the penalty for his theft, he could at once obtain his freedom, even in opposition to the will of his master, by making over to him the sum for which he had been bought, deducting a fair proportion for the services already rendered. *Kiduschin*, 14, 6. Maimonides, *Abad.* II. § 8.

2. By a bill of manumission, voluntarily given by the master, in which he abandoned all claim to the further services of the servant and to the restitution of the purchase-money. Maimonides, ibid, § 11.

3. By the death of the master during the time of service, if he left no son as heir; for the Hebrew man-servant was bound to serve only the son during the unexpired term of service, but not any other heir of the deceased master. Maimonides, ibid, § 12.

§ 7.

e legal *Duration of Servitude extended by Boring the Ear.*

the Hebrew man-servant, from attachment to his master, a maid-servant of the master with whom he was living rriage as a slave, or to his children the offspring of such rriage, did not wish to accept the freedom which gally his right after the expiration of the six years of e, the law allowed him to prolong his servitude; but the following conditions (Exod. xxi, 5, 6, Deut. xv,), to prevent abuse, and also, perhaps, as a punishment spising the proffered freedom:

servant was in the first place to be brought before the s, and in their presence to signify his determination. probably were to point out to him the consequences of cision, and to convince themselves that it was not formed ity, nor from any coercion on the part of the master. If rvant adhered to his purpose, he must receive a perma- oken thereof upon some exposed, yet least sensitive, part body; and the boring of the ear was especially adapted object, as it was also a mark of servitude among other s.* The master himself was to bore through the ear of ve with an awl at the door of his house;† partly, that

boring of the ear is mentioned as a mark of slavery among the Mesopo- (Juvenal, 1, 204), the Arabs (Petronius, Satir. 102), the Lydians (Xeno- nab. iii, 1, 31). According to Knobel (Exodus, p. 214), the sign meant, bearer had open, hearing ears, i. e. was attentive and obedient. Comp. ci, 7. It is also found among other nations, not as indicating ser- nt dependence in general; e. g. those devoted to a saint. Comp. Rosen- Morgenland, II, 70 sq. Knobel conjectures, that in the law the *right* ear , as this was preferred in certain purifications and consecrations. The ts held the same view (*Kiduschin*, 15, a). The latter, who see in this nly a *punishment* for despising freedom, give the following ingenious ex- n: Why is it the ear that is punished? Because, though the man has ith his ear the words, 'I am thy God, who delivered thee from Egypt,' et made himself a slave to man, though made free by God; therefore must ear this stigma. In like manner, they interpret the door-posts, at which as to be bored, as intended to bring to mind the deliverance from Egypt. L 22, 6.)

this boring was not to be *before* the door but *upon* the door, is expressly

the transaction might be more public; but also, in part, without doubt, to symbolise distinctly to the slave the fact, that, *standing on the very threshold of freedom*, he was *bound to this house*, as a slave, by his own choice. The shameful and degrading character of this transaction, and the indelible mark of servitude which the slave must henceforth ever bear, would deter him, if the last trace of self-respect had not expired, from consenting to such a prolongation of the legal duration of his servitude; and this was doubtless the intent of the law in all these prescriptions.*

A slave whose ear had been thus bored through with an awl was called by the Rabbins *bored through* (נִרְצָע).

According to the natural signification of the phrase in Exodus xxi, 6, 'he shall serve him forever,' and of that in Deut. xv, 17, 'he shall be thy servant forever,' the slave was to remain in the service of his master for the whole term of his life. But the Rabbinical tradition,† and also Josephus,‡ interpret 'forever' as limited by the year of jubilee; so that such slaves in any case were made free at that time, as, according to the ordinance in Levit. xxv, 10, the year of jubilee gave freedom to *all* the Hebrews dwelling in the land.§

declared in Deut. xv, 17. Aben Ezra and Abarbanel interpret the "door" (דֶּלֶת Exod. xxi, 6), as meaning the gate of the city, where the court was held; but it should then read שַׁעַר. Besides, when the law is repeated in Deut. xv, 17, the judges are not named; and hence there is nothing there to favor such an interpretation of "the door." Ewald (Alterthümer, p. 245) understands by 'door,' the 'door of the sanctuary' (for he explains 'the judges,' הָאֱלֹהִים Exod. xxi, 6, as signifying a *supreme tribunal*, consisting of priests under the direction of the high priest, which sat in the sanctuary). But then the master and slave would have had to make a pilgrimage to the holy place to accomplish their object, which is not at all implied in the phrase 'the master shall *bring* him.'

* This ordinance may never have been actually carried into execution; at any rate, it was hardly practicable, if the innumerable conditions, which the tradition made necessary, were really complied with (*Kiduschin*, 22, a, under *Mechilta* and *Siphri*).

† *Kiduschin*, fol. 14 and 15.

‡ Josephus, Antiq. iv, 8, 28; ἕως ἰωβήλου.

§ To justify this traditional interpretation, Aben Ezra remarks, that forever (עוֹלָם) often means a *period of time*. To his proofs from Eccles. i, 10 ('of old time'), and 1 Sam. i, 22, (Samuel—to abide before the Lord 'forever'), Munk (in his Palestine,

Besides the year of jubilee, the slave "bored through" in) ear, was also, according to the Talmudists, to obtain his edom at the decease of his master, as he could not be be- eathed to the sons, nor to any other of the connections.*

§ 8.

e. Position and Treatment while in Bondage.

The Mosaic law not only annulled the principle of slavery limiting the time of bondage in the case of Hebrews, mak- the purchase to be in fact only a hired service for a lim- l period, but it also demanded, in harmony with this, that Hebrew bondman should take the position of a hired per- , and be treated as such with all mildness and considera- (Levit. xxv, 40, 42, 43).

Only the *time* and *labor* of the purchased servant, not his son or *possessions*, belonged to his master for the period of vice. Hence the master had no right either to sell or give

, adds a still more striking instance from Isaiah, xxxii, 14, 15, where 'forever,' he 14th verse, is followed by the limiting word 'until' (עַד) in the fifteenth. ime, among the Israelites, was reckoned by the jubilee cycles, the beginning new cycle might be fitly called *olam*, age. Philippson remarks on Exod. xxi, at "the word *olam* is here chosen only because the year of jubilee was after- is instituted"; but why then the same word in Deut. xv, 17, *after* the institu- ? Saalschütz (p. 699,) objects, among other things, to this traditional expla- that there seems to be no good reason why, in the year of jubilee, without hint to that effect in the law, the man-servant could exercise the right, previ- denied, of taking with him the maid belonging to his master with their child- while if he could not do this he would not want to go. Knobel (*ubi supra*) also s, that the slave's declaration, 'he would not go forth free,' implies perpetual ude. But against both these objections, it is to be remembered, that in the ee year every Israelite was to regain possession of his sold patrimony. Having free from debt, the man-servant would no longer be willing to part with his om, and would probably be in condition to purchase the wife with whom he lived in *contubernio*, with their children—if this was necessary. That the law upposes this, is evident from the fact, that when speaking of the year of jubilee kes no provision for the case (as it does in respect to freedom after six years ice), that a slave might not desire to avail himself of the freedom which was legally his.

The Talmud derives this position (*Kiduschin*, 17, 6), from a literal interpreta- of the suffix to the verb in Exodus, xxi, 6, viz. 'he shall serve *him*;' that is, s to serve the master, but none of the heirs.

his Hebrew servant to another person.* If the bondman was married when his service began, the master had no claim at all to the service of his wife or children, although he was obliged to see that they were supported.† So, too, the master had no claim to any thing the servant might find, or get in any other way than by labor, during his period of service.‡

As to the labor to be performed by the servant, the master could only demand of him to do such work as he was accustomed to when free. He could not under any circumstances compel him to those menial services, which were usually performed by real slaves, e.g. following the master to the bath and carrying his clothes, binding or loosing his sandals, washing or anointing him, or carrying him in a litter.§ In the work he was permitted to exact of him, he was in all cases to have regard to the strength of the servant, and to allow him needful rest and recreation.‖ While the bondman was bound to be always obedient and subject to his master, yet the latter was never to make him feel his dependent condition, nor to chastise him, nor to mortify him with rude speech, but always to treat him with fraternal mildness, and with friendliness.¶ If he wounded him with blows, the servant had the same claim to recompense, which the law prescribed for the free citizen.**

* Maimonides, *Abad.* iv, 10.

† *Kiduschin*, 22, and Maimonides, ubi supra, iii, 1, 2.

‡ Mishna, *Baba Mezia*, i, 5.

§ All these conditions are based upon the prohibition of the law, in Levit. xxv, 39, 'Thou shalt not compel him to serve as a slave.' It is also worthy of notice, that all the above services might be performed by a *free* Hebrew, who was only a hired laborer, because the latter—so the Rabbins explain the difference—might do them of free choice, while the servant who was bought acted less freely, and might therefore be more easily humiliated by such menial employments; Maimonides, *Abad.* i, 7.

‖ Maimonides, ibid. i, 6.

¶ Maimonides, *Abadim*, § 9.

** Mishna, *Baba Kama*, viii, 3. The law in Exod. xxi, 26, 27 (if a man smite the eye of his servant, or smite out the tooth, the servant shall go free) is rightly applied by the Rabbins to the non-Hebrew slaves, since the Hebrew servant would at any rate be freed after six years, or in the jubilee year, and hence his immediate release would be no adequate compensation for any considerable injury done to him.

The servant had a right to such food, clothing, and place of abode, as the circumstances of the master made seemly.*

Only in *one* point was the position of the Hebrew man-servant like that of slaves from foreign nations; that is, according to Exodus xxi, 4, the master could give him one of his maid-servants to wife† during the period of his bondage. This union was not looked upon as a religious and civil marriage, but as a slave-marriage (*Kiduschin*, 68); and the children born of this marriage belonged to the master, being "born in the house," and did not, any more than the mother, follow the bondman into freedom.‡

* The Rabbinical commentators undoubtedly go too far in demanding, that the food, clothing, and dwelling-place of the servant should never be worse than those of the master; which gave rise to the proverb, 'He that has bought a Hebrew slave has bought a master.' *Kiduschin*, 22.

† The Rabbins correctly assume, that a *heathen* maid-servant is here meant; for the Hebrew maid-servant, like the man-servant, went out free after six years of service, and it could not of course be said of her that "she and her children remained with the master." Salvador in his Histoire des Institutions de Moise, and also Bertheau (in his work, Sieben Gruppen d. Mosais. Gesetze, p. 22) hold, that a Hebrew maid-servant is here intended, viz. one who came into service after the man-servant, and who therefore remained after the latter had left, until her six years were completed. But what interest could the master in that case have in giving to his Hebrew man-servant such a slave, as *contubernalis*, whom, after a few years, he would have to release with her children, before they had been of any use to him? For that the children in such a case would follow the mother into freedom is not doubted.

‡ Michaelis (Mos. Recht, § 127, Note) has raised the question, whether these children, born in the state of slavery, would not at any rate (see Levit. xxv, 41) obtain their freedom in the year of jubilee. He does not venture an express answer, but Philippson (Israel. Bibel, 424, 425) says that they were then freed as a matter of course. Josephus probably held the same view (Antiq. iv, 8, 20), saying, that the slave living *in contubernio*, became free in the year of jubilee, and adding: καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐλευθέραν ἐπαγόμενος. The Talmudic interpretation is decidedly against this (*Kiduschin*, 68, 69), viz. that such children were to be regarded as mere slaves, since they followed the condition of the mother; and that the children named in Levit. xxv, 41, who followed the father into freedom, could only be children born of a *free* wife, who had come with him into bondage. Perhaps it is to such children, too, that Josephus refers, especially as he names along with the children τὴν γυναῖκα, by whom he could hardly mean the before-mentioned female slave.

§ 9.

f. Emancipation Gifts.

עֲנֵקָה

At the release of the man-servant after six years' service, and, the Rabbins say, in the year of jubilee also, the master was not to let him go out empty handed, but give him liberally out of the flock, and out of the floor, and out of the wine-press (Deut. xv, 13, 14). The amount of these gifts is not determined by the law, but is left to the circumstances and good-will of the master; the Rabbins say that the minimum must be of the value of thirty shekels (*Kiduschin*, 17). Such an emancipation gift had manifestly a twofold object. The freed man was to be put into a condition to begin his new household, so that he might not be obliged to part again with his newly acquired freedom; hence, according to the Talmudists,* the creditors of the bondman had no claim upon such gifts. Besides this, the prospect of such gifts would be a spur to the man-servant (who could not be physically compelled to perform his duties), so to conduct himself during his time of service as to give satisfaction to his master; since the amount of the gift depended on this.†

* Kiduschin, fol. 16, 6.

† Those Talmudists (see § 5 Note 2) who say, that the enactments about the limitation to six years' service, and consequently the boring through of the ear when the service was prolonged, and cohabitation with Canaanite maid-servants of the master, apply only to slaves sold for theft, are of course obliged to refer these ordinances about gifts at the time of emancipation to the same class of slaves, and to say that he who voluntarily became a slave had no claim to such presents. They were perhaps led to this by the consideration, that the voluntary man-servant after obtaining his freedom could expend the received purchase money in establishing his own independent household, while in the case of the other slaves the purchase money was paid as a compensation for the theft. But we have already seen, § 5 Note 2, that the opposite view of Rabbi Eliezer is more probable, viz. that there is no difference at all in this matter between the voluntary slave and the one sold for theft.

§ 10.

g. An Ancient Custom at the Release in the Year of Jubilee.

The freedom after six years' service, dating from the time at which the service began, occurred of course at different times for the different slaves, and was bestowed quietly without any further formalities. But it was natural that the general emancipation of all Hebrew slaves in the year of jubilee should be celebrated with appropriate formalities and solemnities. The law itself prescribed, that at the beginning of the year of jubilee, on the *tenth* of the seventh month, the trumpet of jubilee should sound, and liberty be proclaimed throughout all the land to all Hebrew servants (Levit. xxv, 9, 10). Tradition tells of an old custom, viz. that the men-servants as early as the first of the said month were released from their bondage, without however being allowed to go at once to their homes. In the interval they celebrated together the expiration of their bondage with joyful festivities, their heads crowned with wreaths. And then, at the sounding of the trumpets on the day of atonement, they went forth to their homes and their relations (Talmud, *Rosch haschana*, fol. 8, 6).

2. The Hebrew Bondman in the Service of one of another Nation.

§ 11.

When compelled by necessity, the law (Levit. xxv, 47–55) allowed an Israelite to sell himself to one who was not a Hebrew, provided he dwelt in the land and was subject to its laws (*Kiduschin*, 16). In such a service, however, the Hebrew man-servant had no claim to freedom after six years, nor to emancipation gifts. Hence, an Israelite who was forced to become a bondman would prefer, whenever it was possible, to sell himself to one of his own nation, from whom, too, he might in general expect more considerate treatment. But in the year of jubilee, such a servant of a non-Israelite also obtained deliverance. As now, by so long a service in the house of a heathen master, the faith and morals of the Israelite might be en-

dangered, the law further declared (*Kiduschin*, 20, b), not only that in case he obtained the means he might purchase himself, but, also, that his near or remote relations might free him by the payment of the ransom-money (Levit. xxv, 48, 49). But lest the master might make unjust demands, so as to impede or prevent the purchase, and, also, that the master's rights might not be impaired by demanding the release of the slave for too small a sum,* the law expressly declared, that the amount of the ransom should be in exact proportion to the purchase money and the years of service already rendered (Levit. xxv, 50–53). That is, if any one had sold himself for forty shekels ten years before the year of jubilee, and was to be ransomed after three years of service, the amount to be paid was twenty-eight shekels, twelve shekels being deducted for the services rendered.

The relative of the slave, who thus purchased him, had not in consequence any claim upon his services. Such a ransom was rather looked upon as a duty incumbent on the relatives; under certain circumstances they might even be compelled to perform it.†

The position of the Hebrew man-servant in the house of a non-Hebrew master was substantially the same as in that of one of his own nation. He could only be regarded as a hired person, and must be treated as such with all mildness. But while, in the case of the *Hebrew* master, such forbearance was left to his *conscience* alone (Levit. xxv, 43, 'Thou shalt not rule over him with rigor; but shalt fear thy God'), it is declared, in relation to the heathen master (verse 53), 'he shall not rule with rigor over him *in thy eyes*;' and in these words, the Rabbins find it implied, that the *magistrates* are to see that he is treated with kindness. But the magistracy were allowed to interfere, only when the harshness and recklessness of the master were notorious.‡

* Rashi on Leviticus, xxv, 48. † Maimonides, *Abadim*, ii, 7. ‡ Ibid. i, 6.

B. The Hebrew Maid-Servant.

אָמָה עִבְרִיָּה

§ 12.

The Mosaic law manifests a tenderer solicitude for the Hebrew maid-servant than for the man. Besides the consideration which it every where shows for the oppressive position of dependence and bondage in the case of a man, there was the additional circumstance in relation to the female slave, that her chastity would be constantly exposed to seduction and snares. This was particularly the case when a maiden of tender years was sold by her father on account of poverty;* her blooming youth, her weakness and inexperience, enhanced the peril to her virtue. To secure it, the law decreed, that the master, in purchasing such a maiden, should silently assume the obligation to marry the maid at the age of puberty, or at least to choose her as a concubine. Only on this presumption was it in general conceivable, that a father in depressed circumstances could determine to sell his daughter. This point of view throws light upon the particular injunctions contained in Exodus, xxi, 7–11.

Thus, if the master was willing to fulfil the obligation virtually assumed, the maiden was not to go out free "after the manner of the slaves," i. e. after the six years of service, or in the year of jubilee; since she was no longer regarded as a common maid-servant, but rather in some sort as *betrothed* to the master (verse 7).

But if the master by his treatment of her made it evident, that it was not his intention to marry her, or to take her as a concubine, he was obliged to let her father or some one else of her family redeem her at once;† and, the Rabbins say, he

* Only in her tenderer years (so long as she was קְטַנָּה) could a maiden be sold by the father against her will. At the age of puberty his paternal power was at an end, and he could only exercise a kind of guardianship until her marriage.

† This is the most natural sense of the word וְהִפְדָּהּ, which has in Hiphil a causative sense—let redeem. It is to us wholly inconceivable, how Ewald (Gram. p. 246 Note) could give to the Hiphil the sense of woo, i. e. in order to make a

must make the ransom easier, by not laying claim to the full amount of the purchase money, but deducting for the service she had already rendered.* But the faithless master had no right to sell her to others, e. g. to a stranger, as a maid-servant or a concubine (verse 8).

If the master would not himself marry her, he could give her to no one but his son as wife. But in this case he was obliged to "give her the right of daughters," i. e. to give her an outfit as if she were his own daughter; and the son must treat her as if she were a free married woman (verse 9).

But if the master, or the son who had married her, took another wife (a "half-wife") besides, the former was not to have her rights impaired, nor food, raiment, or duty of marriage diminished (verse 10).

If the master (after she had attained to puberty) would neither marry her himself, nor give her to his son, and if she had not been redeemed from bondage, she was at once to have her freedom without price, and without waiting for the seventh year, or for the year of jubilee.†

Neither the master nor son could take the maiden to wife without her consent. Yet in this marriage the customary bridal gift was not required, for the sum paid to the maiden's father was looked upon as an equivalent. This marriage, moreover, had the legal force and sacredness of ordinary marriages, and like them could only be dissolved by the death of the man, or by a bill of divorce.‡

concubine; in that case it would be a mere tautology for the previous word (betroth), and yet it belongs to a conditional clause.

* *Kiduschin*, 14, 6.

† So the Rabbins interpret the 11th verse; see Rashi in the passage, and Maimonides, *Abad.* iv, 9. Others (as Rosenmüller, Philippson, Ewald) refer the אֵלֶּה שְׁלֹשׁ ("these three") to the three points mentioned in the previous verse, which seems less appropriate, as we cannot well say 'do food,' 'do raiment.' Besides, in the case spoken of in this verse, it cannot be assumed that the master or his son had actually taken the maiden to wife, since then she would have already ceased to be a slave, and it could not be said of her 'she shall go out free.'

‡ Maimonides, *Abad.* iv, 7, 10. An historical example of such a marriage is perhaps found in that of Gideon with the mother of Abimelech; hence the latter is sometimes called פִּילֶגֶשׁ (pellex concubina), Judg. viii, 31; and sometimes אָמָה (Judg. ix, 18) in contemptuous allusion to her previous position.

There would naturally also be cases, in which the raising the maiden to the dignity of wife of the master, or of his son, was not to be thought of; and when too there was no ground of fear in respect to her chastity; when, for example, a Hebrew woman somewhat advanced in years sold herself on account of poverty. In such cases the Hebrew woman (Deut. xv, 12–17) was put on the same terms with the man-servant in respect to the time of redemption and the presents then given.*

Tradition says, that a Hebrew woman was never sold into slavery on account of theft.† So, too, according to the Rabbinical view, the boring through of the ear to prolong the period of service was never practised in the case of the Hebrew maid-servant.‡ As she could never marry a slave, there was in most cases no reason for making provision for prolonging her period of service beyond the legal limit. Besides, this boring of the ear would not be in her case a sign of debasement, as it is probable that the female sex, in antiquity, usually had

* In this way is most easily settled the apparent discrepancy between Exodus xxi, 7 and Deut. xv, 12, 17. The first passage refers to the special case, in which the father sells his daughter as a servant, which case generally presupposed that the master meant to make her his or his son's wife. In Deuteronomy, on the other hand, the case is that of the sale of a Hebrew woman for common service, which did not include any such condition. Comp. Hengstenberg, Authentie des Pentateuchs, ii, 438 sq.—That Hebrew women were in fact sold as mere laboring servants is seen from Jerem. xxxi, 9–12. The Mishna, too, in some passages (*Baba mezia*, i, 5; *Erubin*, vii, 6; *Maasar schení*, iv, 4, where, too, the inconsistent usage of *shiphcha*, and *amah*, is not to be overlooked) clearly seems to take for granted, that Hebrew women of mature age could be held to bond-service. The representation in the *Gemara* (*Baba mezia*, 12, b, *Gittin*, 64, b) is indeed otherwise; it is there said that only a minor could become a Hebrew maid-servant; one, viz. who might be sold by her father, and who in any event, if the master did not marry her, obtained freedom at the age of puberty.

† Mishna, *Sota*, iii, 8; compare, also, Maimonides, *Abad.* i, 2.

‡ *Kiduschin*, 17, 6; Comp. Maimonides, iii, 18. Philippson, who, in other cases, has due regard to the traditional interpretation, maintains, however, here (*loc. cit.* 424), appealing to Dext. xv, 17, that the Hebrew maiden could remain in service by such a boring through of the ear. The traditional interpretation, however, refers the clause—'*And also unto thy maid-servant shalt thou do likewise*,' back to verse 13, and considers the 16th verse and the seventeenth up to this clause (to '*for ever*'), only as a parenthesis. The next verse (18th) seems to favor this, as it manifestly refers back to the 13th verse.

the ears pierced for fastening the ear-rings. And then, too, it may have seemed incompatible with propriety, for so public and degrading an act to be consummated in the person of a woman.

§ 13.

Final Abolition of the Enslaving of Hebrews.

It cannot with certainty be determined, how long and to what extent the Mosaic laws about the servitude of persons of the Hebrew nation were carried into execution. That, generally speaking, the slaves had the benefit of the mild treatment and the favorable conditions, which the law demanded, may be safely inferred from the silence of the prophets; for these advocates of all the oppressed and injured would assuredly not have failed to rebuke any open violation of such enactments. Towards the end of the old Jewish kingdom, however (as appears from Jerem. xxxiv, 14), the injunction about their release after six years of service had not for some time been complied with. The neglect of this particular provision is easily explained. The law itself, with a careful consideration for certain circumstances, allowed the prolongation of the servitude beyond the limit of six years, if the servant desired it. The wealthier class naturally found it for their interest to make free use of this permission, and to induce their Hebrew bondmen to continue in their service by enticing promises. The prescribed notification to the judges, which was meant to guard against such a perversion, was probably in most cases omitted; as the master would naturally be afraid that the servant might be deterred from his purpose by the representations of the judges, and by the boring through of the ear to which he must be subjected. In this way the Mosaic law, limiting the service to six years, gradually came into such desuetude, that servants were retained *against* their will beyond this period; and it was even imagined that the masters had a well-grounded right to the unlimited services of those who had been once bought as slaves. Even in the reform of the kingdom undertaken by the pious Josiah, in the spirit of the Mosaic legislation, the attempt was not made to reïntroduce the pre-

scription about the liberation at the end of six years, as it was evident that such an attempt could not have permanent success. It in fact appeared more practicable, and more in harmony with the spirit of the Mosaic legislation, to abolish entirely the enslaving of Hebrews, and to introduce instead the system of hired service. Such an attempt seems to have been actually made before the fall of the old Jewish kingdom. For, at the time when Nebuchadnezzar began to lay siege to Jerusalem, King Zedekiah, probably led to this by the representations of the prophet Jeremiah—at a congregation of the people held in the temple for penitential observances in view of the imminent peril, made public proclamation, that every one should let his Hebrew man-servant and his Hebrew maid-servant go free, and that no one should in future enslave a brother in the faith.* The people and princes declared themselves ready to obey, and the decree, sanctioned by a solemn covenant, was at once carried into execution. But hardly did the threatened danger seem to be passing away, than the rich and the mighty repented of what had been done, and again compelled the emancipated slaves to come under the yoke of bondage. The enslaving of Hebrews actually came to an end only with the complete overthrow of the old kingdom, an event announced with new emphasis by the prophet in consequence of this breach of faith. After the return from the Babylonian exile an attempt was made to introduce it again; but this was summarily suppressed by Nehemiah (Neh. v, 5–10). From this time there were, in the restored Jewish state, only foreign heathen slaves, of which we are to speak more fully in the

* Jerem. xxxiv, 8 sq. The assumption, that the deliverance here spoken of was only an expedient, prompted by present peril, "to increase the numbers of the army by those thus freed, as was sometimes done in other nations," is refuted by the fact, that the freedom was to extend to the *female* slaves, who could hardly be made use of in the contest. The solemn manner in which the decree of the king was sanctioned before the temple (vs. 15, 18, 19) rather indicates, that this emancipation was a means of propitiation, to avert the divine anger aroused by the enslaving of those of their own nation. That the decree had in view the abolishing of the slavery of Hebrews *forever*, seems to be declared in the express words of the ninth verse, 'that none should serve himself of them, *to wit*, of a Jew his brother,' and of verse tenth, 'that none should serve themselves of them any more.'

next division. Even after the destruction of the second Jewish kingdom, such slaves were held under the same conditions by Jews living in Palestine and the other nations of the East. The permission to hold a Hebrew as a slave was considered to have expired as a matter of course with the cessation of the celebration of the year of jubilee, i. e. about the time of the destruction of the first kingdom.* Accordingly from this time persons of the Hebrew nation could only be hired as free laborers, or by day's wages, as attendants and household servants.† Under the despotic government of Herod the old law, allowing a Hebrew to be sold for theft, was again revived; but the people seem to have set themselves against its execution by refusing to buy such as slaves; and hence the king sent thieves into foreign lands to be sold, a measure which naturally aroused still greater discontent.‡

When Hebrews came into bondage to the heathen by war, or in any other way, their redemption was always regarded as one of the most sacred duties, binding on every Israelite who had the means.§

* *Kiduschin*, 63, and *Erachin*, 29; see also Maimonides, *Abadim*, i, 10, and Jobel uschemita, x, 8, 9.

† שכיר, שמש, מעלך, מעני

‡ See Josephus, Antiq. xvi, i, 1.

§ Nehem. v, 8; comp. *Baba bathra*, fol. 8

[The remainder of this treatise, on Slaves of Foreign Descent held by the Hebrews, will be published in the July number of this REVIEW.]

ART. III.—ROTHE'S ADDRESS ON PHILIP MELANCTHON.

Translated by Rev. ERSKINE N. WHITE, Richmond, Staten Island.*

WHILE all Protestant Germany unites in commemorating the anniversary of Philip Melancthon's death, the peculiar relations of the Theological Faculty of the Rupert-Carolina University to this great reformer especially forbid that it should withhold its tribute upon such an occasion.

We remember, with becoming pride, that Melancthon belonged by birth to our own Palatinate, and by descent, upon his father's side, to our very town. He commenced his academical studies at our university, and, while still a boy, here attained the honor of a baccalaureate in philosophy. At a later period, when himself known to fame, he labored to advance its welfare by his wise and prudent counsels, and some years before his death, with the same end in view, he again dwelt for a time within our walls. Finally, in accordance with the wish of the Elector Frederick III., he dedicated his last work to the infant evangelical church of the Palatinate.

A man whose death, after three hundred years, is still commemorated by the grateful hearts of an entire people, must have left behind him deep and wide traces of his influence, and must himself have had a world-wide significance. Vividly to portray this significance, is surely the appropriate duty of him who celebrates his memory. Bear with me, then, hon-

* The following address was delivered before the University of Heidelberg, April 19, 1860, to commemorate the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the decease of the *Præceptor Germaniæ*. The reputation of its distinguished author, Dr. Richard Rothe, Professor of Theology in Heidelberg, and the ability with which Melancthon's theological position and influence are delineated, will insure it a cordial welcome in this country, such as it has already received in Germany.

ored hearers, while I attempt to recall to memory *The Significance of Melancthon in the German Reformation.*

While I know full well the difficulty of the task, which, perhaps could have been more felicitously accomplished by some other person, and while I feel most sensibly the contrast between the extent of the theme and the brevity of the allotted time, still, in view of the subject, I venture to count upon your forbearance.

The revolution in the world's history which we term the *Reformation*, and which presented itself at first as a reform within the Church, may be traced to a twofold cause. In the first place, it seems to have been peculiarly the natural result of the previous growth of Christianity upon the soil of the German nation, or, more properly, of the complete historical development of the latter under the influence of the former.

Christianity, under its exclusively religious, or, in other words, under its ecclesiastical form, had been engrafted upon the German character, and had exerted upon it, for a long series of centuries, its unfolding and educating power. Through this influence there had been gradually generated, out of the fulness of the still fresh and unspent natural strength of the German character, a secular or moral life by the side of the ecclesiastical; and in this, resting as it did upon a Christian foundation, Christianity, itself an essentially moral religion, was for the first time to find its true realization. The turning-point had been reached in the history of Christianity, at which it was to pass from the first grand stage in its development to the second and final one, in other words, from the exclusively religious, or ecclesiastical, to the religious-moral, the secular, the political. In the more advanced minds, the ecclesiastical idea grew fainter and fainter, while, in opposition to dogmas, thrown more and more into the background, there was arrayed an ever-growing interest in the moral element. But aside from this, the mental revolution of which we are speaking, received a new and powerful impulse, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, from the revival of the Roman and Grecian literature, and the re-blossoming of classical study. Guided by Providence, the old Roman empire of the East had preserved for centuries, under lock and key, the

treasures of classical literature, together with the external means requisite for its comprehension, awaiting the hour when German Christianity, grown to spiritual maturity under the pupilage of the church, should find itself in possession of the internal qualifications for its appropriation and use. Now that the time of the downfall of the empire had come, it must transfer the treasure committed to it to the hand of its plainly appointed heir.

What a new world appeared before the astonished gaze of European Christians! What a store of pure moral ideals, before which the world of saintly phantoms, that had been incorporated into the legends of the church, sunk back into the nothingness from which they sprung! What a wealth of real practical work, confronted with which the industrious framing of ecclesiastical dogmas seemed but laborious trifling! In the writings of the Greeks and Romans, what new and rich views of the world of nature and of history, a world hitherto almost concealed!

Through the same influence, the historical circumstances that environed Christianity at the epoch of its birth, began to emerge from the clouds, and assume distinct form; while, as a fruit of classical study, there were developed the necessary appliances for understanding the holy records of Christianity, as well as for a historical examination of the progress of the church in doctrine, in culture, and in constitution. How searchingly this new and surprising light must have fallen upon the traditional Christianity! How clear must have been the conviction, that during a career of almost fifteen centuries, something must have been engrafted upon Christianity entirely foreign to the great spiritual work which the Saviour had inaugurated in the history of our race! How evident that, under the influence of human misconception and impurity, the divine form of Christianity had become greatly distorted, and that even where it was not utterly degenerate, it must be purified, and made to conform to its original pattern!

Unquestionably there were many, especially in Italy, the birth-place of this culture, who imbibed not only the intellectual cultivation drawn from the treasures of classical an-

tiquity, but also the unbelieving, heathen opinions of the old world, or rather—for in its best and greatest days the old world was religious—there were those who saw in this classical culture a long-desired cloak to cover up the nakedness of their religious degeneracy and bare materialism; but this was by no means the case with all. In our own Germany, for instance, it was very different. Such pioneers of classical study as a Rudolph Agricola, or an Alexander Hegius, labored in no such spirit. Instead of regarding the humble work of Christianity as cast into the shade by this newly discovered and brilliant picture of classical antiquity, they recognized in it something unmistakably high and unexampled—something for which the old world had longed in vain, and for want of which, in spite of all its power, it fell into hopeless conflict with itself.

They conceived, too, of the Gospel of Christ and of classic culture, as held together by an inherent bond; not only because the latter gives the scientific means for recalling and comprehending the precise, original sense of the former, but also because the world of moral ideas there revealed, together with the accompanying conception of a humanity formed in accordance with such ideas, presented itself to them as the peculiar foundation upon which the Saviour, clothed with divine strength, would build his kingdom in this world. Impressed with this belief, these scholars strove to cast the beams which had dawned upon them in their studies upon the holy writings of the Christian revelation, that they might bring Christianity back to the light of history and present to the eyes of their cotemporaries its true, as distinguished from its traditional, form.

Naturally enough, this end could not be accomplished merely by learned expositions. It was necessary that the new idea should assume a practical form, and an attempt be made to restore the corrupt Christianity of the day to its genuine shape. In other words, a reformation of the church must be attempted.

A nature like that of the great Erasmus, gentle, idle, and careless in its intellectual strength, might, perhaps, find solace

in the formation of an elegant literature for the polished, classical circle, or in chastising the many follies of the current forms of Christianity with sparkling wit and the pungent salt of satire; but if the idea of which we speak once took possession of a conscientious, energetic, and devoted man, he could not but draw fervor from its inspiration, nor fail of attempting the work, however dangerous, of improving and renewing the church. Such a man was sure to be found sooner or later, and it was not long before he appeared upon the scene in the person of Ulrich Zwingle. The reformation which he undertook was, from its very beginning, simply the energetic, conscientious activity of a culture of that noble type, which would not allow him to rest satisfied with the consciousness of having his clearer insight into the essence of Christianity made available only for himself and his learned companions. His heart sympathized with his people and their religious wants, and he was impelled to impart his better knowledge to the unlearned. Thus, by an enthusiastic assertion of the ideas and interests of Christian morality, by a thorough purification of the popular morals, and the formation of a practical and fruitful piety, he undertook a Christian reformation upon broad and general principles.

Here we see a reformation which was the direct result of the previous history of European Christianity, and especially of the great intellectual revolution that manifested itself in the fifteenth century. But this reformation, of itself alone, could not have compassed its end, for it was far from including all the conditions necessary to complete success. In the first place, though knowledge is a noble force in history, yet it is incompetent to carry out a reformation with success. Scientific knowledge, even when it dwells in the most honest and the truest heart, confines itself to the narrow circle of the learned. It can never spread far and wide among the people, and least of all can it inspire them with a real living conviction, and a glowing enthusiasm, sufficient to burst the strong fetters forged by fixed habits, and the venerable domination of hallowed authority, thus giving freedom to the courage that will stake every thing for the discovered truth.

But on the other hand, and this is the chief point, as we have already seen, this was the very thing which the reformation must achieve, on which turned the great historical crisis of the time.

Christianity was about to erect a new edifice in which to dwell and work, but not, as before, simply from the one material of an ecclesiastical piety, rendered exclusive by its want of adaptation to life; for life is practical, and based upon natural conditions. Rather would it make use of that which is not exclusively religious, of the so-called secular, or to express it briefly and exactly, the religious-moral element. Every thing depended upon laying a solid, broad foundation for the new structure. What should this be?

The answer can only be found by analyzing the nature of the religious and moral life—of the religious and moral life as it is also Christian, which simply means, as it is in every respect truly *human* in the fulness of its purity and truth. In such life, the relation of the religious to the moral is this: While the former is properly the soul of the latter, so, on the other hand, it is only in the latter that the former finds its true realization. From piety alone can morality receive its inspiration, and derive the power of spending a life in assured and energetic activity, with clear and full consciousness of its aims. Morality can be truly understood only in the light of piety; the idea of God, the living God, alone casts a clear light upon the world, and only as we learn our relation to him do we also understand our peculiar human relations to ourselves and to our race. Only in piety can morality strike its roots down to a depth from which it may draw inexhaustible strength. And so it proved at this new birth of Christian piety, when the purity, truth, and energy of its early life were revived; and only upon such a foundation could be successfully built the edifice of a moral, or, so to speak, of a secular or political Christianity, including of course a Christian community. The power of such a piety could nerve the courageous faith and the unflinching abnegation necessary to break the chains of the past; and the restoration of such a pure Christian piety was at last possible; for, by the revival of classical study

criptures of Christianity had become accessible. But
n skill was plainly unequal to this undertaking, or its
would not have been so directly religious in its cha-
. The only efficient power was the grace of God. It
ecessary that God, by the awakening influence of his
Spirit, should bring a human soul face to face with the
of its Saviour, that thus it might experience the same
tion in consciousness and feeling, which the overwhelm-
pression, received from the person and history of Christ,
ccomplished in the case of his immediate associates.
all know that for this purpose God in his wisdom chose
ble and valiant soul of the monk, who, in the Augustine
r at Erfurt, was struggling for an assurance of his salva-
It was necessary that Martin Luther, the true and humble
the church, should make trial in his lonely cell of the same
wrestlings which Paul had first experienced. It was to
rpose that the apostle had unfolded in glowing words
sult of his own experience, that it might be a testimony
succeeding generations. His teaching had long become,
o Christianity itself, a dumb mystery. That it might be
understood, the son of the Thuringian miner must pene-
new the inmost depths of the human soul, where, in the
liate presence of his God, he might experience the awful-
nd the terror, as well as the joys, of such a solemn near-
o Deity. When vitally conscious of the presence of
, and of the fulness and grandeur of his nature, how
even the noblest among men, thus brought before his
r, must sink trembling to his knees, as a poor sinner
te of worth. But at this moment of deepest humilia-
hat joyous assurance he may receive from that Saviour,
rance that he can be lifted out of his misery, and estab-
in unfailing security and blissful safety; an assurance
ay be his, if he will but seize the hand of his Redeemer,
rasp the sure mercies of a God who pardons by grace
; or, in a word, if, believing on Christ, he will but give
lf without reserve to him. This experience Luther could
se only by years of anguish. But he passed through
rk way, and reached the light, and there he stood in the

plenitude of such an experience—there in the full majesty of his faith, recognizing undoubtingly his God in Christ. Transformed by this consciousness, he rested upon nothing but the pitying, forgiving grace of God in the Redeemer. Thus inspired by an unwavering assurance of his salvation, and by a triumphant confidence in God and his victorious omnipotence, he was indeed an incarnation of Christian godliness, in radiant majesty and spring-tide bloom, a prophet in the true sense of the word, such as Christianity had not seen since apostolic times.

It was inevitable that the flame of such a piety should enkindle surrounding spirits, and fling far and wide its burning sparks. It was a stream of fire which made its way even to the heart of the people, quickening and carrying with it all, whether ignorant or learned, high or low, who had a true longing for godliness—a stream of fire, which, impelled by the unceasing pressure of conscience, swept away the barriers of conventional custom and authority — a religious, spiritual power, such as was unquestionably called for, if a reformation was to be inaugurated. If this new awakening of pure Christian piety was to prove the starting point for the new construction of Christianity in the European race, if it was to prove effective in the development of a religious and moral Christianity, it was an indispensable condition that it should place itself in vital connection and reciprocal action with that world-renowned movement which we have already mentioned, with the mental excitement and progress in regard to those moral ideas and duties in which was also found its own most effective and deepest expression.

Had it not done so, it could have had permanent existence only as a new sect; it could never have become a world-renowned and world-influencing revolution. Besides this, if it was to found a new church, it must unquestionably seek the aid of learning, particularly as it had to construct a new theology, which could only be done through classical scholarship and education. Thus the further task presented itself, of bringing this Christian piety, in its purified form, into cordial union, not only with the new spirit of history which had been

awakened throughout Christendom, and with the tendencies of the day, which looked towards secular and moral undertakings, but also into cordial union with classical culture.

Luther was not the man for this work. Not that he was unacquainted with the classic tongues, or in fact not well versed in them. He had early acquired a thorough knowledge of the ancient languages (especially Hebrew), which instantly distinguished him at his first public contest with the theologians of the day; and who does not know the solicitude with which he constantly urged the pursuit of linguistic study upon the maturing youth of the evangelical church? He did this, because it was only by such study that the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures could be preserved and advanced, and the foundation of the new church stand secure. But, for all that, he was not thoroughly at home in classical studies, and he took no personal satisfaction in pursuing them for their own sake. He esteemed them simply as the best and most efficient means for another and different end, that they might subserve the interests of theology and the church. Literary interests remained intrinsically valueless to him. He would not bathe his soul in classic lore, but, without forgetting the respect due to it, steadily resisted its influence, directing his soul more particularly to things exclusively religious.

But the same God who had been fitting Luther from his infancy for the work of reviving the smothered Gospel, had early marked out another man for the task of which we speak, and had wonderfully educated and equipped him for the work. Philip Melancthon was the wondrous youth whom He called to this service, and who so admirably accomplished the task, in one sense his alone, that he is counted worthy of a place in the illustrious line of reformers.

We are all accustomed to speak of an unusual and wonderful manifestation of the hand of God in the natural individuality of Luther, and we are right in so doing. Who can help being filled with wonder and admiration as he contemplates this mighty man, in whom were harmoniously blended iron strength, innate gentleness, and childlike simplicity? On the one hand, a glowing piety, an alacrity and a courage, which,

born of faith, found nothing too great or difficult, an almost intuitive knowledge and certainty of divine things, and a constant and most familiar intercourse with God in prayer; on the other hand, a genial, attractive and sincere interest in every thing human, together with a bold consciousness of freedom in respect to religious and moral things, and a determined aversion to all mere conventionalities in Christianity, as well as to all false asceticism. On the one hand, the deepest penetration, and a soul so sensitive that it trembled at contact with the spiritual world, and was thrilled with all the varied lights of the keenest intellectual discernment; on the other hand, the clearest, calmest judgment and the coolest common sense, as well as a natural, popular mode of expression, a gift of speech, and a power over the minds of the masses, such as had never before been known.

In the case of the quiet Melancthon, on the contrary, we are too apt to overlook the fact that he too became prominent on the basis of his native endowments, though his gifts were entirely different from those of Luther. If the qualities of the latter indicate genius, it must be admitted that those of Melancthon prove at least extraordinary talent—extraordinary in amount if not in kind; and thus they are none the less worthy of admiration, nor did they any the less constitute their possessor one of earth's most favored sons. Melancthon was not, like Luther, gifted with a profound creative genius; he did not, like him, destroy genial prospects in order to break new paths for the work of religious knowledge; he did not descend into the deep places and sink new shafts; his soul did not wrestle with the tumultuous waves of feeling, nor did his clear conceptions glisten with the fresh colors of a glowing fancy; but, notwithstanding all this, we can contemplate the endowments of the man only with the same astonishment with which his cotemporaries gazed upon the boy just blossoming into youth. Excepting, perhaps, in the case of a few of the most highly favored, such as Hugo Grotius or Leibnitz, where else do we see so wondrous an aptitude for learning? And, through the providence of God, this talent enjoyed from the first the rare favor of being directed in its appointed

the choicest teachers, who accounted it a rare delight
op its power.
r such circumstances, Melancthon labored unceasingly
) new acquisitions; and whatever he once learned was
erwards absolutely at his command. In every task he
ed by an enviably happy memory, at once quick and
e, as well as by a peculiarly clear, flexible, and apt
nding, so that he could assign the newly acquired
lge to its allotted place in the most systematic order.
hile the extent of his learning was constantly increasing,
rfect clearness was maintained, that the details were
e at a moment's notice. He was also able to pro-
ith incredible ease and rapidity, works which, if not
d, were yet of sterling worth; presenting the subject
ıdy propriety, easy fluency, and elegant simplicity, in
form called for by its particular character. Though
er desire for learning was attracted first by the
and ancient literature, yet, while in the university, he
rough the entire range of study then included in the
and, in fact, the classics did not entice him by their
of form so much as by their intrinsic worth. He
d together all the then novel treasures of historical,
l, and philosophical science, and with a master hand
d this mass of material, which to another would have
mbrous, into succinct yet simple, clear, and pleasing
)ks of Greek and Latin grammar, of dialectics, rhetoric,
olitics, psychology, and physics—text-books made ac-
to every one. Thus he early proved that his talent
arting was no less remarkable than his talent for acquir-
Vithout apparent labor, he expressed his thoughts with
ıpled clearness and distinctness, and in the most lucid
while the desire to impart them to others, which devel-
self in his earliest youth, remained with him to old
ır affording him his dearest pleasure.
ıing and teaching, in their necessarily reciprocal action,
ı element; but it was learning and teaching in the
sense, viz. that by the constant appropriation of
nowledge he might elevate and ennoble himself and

others. The "*vita scholastica*," the work of nobly training youth, seemed to him the highest as well as the most agreeable of callings; and it was his deepest lament that an unwelcome fate constantly drove him from grateful tranquillity into the storms of public life. In this labor of instruction he developed an unparalleled activity and an untiring love for work, as well as an ability for achievement, which remained unexhausted even in the last days of his life, and under the influence of which every thing came from his hand as if such labor were mere recreation.

But these wonderful intellectual endowments acquired their peculiar significance from the nobility and loveliness of his character. Here was a consecration raising the former above the range of merely natural gifts. It is not necessary to claim in his case any peculiar unction; the religious interests, as such, were not predominant, at least not at first; but for that very reason he was the more thoroughly alive to those interests of morality which possessed him with such steady power. He had not, like Luther, wrestled with his God in inward contest for life or death; nor had he experienced a profound awakening, which powerfully and suddenly transformed his whole being; but from his childhood a sincere Christian faith had taken root within him, and obtained more and more complete possession as years advanced. But in his case this piety did not direct itself, in its first manifestation, to matters of doctrine, nor to the question of the awakened conscience, "What shall I do to be saved?" It rather pointed him to the duties of morality, in order that through them he might elevate himself, and, as far as his influence could reach, others also, to a life of both internal and external morality, which, however, according to his constant statement, was to be founded only upon a believing Christian piety.

Thus he was irresistibly led to classical literature, because he every where found in it pictures of human nobility, and vivid representations of those ideas which lend to human existence its peculiar worth, together with earnest attempts to grasp these ideas in their inmost life. Here, too, were those productions of the human mind, which exhibit a perfect symmetry,

and conformity to nature, indicating the inherent dignity of humanity. He really saw in the classic studies the "*bonae artes*"—the "*humanioria;*" and therefore he gave them his heart, while, though their influence, his whole nature early assumed a noble, elevated, and beautiful form. They were able to accomplish this in his case, because the depths of his soul had been from the first purified and sanctified by the influence of Christianity. They carried with them to him no heathen sense; on the other hand, they supplied nourishment to the pure and humble Christian faith within him; a nourishment by means of which he became possessed of moral resources, and through which he was able not only to endue himself with healthful strength, but also to acquire skill in the adjustment of secular matters.

Melancthon has been termed a christianized Greek, or a Greek consecrated to Christianity. This he was only in a very limited sense. Assuredly, the marriage of a Christian soul with the beautiful and noble, though human, Hellenic nature, could not but be fortunate in an individuality so harmoniously framed, so tenderly childlike, and so delicately and gently organized. A deep-rooted aversion to every thing unfair and inharmonious, to all that was rude and immoderate in the moral sphere, to the "vita cyclopica," as he happily expressed it, was a characteristic trait of Melancthon's character; and from this source there sprung, in spite of the great natural irritability of his disposition, an equal aversion to conflict and to the spirit of controversy, together with a love of peace, which has been ever admired as the fairest ornament in the wreath of his virtues. Yet the moral beauty of his symmetrical spiritual life, was derived from a higher source than the Grecian, which it sought to mirror forth; illumined by the Christian spirit of purity and humility, it shone with a far clearer light.

Indeed, this childlike purity and innocence, this maidenly tenderness of spirit and of life, which did not desert him even on his death-bed, diffused a graceful dignity over an unpretending and plain exterior; a dignity that commanded respect, and which Erasmus, when speaking of the youth of scarcely

nineteen years, denominated, "*verecunda regiæque prorsus indolis festivitas.*"

Such was the character of the man whom God summoned to labor by Luther's side, that he might accomplish that portion of the work of the Reformation which was beyond the province of the latter, by insuring the union of the new-born cultivation, at once Christian and secular (which was on the point of establishing itself independently upon the foundation of classic culture), with the newly-awakened and purely Christian piety. Most assuredly, if the right man for this work was any where to be found, it was Melancthon. Yet he did not himself choose the task; God placed it upon his shoulders; and he, for his part, often groaned under its almost crushing weight.

While living in Tübingen, teaching and writing, and filled with a glowing love for classic pursuits, he did not anticipate his vocation as a reformer. He was, it is true, avowedly interested in the attempt to restore Christian faith to the purity of the apostolic ideal, as well as in the reforming tendencies of such a movement; but to him personally, there was still nothing so dear as "bonæ literæ," and he did not feel called to put his own hand directly to the work. Certainly if such an idea had then got possession of his mind, he would not have taken part in the reformation in Saxony, but in Switzerland and the Oberland, which would have been more congenial to him, and where among the leaders were numbered many of his near personal friends. But God had otherwise ordained. By a plainly providential dispensation, Melancthon, already, next to Erasmus, the most distinguished humanist in Germany, was called in the summer of 1518, from the position that seemed more naturally his, to the very heart of the reformation in Saxony, taking his place, as professor of the Greek language at Wittenberg, by the side of Luther.

Thus, once for all, the die was cast, which decided his life-work; and neither to him, nor to Luther, could the significance of this work long remain hidden. This meeting of two minds, so extraordinary and yet so different, their unenvying, yet wondering recognition of each other, their readiness to labor side by side for one end, and their ready acknowledgment that

he work could be fully accomplished only by their united efforts—these may well be termed the silver gleams of history. Luther proves himself truly great when, after Melancthon's inaugural address ("*de corrigendis adolescentiæ studiis*") at Wittenberg (Aug. 29th, 1518), he knows not how to give vent to his joy over the treasure which, so unexpectedly to him, God had provided for His work, in this prodigy, his new and youthful colleague. Filled with enthusiasm, he terms his Philip, "a most wonderful man, in whom almost every thing is superhuman," "a man who will outweigh many Martins;" and declares that his own peculiar mission will perhaps be restricted to his being "a forerunner of Philip to prepare the way for him in the spirit and power of Elias, to arouse Israel and the house of Ahab." It is certain that Luther recognized clearly, at the first glance, more than the merely wonderful gifts, and noble and graceful presence, of the new-comer. He saw of what incalculable importance he might become, not only to the young and rising school at Wittenberg, but also for the furtherance of those great projects which God had laid upon his soul, With his keen perception, he saw in him the chosen instrument for engrafting the newly discovered gospel upon history, an end which could only be attained by bringing it in contact with the general culture and learning of the day, in order that through a scientific development and vindication of the principles which it contained, scholars might be made to sympathize with it. To this end, the evangelical faith must be brought into a clearer and more precise form, that should demonstrate the inherent consistency of its varied forces with its external representation; in other words it must be couched in a concise confession. For this end, too, there must be cultivated in the new church a consistent ecclesiastical science, a theology founded upon its peculiar principles, and, especially, a profound and sure interpretation of the Scriptures. Finally, for the accomplishment of this end, there must be infused into the church a timely care for the education of the teachers who were to be trained for its work; and this was practicable only as systematic culture could be connected with it in every step of its progress. Plainly as Luther

felt the importance of these tasks, he was conscious of being deficient in those natural gifts necessary for their accomplishment, which he saw were possessed by Melancthon in an eminent degree.

On the side of Melancthon, the result was the same in respect to Luther. We find him, from the first, completely charmed with this high prophet and brilliant champion of spiritual Christian piety, with that heroic childlike faith to which his own past experience found no parallel. Martin is soon to him, "his dearest father," "the most godly man who treads the earth." He "would rather die than be torn from such a man." Not only was he charmed with Luther's character, but his ideas and actions took possession of his inmost soul. Again he writes, "I love Martin's studies and his pious knowledge, in short, I love Martin himself; and if upon any thing on earth I depend with all the strength of my soul, it is upon him." And so it was in fact. The great and fundamental religious ideas of the Wittenberg reformer flashed upon his soul with overwhelming brilliancy, and kindled within him a most fervid and active enthusiasm for his high work. The pursuits in which he had hitherto engaged with almost visionary enthusiasm, now seemed to him but child's play; and with all that nervous energy which was peculiar to him, he threw himself into the service as the personal ally of Luther, especially as his assistant in every thing concerning the academical office, and as his literary proxy and herald. The part in the reformation that Luther had assigned to him, he voluntarily assumed with the most untiring earnestness and inviolable loyalty; and severely as the task tried his courage in after years, never to his latest breath did he withdraw his hand. In this vocation, the extraordinary character of his gifts made itself at once apparent. The amount of labor which Melancthon undertook and accomplished during the forty years of his activity as a reformer may well excite astonishment, and would seem incredible, were it not attested by well-known facts. Throughout the Reformation, from the year 1518 to the end of his life, he was really the chief worker. Whenever it was necessary to embody the evangelical faith in confessions

to defend it against opponents, or to seek an understanding with them; wherever questions concerning the cause of the Reformation were to be discussed and decided; in short, in almost every religious conference and convention, among the champions, spokesmen, and counsellors of the evangelical party, he stood in the first rank; and common consent, not only in Germany, but everywhere else, pointed him out, as beyond comparison, the most fitted for such tasks. It is hardly necessary to enumerate, in addition, the countless number of corporations and private individuals, who daily sought his advice, and to whom he always most willingly responded. What is there at this day in Lutheran Germany, either in the domain of exegesis, of dogmatic theology, or even of the history of doctrine, so well fitted for building up an evangelical theology, as that which is exclusively his work? What was there in the new church, contributed by its educated ministers, and especially by those versed in theology, which did not receive its form from him, moulded by the indirect influence of his writings, and for the most part, at the foot of his professorial chair, drawn directly from his own mouth?

During his life-time there was no theological school but his, in evangelical Germany. But this was far from being the most important result. It is not too much to say, that the university in all its departments, throughout Protestant Germany, is his creation. This is especially the case with the school of general literature, which he, with wonderful wisdom and energy, established, in the first instance, upon that firm foundation of classical study, on which it still securely stands. It was his, to call the attention of his cotemporaries to the urgent necessity of such institutions of learning, and he pressed their establishment with untiring activity. He imparted advice that determined their organization; he prepared the text-books, by means of which instruction could be successfully afforded; he educated teachers as they were needed for these schools; and when there was doubt in regard to an appointment to a professorship, he recommended appropriate persons. Under his immediate instruction and influence were brought forward all the great and model instructors of the times; such men as a

John Sturm, in Strasburg, a Valentine Trozendorf, in Goldberg, a Michael Neander, in Nordhausen, who, attaching themselves closely to his ideas and methods in training and teaching, became in a wider circle the founders of a permanent method in the science of instruction. But it is impossible even to enumerate those who were directly indebted to him for their education; for the number of his pupils not unfrequently exceeded two thousand. In all these various ways he exercised a creating and a sustaining influence upon the school, particularly in Protestant Germany, which was felt for more than a century, and which has indirectly continued even to the present time. Although, on account of his influence in this respect, he might well be adorned with that title of high honor, "*Instructor of Germany;*" yet there is a far more comprehensive sense in which the distinction belongs to him of being "*Præceptor Germaniæ*," and it should be his to all coming time.

But it was necessary that he should purchase it dearly, with many a bitter pang. It is evident that the peculiar vocation, which he filled with such distinguished wisdom, involved a tragic fate for him personally. Not only was the work upon which he expended his strength, most painfully trying to him during the latter half of his public life, but he received from the greater part of his evangelical cotemporaries, and even from succeeding generations, instead of thanks, misunderstanding, aspersion, suspicion, malignity. This was to have been expected; since Melancthon was not the man for bold, determined action, nor to oppose a peaceful accommodation between contending parties; and, besides, where such compromise was impossible, he was averse to sharp and fierce conflicts. Thus in his careful prudence, bordering upon anxiety and timidity, he did not always prove himself equal to the exigencies of his situation. Still the heart of the difficulty was not here. With Melancthon, the scholar, an element had been introduced into the Saxon Reformation which was completely foreign to it, and especially so to Luther, viz., a fundamental and prevailing tendency towards the moral aspects of Christianity. At first, this tendency did not distinctly manifest itself. As

we have already noticed, Melancthon was completely overwhelmed in his first interview with Luther, by the spiritual power of the lofty, prophet-like man. It was surely natural that the gentle and still youthful humanist, should at first yield completely to the influence of the high prophet and champion of the faith, who took him so warmly to his heart. Hence, he at once, with the susceptibility peculiar to him, transposed himself into Luther's circle of thought and feeling. The predominating tendency towards the directly religious element mastered the one more natural to him. Like Luther, he will hear nothing from any quarter, of a proper coöperation of man himself in the work of salvation, and particularly of a *free* coöperation—nothing too of philosophy, or of human reason; and he at once permits himself to lay aside nearly all of his classical studies that he may engage almost exclusively in the pursuit of theology.

But this new inclination could not in his case be of long duration; it stood in altogether too sharp contradiction with the natural bent of his character. Little by little this natural tendency must assert itself, and indeed, only as it did so, could he accomplish the special task which fell to him in the work of reformation. Thus it proved, and his true character soon found free scope in the moral aspects of Christianity; but he saw the fruits of the exclusive emphasis that had been placed upon the purely religious aspect, in the theological strifes that broke out even among those who were evangelical, and in their verbal contests and bitter animosities. While all this wearied him, it left a clearer conviction that the moral interests of Christianity were his peculiar charge. Indeed he often wished that he could entirely escape from his theological duties, and turn again with undivided attention to his dear classical studies—to the service of "*bonæ literæ*." Of course, this wish could not be realized, but from this time, Melancthon pursued his own peculiar, independent course in theology, even though in opposition to Luther.

He never again lost sight of his fundamental conviction, that there could be no appropriation of the salvation in Christ excepting by means of a moral reconciliation. The most notice-

able consequences, and most fatal to himself, of this position, were his doctrine of man's "efficient coöperation," and the new ground that he took in the dispute concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

The evangelical Christianity of to-day praises God that the noble reformer found again his own peculiar sphere, and remained unwaveringly true to it; but upon himself was impressed this bitter truth, during the latter years of his life, that the longer the trial endured, the keener was the pain. Especially was this true in his personal relations with Luther. Oh! how sharp a pang it caused him, that this first cherished friendship should, after thirty years, become so cool, in consequence of an ever-growing divergence from the views that they had held in common! How bitter, that in its place there should grow up about Luther an anxious distrust, which, especially in the latter days of his life, amid the continual disquietudes of a mind enthralled by a feeble body, was constantly kindled afresh by evil-minded calumniators! Melancthon feared that he had lost that great heart which once beat so warmly towards him. But here Luther gave proof of his real greatness—of a greatness superior to that of his weaker friend. Distinct and irreparable as he saw the gap to be, which separated his views from those of the later Melancthon, he yet never really distrusted him; he never forgot his inestimable worth, or his right to be, in his own way, what God had made him; nor did he interfere with him in his independent career. That Melancthon was an instrument of God to which none of his contemporaries could be compared; that the Church and the Reformation were indebted to him more than to any other; and that the university of Wittenberg had found in him its peculiar defence—this he had often affirmed, even when his dissatisfaction was the most aroused. And more than this. He never ceased to cherish his Philip in his heart. In the year 1539, at Weimar, he, so to speak, prayed him from his death-bed, into life again; and as his pilgrimage on earth drew towards its close, he returned to his former friendship for the faithful companion of his labors and conflicts.

But the evangelical church, including the great majority of its theologians, could not imitate this magnanimity of Luther.

It had no desire to place Master Philip by the side of Doctor Martin; and the longer he lived, the more plainly he became to it a stumbling-block, and an object of deep distrust. This was its return for so much labor, love, and self-devotion. It was not pure ingratitude, for we find a sad complication. It is true, as is commonly said, that Luther—not Melancthon—accomplished the German Reformation; the power of the latter would have proved insufficient. Naturally enough, therefore, the German Christians were, from the first, Lutheran, by a large majority; that is, their Christianity was distinctly marked in accordance with the type of the peculiar personal piety of Luther; and with this alone they felt themselves really satisfied; while on the other hand, Melancthon's theory of Christianity was strange and disturbing to them. A reäction against the *Melancthonian* tendency was a necessary consequence. But this would necessarily be peculiarly complicated, from the fact that Melancthon, not Luther, was the real author of the German evangelical theology; and was moreover, by far the most influential academical instructor in the domain of the German Reformation. It was unquestionably under his governing, scholarly influence, that the first generation of German evangelical theologians was educated. The consequence was a most unnatural state of things. On the one hand, the German evangelical theology was from its very foundation essentially Melancthonian, and the number of personal friends of Melancthon in the ranks of the clergy exceedingly great; while, on the other hand, the piety of the evangelical reformers, and even of the theologians, was just as unmistakably Lutheran.

It was not possible that this condition of things should continue. This intrinsic contradiction must soon make itself apparent and an element be developed in theology, opposite to Melancthonism and tending to its expulsion. Thus broke out the long contest between the self-termed pure Lutheranism and Philipism—a contest which under various forms continued down to the seventeenth century, and which for a long time moulded the principal interests of the German Lutheran

church. In this contest Melancthonism was finally slain; but its defeat was at the same time its clearest vindication, and carried with it the assurance of its resurrection. After obstinacy had completely accomplished its purpose in establishing in the church, as of exclusive value, the personal peculiarities of the evangelical Christianity of Luther, and in banishing that influence, represented by Melancthon, which looked directly to the moral side of Christianity, there followed as a result, a state of torpor and deadness, in which, to be sure, there was an attempt to copy Luther's personal Christianity, but at the same time a fearful caricature.

Melancthon was for a long time renounced and forgotten by his own church; in open debate his picture was trodden under foot by one of his successors in the professorship at Wittenberg; and the day of his death passed its first centennial anniversary unnoticed. But still the effects of his ministry cannot be undone, and the seed sown by him in his own day has, however late, at length successfully germinated.

The "Evangelical Union," for which he so earnestly longed, did much towards opening the way for a reünion with him; and certainly we joyfully congratulate ourselves that Melancthon's earliest home was in our own fatherland. The evangelical Christianity of Germany has, for a hundred years, expressed its gratitude in unmistakable accents; and to-day it is every where striving to give proof, how much of its dearest treasure it owes to Philip Melancthon. It would have the whole world know, how impressed it is with the conviction, that there can be no sound Christian piety which does not openly concern itself with moral ends; and that the interests of Christianity neither can, nor ought, to be divorced from those of morality, of intellectual culture and of humanity in its broadest sense.

This is the only fitting explanation of the enthusiasm which greets his memory to-day. May it prove no transient excitement! May it take deep root in the heart of our German evangelical Christianity, as a plainly acknowledged and potent principle! Then will the triumph of Melancthon be com-

plete! To labor with earnestness and fidelity for this end, is the noble task, which, while offered to us all, is to-day more especially presented to our universities. In this duty, may our honored Rupert-Carolina be ever foremost among her sisters!

ART. IV.—THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE NEW.

By Rev. LYMAN WHITING, Providence, R. I.

"THE Old Testament is done away in the New." Indeed, it is! By absorption, transfer, or reproduction, is it? Done away, as are the foundations of a temple by the glorious edifice set upon them; in a sense, growing out of them?

The notion above set down, is not alone that of an uneasy and illogical ignorance; but some honest and well-read people think so, and say so; do it, we are sorry to know, to rescue their bigoted and petted *ism* from scriptural demolition. Others, with an economic faith, hold to it as a convenient way of having the Divine Word epitomized; as if all the essential virtue of the Old was held in extract in the New Testament. Others still say so, as a pious way of exalting the Gospel to a revered supremacy of grace as against the law. It seems to these, that the Gospel Scripture is endowed with more glory, by esteeming the law and the prophets as a vesture that has waxed old, and is fit only to be folded away. Some ministers even take a secret unction to themselves that *their* texts are New Testament texts. Preach from the "old dispensation"! Not they. And some disciples encourage their hopes of growth "in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour" by an exclusive reading in the gospels and in the epistles, treating "Moses and the prophets" as "things behind;" forgetting that, beginning with them, our blessed Lord "expounded unto them in all the Scriptures *the things concerning himself*," and

that "*all* Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and *is* profitable."

We feel no special alarm at these things, discern no signs as of an east wind to spread a blight on the graces of the whole Church in them; but we do think that, knowing the way of God in Scripture more perfectly, would perfect the affections of many, and help all to hearken more reverently to Christ, saying, "*Search the Scriptures*," etc., while no Scriptures existed but those known to us as the Old Testament. Unless that command has been recalled, our divine Lord is yet saying to us: "Search the Scriptures of the first Testament, for in them ye have eternal life."

Now, if the body of Scriptures which we term the New Testament can be shown to hold, as the setting holds the gem, multitudes of sentences, words, and ideas which were first uttered by "holy men *of old*, as moved by the Holy Ghost," that through all the fabric of the latter covenant run lines of thought and utterance, charged with the double vitality of the original inspiration and of the selecting inspiration, that the former claims to be fundamental to the latter, and the latter meets the claim by hundreds of consenting recognitions, then will not the reproach of superannuation and of displacement be at least rebuked and shamed? Christ's prayer, "sanctify them through thy truth," is of none effect through this tradition of ignorant unbelief upon those deluded by it. Rejecting a portion of God's word, proverbially plunders from all the rest its sanctifying force. Disowning a section, book, or chapter of the eternal word, is just thrusting a line of ice in among the flowers and fruits of paradise. A silent frost-stroke benumbs all that is growing there. Let us rather testify to the grand organic oneness "vital in every part."

In a somewhat homely, but we hope convincing form, we will plead this case; do it by a careful numerical summary of passages chosen by New Testament writers out of the Old Testament.

One of the incomparable helps to Bible study furnished by the Bagsters, London, is a tabulated summary of "passages

in the Old Testament quoted or alluded to in the New Testament."

As the title shows, these extracts are placed in two classes. The tables name and classify the passages. The counting, comparing, and arranging, as found hereafter, are ours.

To begin with their sum total, viz., *eight hundred and fifty*, which is about the number specified, we have at once the numerical argument in outline. Very few of these occur twice; i. e. no author repeats his reference to the same passage, nor do two or more authors select the same; so that the above number fairly represents the intimacy of the two authorships.

The distinction between the two classes of quotations will be seen by examples. The first return to the Old Testament by the New is in Matt. i: 23, the acts recounted as "done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, 'Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son,'" etc. In Isaiah vii: 14, the original is found, not in the same words, but in the same thought and order. The first example of allusion is in the 5th chapter 5th verse; the words "blessed are the meek" are an allusion to Ps. xxxvii: 11, "but the meek shall inherit the earth," etc. These show the mode of classification. Where the transcript claims to be the words or sentiment of the first Testament, it is rated as a quotation. Where there is resemblance in phrase or thought, reference to fact or ordinance, ceremony or locality, it is classed as an allusion; both alike showing that the spirit of inspiration in the latter, adopted and perpetuated by actual transference the former Scripture. A field of most engaging study at once opens through these singularly impressive and sympathetic transcripts. The *personalities* of evangelists and apostles are acutely etched by the former Scriptures which they transfer to their pages. Each one carves his spiritual picture into the elder Scripture,—sinks it, by extracts which he takes out of it.

Of the evangelists, Matthew is the most frequent and varied gleaner from preceding revelation. *Eighty-eight* instances are ascribed to him, and of these *forty-five* are quotations—literal transcripts. His range of contact with the previous

Scriptures is remarkable. About twenty of the older writers reäppear in his chapters. All classes of Old Testament authorship are appropriated by him. All portions of the Pentateuch, the Psalms, Proverbs, the prophets—Isaiah chiefest (fourteen instances), Daniel and Malachi next. He plainly was minutely attentive to the Christology of the prophecies.

In the 5th chapter alone are twelve recurrences, and these to four books, and in the 21st chapter ten like examples are found. Only four chapters of the entire gospel are without one or more returns to the great storehouse to which it suggestively stands adjacent, and the average through is more than three to each chapter.

We are thus particular with this first gospel, as, by its more frequent return to the former canon, it discloses the "mind of the Spirit" about the entire new record it inaugurates, and, since it indicates the mind of this writer, followed by all the others, as to the perpetuity and character of the Scripture made old by the writing which they made new—only or mainly by relations of time.

Mark is less frequent in extracts, showing but *thirty-four;* though his gospel is much shorter than Matthew's,—a difference of twelve chapters. He however uses more direct quotations or entire sentences, having in the 7th chapter alone, five; one from Isaiah, one from Proverbs, and two from Exodus; and in his 12th chapter are found seven transcriptions from history, poetry, and prophecy. He shows less fondness for the prophets than Matthew; is less imaginative, more prone to compend and facts.

Luke is profuse but partial; *fifty-eight* recognitions are found in his gospel, thirty-four of them quotations, and only seven of these reaching the hagiographa of the canon. Twenty-one of his extracts recall passages in the Pentateuch, and twenty are from the prophets. The "law and the prophets" seemed literally to engage his affections to the prior Scripture.

In the twenty-one chapters of John, *forty* passages are set among his sentences, but more than half of them are allusions. His intense spirituality often appears in an apparent extrac-

tion of the spiritual essence of a former Scripture, and transferring it in his own divinely select phrase to the new record. His exquisitely creative genius shows itself in his remarkable preference for the poetry and visions of past inspiration. *Thirty* of his forty returns to it, are to the poets and prophets. He was an admirable annalist of spiritual acts, a very indifferent one of physical deeds. What other disciple *could* have drawn those inimitable four chapters (14–18 inclusive) with scarce a *visible* act in them, but *packed* with the summaries of the glorious Gospel? His *seventh* chapter is a specimen of his exquisite skill in promoting the great aim of his gospel. It exceeds any other equal portion in recognitions of the former covenant. In it occurs our Lord's great combat with the Jews at the Feast of the Tabernacles, and nearly all of the *nine* references found in it, are set down in the words of Christ himself. This, the reader perceives, gives a three-fold sanctity to those words; that which they had in their original position as written by "holy men of old," that which Christ's selection and use of them gave, and that which the insertion of them by this inspired disciple superadded. What a token against the "lying delusion" that the Old Testament is done away by the New, such passages are.

The Acts of the Apostles, in the varied voices mingling in the thrilling annals therein, keep fully up to the pattern set in the gospels. *Fifty-seven* times the reader's eye is turned to the great first covenant in these victorious chapters. Entire narrations, indeed, are taken and used as chains held at one end by the popular faith, through which to shoot the electric fire of the Gospel from inspired lips at the other end. The 7th chapter is a remarkable enforcement of our argument. It contains the awful plea of the martyr Stephen—that terrible last word which "cut to the heart" his murderers. This chapter alone shows twenty-two instances of return to the former Testament; and the portions thus taken were the very barbs to his arrows, the edges to his lances. If those words were "done away," the heroic saint, inspired too at the time, greatly erred in so profuse election from them.

With the close of these New Testament chronicles, a new class of Scriptures are reached. The narrative of the Gospel

is ended. The magnificent task of exposition and organization of its blessed truths begins. The first generation of Scripture authors have finished their work. One part of it was to put down a foundation for those coming after to stand upon.

More remote from prophets and "holy men of old," the life and words of Christ variously written out, the religious life life lifted to a more intellectual and doctrinal form, we shall expect now, if ever, that the marked disuse of the first Testament will begin. Shall we find any longer this incessant reminiscence by the spirit of inspiration? Will not the past give place to the now triumphant present and splendid future! This "great apostle" Paul, having "the care of all the churches," and the visibly "chosen vessel" in which to convey the remaining messages of inspiration to men, is Roman born and bred, and not bound by any Judaistic sympathies or modes of thought. He will be able to speak out of his great impulse, his mastership in all the knowledges the world then had, and genius for logical, philosophical penetration, for ever unmatched. Surely this convert by miracle, this commissioner to the extra-Judean world, is the man to begin a new style of New Testament writing, "forgetting the things which are behind," and showing that the old is done away by the new.

We open the great epistle of the canon, first in order though fourth in time, that to the Romans. It is really a grand spiritual summary. It depicts man's moral character, the apostacy, universal sinfulness, and utter hopelessness before a holy God. Then comes the work of sovereign love; its executor Christ; man's access to it by faith; and thus, in a sense, law, prophets, and gospel yield their vitalities to form this matchless creed for the world. But granting this, is there any reaching back to past oracles such as shows he is not, by this very doctrino-spiritual manifesto, just meaning to emancipate the world from any bondage to former testimony? Let us look. Sixteen brief chapters, with four hundred and thirty-three verses, make the epistle; and among these are *seventy-four* inspired recognitions of the ancient books, an as yet unprecedented average of nearly five to each chapter; and what is most noticeable, only thirteen of the number are not direct, full

notations. Mere allusion was not enough; the literal phrase must come out from the Law, Psalms, and prophets, and roll on with mightier meaning, serve in his gigantic argument.

Nearly every book is under tribute in this single epistle, as the author arrays his stupendous witness against man the apostate, and for Jesus Christ the propitiation.

If any where the former Scriptures have in the latter peculiar honor, surely it is here. The missive throbs with pulsations driven through it, from the "lively oracles" which came from men moved with the "Holy Ghost."

The two letters to the Church at Corinth, with *fifty-three* transfers from the "former treatise" or testament, Galatians with *sixteen*, Ephesians with *ten*, and the minor epistles in about that proportion, extend the evidence that later inspiration was as an outgrowth or complement to the earlier. Then comes the grand Messiah epistle—the final argument of inspiration against legality, Judaism, and all anti-Christ forms of faith. In the epistle to the Hebrews, of only thirteen brief chapters (and three hundred and three verses), we count with surprise *eighty-five* returns to the former covenant, and in the famed eleventh chapter *twenty-seven* of these are traced. As signatures to bank notes create their value, so this epistle is a species of credit signature to the examplars of the people of God; it certifies them to the posterity of faith. No single section of the New Testament yet met, is so infused and fabricated from the Old as this. Its great thought, salvation by faith in Christ our sacrifice—i. e. the atonement, the very life-germ of all the word of God,—is made most dependent upon the old covenant. So that if the atonement is *the* vitality of the Christian faith; that faith has the springs to its life in that covenant.

With little variation from these enumerations, James, Peter, John, and Jude fill out the sacred volume to the Apocalypse. But this coronal scroll, this jewelled band upon the awful and glorious "volume of the book," glows in singular profusion with gems and hues from former authors. Written seven or eight years after all the other parts of the New Testament,

except the gospel of John, which was a few months or a year later in date, it largely exceeds all of them in quotation usage. *Two hundred and forty-five* Old Testament recognitions gleam on the reader from its twenty-two chapters. The book might be termed the chromatic lens of Scripture, gathering rays and hues from all gone before; projecting them in an image of inexplicable form and beauty upon the future. We doubt if any composition is known to man, drawn in such exquisite filaments and tintings from other and long prior composition. The Holy Ghost in that authorship is bidding farewell to the world; taking leave of a ransomed race through inspired words, and seems to traverse the whole field of past communications, recalling and so confirming as its own message, each separate portion. Above one fourth of all the numerous confirmations of the Old Testament Scriptures found in the New, singularly enrich this parting message to man. If *it* is inspired, it confirms the inspiration of all that went before.

What now shall we think of a faith, or of ordinances which find the whole Word of God troublesome, and so much so, that it is easier to reject that wholeness of the Word than the favorite opinion? What shall we think of a piety that boasts its rejection of Moses and the prophets, or that finds in the Gospel that which makes the Law useless? Can any man truly love one part of the Divine word while rejecting or even dishonoring any other part? "The song of Moses and the Lamb," sung before the throne, is the song of the Law and the Gospel. If disjoined by our faith here, how shall they be united there? The Apocalypse, as shown, reaches in singular carefulness its inspired recognitions to each portion of the divine word, and so makes it all a part of itself, blending all the parts into one message, and then underwrites the whole with the dread adjuration: "If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book. And if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book." Rev. xxii: 18, 19. With St. Augustine we respond: *Novum Testamentum in Vetere latet: Vetus in Novo patet.*

ART. V.—CHRISTIAN ZEAL.

By Rev. SERENO D. CLARK, Sunderland, Massachusetts.

. is ardor of feeling. It has been defined "a passionate
' It is the heart on fire—a strong, vehement desire, in-
to a fixed determination of will and accordant energy
rseverance of action. It is the whole soul inflamed in
t of some object, and will not be satisfied without it.
for its attainment is not toil, but a spontaneity. *Christ-*
il is the soul thus inflamed and borne on by a rational,
istless impulse or spontaneity of sustained action, to-
the acquisition of an object connected with immortality
edeming mercy. It is the controlling love of Christ in
il. It is being filled with the Spirit and bearing its pre-
fruits. It is making the salvation of man, thereby
ing the Saviour, the simple end of life.
istian zeal, then, in its essentiality, is a fervor in view of
ınd obligation, of sin and misery, of purity and blessed-
f Christ and redemption, at once rational and passionate.
ıe spirit of humility and dependence, and yet of uncon-
)le determination. Every power of the soul is wrought
its highest capacity. All one's effectiveness is brought
it. The reason energized and yet directing, the heart
ıg, the will resolved, the man weak in himself, and strong
l, is moved on in his course of moral activity resistlessly.
the Scriptures speak of a wrong zeal as well as a sound,
ful zeal. The mind may be as fully roused, and the will
olutely set in doing evil as in doing good. The heart
ıurn as intensely with the fires of hell as with the fires of
oly Ghost. Saul sought to slay the Gibeonites "in his
) the children of Israel and Judah." Jehu had a zeal
was but the fumes of pride when he said: "Come, see
al for the Lord." The Jews, in the time of Christ, were

zealous for the law of Moses. The zeal of the Pharisees led them to take the life of their long-expected Messiah. Animated by similar feelings, James and John were ready to ask for fire to come down from heaven to consume those declining to entertain their Lord. Paul, before his conversion, was filled with zeal to destroy the disciples of the Nazarene. All these are instances of a passionate ardor in the pursuit of some object, deemed, by those who felt it, desirable; but which was, nevertheless, not a zeal kindled by inspiration from heaven, and hence wrong.

Zeal is wrong, either because the feelings or motives dictating the conduct to which it leads are wrong, or because the object at which it aims is wrong, or because the mode in which it is pursued is wrong. Paul said of the Jews: "They have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge." Here the object, the kingdom of God, was right, but the feelings and mode with which it was sought to be advanced were wrong.

Right zeal invariably has its origin in love to God and holiness, in a regard to the divine law and devotion to the cause of Christ; and is always directed by the *wisdom* of the Gospel. Wrong zeal has its source in some form of selfishness. True, it may not so appear to him who is actuated by it. The heart's depravity may throw such a mist around his moral perceptions, that he may not himself be conscious of its real well-spring. It may originate in covert ambition, love of domination, envy, or ill-will, in a determination to compass one's ends merely because they are *his* own ends, in party-spirit or pride of opinion, sanctified in his own eyes. False zeal may have ever a more benignant origin—in a sense of natural justice, benevolence, humanity, or sympathy, fired by self-emolument and unillumed by Gospel discretion. But whatever its immediate source, it is ever the outworking of some element of the selfish principle.

Hence, right zeal is disinterested; wrong zeal self-interested. Right zeal seeks the honor of God; wrong zeal the honor of self. The one seeks the gratification of its own will; the other, the fulfilment of the divine will. The one is humble, distrustful of self, "poor in spirit;" the other proud, self-confident.

he latter boasts of its works of justice, humanity, and love, nd piques itself on its own consequence in the progress of irtue and the world's amelioration; the former glories alone n the grace of God, exclaiming in the courage of faith: "I an do all things through Christ strengthening me." While rong zeal is sometimes headstrong, fiery, regardless of conseuences; and sometimes sly, underhanded, trickish, artful, as ircumstances or natural character dictate; right zeal is wise, autious, feeling its way, stepping surely, carefully retaining hat it gains, but ever above-board, noble, magnanimous. he one, though overflowing, perhaps, with compassion to its ecific object, often disregards the feelings of those who stand n its way, riding over them with as little mercy as the warorse tramples on the mangled corpses that strew the battleeld; the other, in its most impassioned work, glowing and ftened with love, is thoughtful and kind, would not needssly cause the slightest vibration of pain; even itself feeling e wounds it sometimes in duty inflicts. The one, in its roused moments, is like the sun shining in its vernal strength, waking the earth to beauty; the other, like the hurricane, esolates wherever it goes.

Hence, while the one is cruel as the Inquisition, the other is erene and mild as angelic ardor. Wrong zeal can go forth ith Mohammed to conquer the nations to the faith of Islamm, can butcher and burn and ravage, leaving desolation, lood and anguish, tears and groans in its train; right zeal oes forth with Carey, and Swartz, and Martyn, and Brainerd, nd Harriet Newel, and Mrs. Judson; carrying the Gospel of eace to the benighted; kindling in hearts unused to praise he sweet song of Christian joy; spreading the beauties of the ainbow over regions darkened with reeking corruption; purgng habitations of cruelty, and filling them with the sunshine f redeeming mercy. The one vindicates its opinions with the xe, the faggot, imprisonment and torture—deeds of woe which nake even selfish humanity weep, and promotes its interests y sneers, bitter words and denunciations. The other sits enhroned on the calm summit of reason and love, and issues intructions radiant with its own heavenly light, attended by the

Spirit's unseen, but subduing power. The one stands beside Nero and Domitian, Laud and the bloody Mary, and smiles at the butchery, the streams of Protestant blood, and the shrieks of anguish which forever stamp with infamy and the curse of God St. Bartholomew's day. The other sits in the study of Augustine, of Calvin, of Edwards, in the prison with Baxter, and "the mighty dreamer" so skilfully embodying the subtle workings of Christian experience in his "Pilgrim's Progress;" it rejoices in all the good which these giants of thought and consecrated imagination and theological lore achieved; and it leaps for joy over the revival scenes of Northampton, and the wide-spreading results of Whitefield's labors.

Right zeal is guided by the truths of the Gospel in their symmetrical proportions—by correct views of God's character, of his requirements, of his purposes and providences, of man, his ruin and his responsibilities—truths that shine along every pathway of life,—is a zeal according to knowledge, is wise as a serpent and harmless as a dove; and moves forward with effect, leaving verdure and flowers springing up in its footsteps. Wrong zeal is guided by some *one* truth or duty, while others are disregarded, or perhaps by a mere blind *impression* of duty; and hence though active, energetic, full of fire, sometimes hits, but often misses; it is like a loaded wain driven furiously on, sometimes in the path, but more frequently out of it, rushing on over stones and rocks and logs, jolting, creaking, bounding, till dashed and broken, its fragments are strown along its path, and the object for which it started in such good earnest, is lost.

Right zeal enlists in its service all the powers of the mind, suitably and equably excites all its tendencies and susceptibilities; so that the whole mental organism is well balanced, all its parts being poised and regulated by love. It works like the summer heat, hidden and noiseless, yet irresistibly diffusing itself through field, and wood, and meadow, covering the whole with freshness and bloom. Wrong zeal, with but *half* the mind in action, or swayed by some prejudice or passion, led on by some object or interest magnified out of its true proportion, or frenzied with some side issue, pulls vigorously at some one string in the network of society, which, by the effort, soon

becomes snarled and kinked, and the more it is pulled and jerked, the worse it is. Fit illustration this of our modern *unchristian* reformers, who would unwind the skein of society to rewind it on better principles; but the only result of their unskilful handling is to entangle it worse than before, and the more earnestly they work the more entangled it becomes.

The difficulty is not, that he who is actuated by this wrong zeal has not strength of feeling enough, resolution enough, or energy enough; the trouble is, selfishness, in some of its subtle forms—pride, ambition, envy, party-spirit, or self-love, controls; or for want of Gospel knowledge he aims at some chimerical object, or pursues it by unscriptural means; and thus he who, perhaps, has some ill-defined intention of being an angel of mercy, becomes one of those seemingly reckless beings who scatter around them firebrands, arrows, and death.

Wrong zeal is therefore always disastrous, in a greater or less degree, both to the church and to society. It is indeed one of the worst of evils. Blood and havoc, desolation and misery, present or prospective, have marked its footsteps. History assures us that aside from the general cause, native depravity, it has made more infidels than any one cause; forged more weapons against the church than any other agency. Its history has never been fully written, but when it is, it will constitute one of the darkest chapters of human conduct. On the other hand, right zeal is good and only good—good in itself and good in its influences. It is that fire of love which identifies us with Christ, makes us one with him as he is one with the Father—one in affection, one in desire, one in purpose and moral action. While wrong zeal, in its essentiality, is grovelling, revolving, like a slave in the treadmill, around the little point, *self;* true zeal is the glory of our natures, that which refines and dignifies, that which it is the great end of our existence to exercise. It alike honors God and exalts ourselves, fastening us to the throne of heaven, and rendering us lights amid the darkness of this apostate world. While it reproves sin, it awakens the songs of joy and praise.

It is consequently of vast moment that we have the one and avoid the other. To this end we must carefully discriminate

between the two, clearly understand the marks by which they are distinguished, both in their elements and manifestations. Otherwise we shall be exceedingly liable to be imposed upon by the exceeding subtlety of the selfish principle, often treacherously coloring our thoughts, shaping our motives, leading the undiscerning to regard both the true and the false, in their elementary principles, as blending harmoniously like the rays of light; and thus obscuring the great fact, that in their natures and developments, the difference between them is immeasurable—the one working with God, the other with the enemy of all good—the one leading to heaven, the other to perdition.

The spirit of the age should also awaken caution on this point. The human mind is in a ferment; mankind are in motion. The slumbers of the past are breaking; quietism in religion is passing away. Demosthenes' three great requisites of oratory—"action, action, action," is seemingly the motto of the moral workers of the times. Vices, immoralities, and crimes are attacked with an unsparing hand. The belief is wide-spread that these cannot be removed without direct effort. The wrongs of society and the defects of the church are seen; and there is a determination to work their purification. The reformer has arisen in his might, and, like the iconoclast, is dealing his blows around him. The spirit of missions is reviving. The promises relative to the final triumphs of Christianity are viewed with fresh interest. Many think they already discover through the murky atmosphere the morning-star of the latter-day glory. It is a common conviction that the signs of the times demand new moral enterprises, more vigorous effort; that there must be a better spirit in the church to bring about, and harmonize with, the spirit of the better times coming. There is much high endeavor, not a little enthusiasm, and perhaps some fanaticism. This waking up of the moral elements is hopeful. We would by no means check the fervid wheels of moral and spiritual progress. On the contrary, we desire to see the activity of the age spreading and deepening till every member in our churches shall feel the energies of his soul stirred to their utmost capacity. But we

may not take dross for gold; the appearance of spiritual interest for the reality of it. As moral activity may have a wrong basis and a wrong spirit as well as a right basis and a right spirit, we must search to the bottom the ground of our activity—the spirit of our enterprises, remembering that in the view of the heart-searching Jehovah action in itself is nothing, the spirit of action every thing. That effort which is animated and informed by the spirit of Christ is the only instrumental power which is to bring the nations under his dominion. Hence, amid the general stir and waking up of the moral elements, especially while there is the appearance of much that is desirable and yet questionable, the necessity of discriminating between true and false zeal. We may not thoughtlessly abandon ourselves to the roll of the tide that is sweeping around us. Our motto should be, "Act, and act with earnestness, but act with forethought." Never was there an age demanding more self-examination, more steadiness and depth of view, more searching into the spirit of action, than the present. Failing here, we shall become devastators rather than benefactors of society—corrupters rather than purifiers of the church. Our zeal must originate in, and be sustained by, symmetrical views of Scriptural truth.

Let it be ineffaceably impressed, that to the sustenance of true Christian zeal, there must be thorough apprehension of those truths that lie *deep* in the systems both of moral government and redemption, which, coming up before us at every turn of life, form the motive power of all accountable actions; thus the universal and special providence of God, his immutability in purpose and in law, his glory as the ultimate end of being, the unchangeableness of obligation and of absolute dependence, the total depravity of man and its hatefulness to God, regeneration by the Spirit, justification alone by the vicarious sacrifice of Christ, the unalterable conditions of salvation and the eternal woe of those who reject them—all are of incalculable moment. These principles, lying at the foundation of the gospel scheme, strike their influence through the whole; guiding and prompting to all specific acts, they constitute the fuel of sustained Christian activity, tirelessly moving onward

over the varied obstacles of human corruption. With these in view we never find time for sloth or procrastination. Without them the flame will be liable, at any moment, to flicker, or rage into fanaticism. Altogether unscriptural and absurd is the idea that earnest and steadfast activity in the cause of redemption and man's amelioration can be kept alive without clear discriminating knowledge of the great doctrines of Revelation. All moral enterprises undertaken without them, though they may for a time succeed, will ultimately fail. The vital principles of the Gospel can alone nerve us with sufficient energy, inspire that unfaltering purpose, incite to that enduring activity, which the world's regeneration demands. While such men as Theodore Parker, who has just gone to his sad reckoning for high talents perverted, and others with a variety of religious creeds and no creeds, are cherishing and propagating a zeal for human improvement kindled at the fires of human sympathy, Christians should make it their special concern to evince a zeal kindled by divine truth, attended and illumed by the Holy Ghost. The latter should surpass immeasurably the former in their earnestness for man's welfare, both temporal and spiritual; and would they but do it, the world would sooner learn the vast superiority of true zeal over all its counterfeits. The supineness of those professedly resting on the Bible, and accepting Christ as their king in works of philanthropy and holiness, gives the false zealots of the times their chief power.

Our obligations to exercise true Christian zeal are therefore worthy of very serious consideration. Its nature being such as we have represented, absorbing the interests of the soul and controlling it; its ennobling and far-reaching influences on ourselves and the world; its origin in the heart of divine love, and its aspirations, not only itself soaring to the sky, but endeavoring to allure the world thither also—all show that our obligations personally to exercise it are immense. A voice from the throne, and a voice from within, alike impose it upon us.

The first ground of our obligation lies in the fact, that Christ evinced zeal in accomplishing the work of atonement, and in

establishing the throne to which he was appointed. When he came to his own, and they refused to receive him as Lord; when he "entered the temple built and adorned as a symbol of his church purchased with his own blood, and found it desecrated by those who would make a gain of godliness," his love to his Father, and his indignation against those defiling that holy place, kindled to a blaze. He could not endure their polluting presence; and he drove them from the sacred inclosure with such violence that they who saw this fearful manifestation of his holiness, applied to him the words of the Psalmist: "The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up." A righteous enthusiasm inspired him, and nothing could stand before it. All fled as if driven by the heat of a furnace. His soul glowing with the calm, but all-engrossing emotions of Deity, would not be satisfied without the cleansing of that house which was appointed as his own abode.

The same strength of feeling hurried him on to the completion of his great work, the offering up of himself on the cross. "I have," he says, "a baptism to be baptized with, and how am I straitened till it be accomplished." This opening the way for the display of divine mercy, this revelation of the highest glory of the divine character, this restoration of the ruined to holiness, was a work so marvellous, so transcendently glorious to God and beneficent to man, that it became the master passion of the Redeemer's soul to effect it. He could not be checked or staid in his course till it was done.

> "That flame which lights an angel's eye,
> Burned brightly—blessed charity."

He panted for the joy that was set before him in souls redeemed. Would that his professed followers felt but half the desire to spread a knowledge of his redemption, that he felt to endure the anguish of procuring it.

That we are under obligation to feel the same we need not linger to prove. For Christ's zeal was peculiarly the result of all the divine attributes combined, the highest manifestation of the divine character, the meeting of all the rays of the divine excellencies in action, the blazing forth of the divine

nature in favor of righteousness and in aversion to sin. The like zeal, the like concentration of all the holy activities of the soul, is peculiarly our duty as the professed followers of Christ. It is thus, and only thus, that we harmonize with him, desire what he desires, and with the same intensity in proportion to the strength of our capacities. Indeed, this Christ-like zeal—this heart-burning to diffuse a knowledge of salvation to the ends of the earth, to check sin and thwart its designs, is the noblest activity of the mind, inspired by the noblest principles. It is the going forth of all that is divine in the renewed heart. If, therefore, we only have regard to the true dignity of our natures, we shall endeavor to exercise it.

The second ground of obligation is man's capacity for the most impassioned feelings and desires. We have seen the passion of anger overmastering the reason, deadening every moral sensibility, driving away every kindly affection, even burning with madness, and causing the heart to boil like a cauldron; thus evincing the amazing capabilities of man for strength of passion. Revenge will work for years, as is the case with the savage, inducing him to devise every means, endure any hardship, suffer any privation, in order to its fiendish gratification. The military chieftain is sometimes wrought up to an enthusiasm of feeling and energy of purpose, which carries him without quailing up to the very mouth of the battery belching forth its iron hail, cutting down his ranks as the mower's scythe the grass. An entire detachment of soldiers, sent on some desperate charge, will rush between blazing lines of artillery where they can expect nothing but mangled limbs or instant death; or will stand to be shot down with an intrepid bravery, which is the result of a passionate determination, assuming the form of coolness, and which no personal torture can shake. It is not indifference to pain or toil which enables them thus to do or dare, but the roused-up spirit prepared to act and to suffer

We have the like manifestation of human passion, when the mind is bent on the acquisition of property or fame. It becomes engrossed with its object, which is pursued with an ardor, a resolution, and perseverance that will not cool or give

over. All the powers of body and mind are put in requisition to secure it. Death seems preferable to failure; and hence, when success crowns not one's efforts, the reason sometimes reels, and he prefers strangling to life—a sentiment embodied in the youthful motto of Dr. William Robertson—"Vita sine literis mors est;" indicating his absorbing passion for literary treasures. We have seen the feeble mother toiling and wearying herself for days and nights, unmindful of her own weakness and pains, in solicitude to relieve the sufferings of her babe cheerfully expending her life for the sake of prolonging a life dearer than her own. We have seen the father, to rescue his child from the flames, from a watery grave, or the butchery of savage foes, perform acts of daring and feats of strength, which seemingly surpass all human capabilities. We have seen the confessor of the Gospel confronting opposition most painful to bear, meeting threatened imprisonment and death with a persistent courage which neither racks nor stocks could intimidate. We have seen the martyr bidding defiance to the horrors of the Inquisition, encountering the flames, or the fangs of wild beasts, without fear, even with exultation, counting it all joy that he was worthy to suffer for Christ. We have seen the young man and woman delicately trained, glowing with love to spread the salvation of the Gospel which filled their own bounding hearts with joy, dash the fair prospects of ease and fame bursting upon them in their native land, tear themselves away from childhood's "sweet home," break the tenderest ties of affection, of endeared and refined society, to take up their abode in far distant regions and in unhealthy climes, amid wild and barbarous men, for the sake of publishing the glad tidings of redeeming grace to those who, for this deed of love, might take their lives.

But in proof that God has endowed man with vast capacities of feeling, emotion, will, purpose, we need not fix our eyes alone on the strength of passion in others. We ourselves are conscious of possessing the same moral elements. We have felt our own souls stirring with a mighty energy, even agitated till they shook our whole frames; we have felt our hearts glowing within like a furnace, swelling and heaving till it seemed they

would burst; we have been conscious of conflicting emotions and desires, strong and wild as the sea in a storm; we have felt our souls sinking within us under the pressure of overwhelming affliction till they seemed crushed, and then again erecting themselves for some gigantic enterprise, putting on strength as though they could wrestle with the very elements and overcome them.

Thus we have abundant testimony, both within and without, that there is no undertaking, no hardship, no suffering, no torture, no form of violent or lingering death, which the human heart, when roused and braced, dare not encounter, will not even bear one through exultingly.

Now for what were all these powerful sensibilities given us? Our Creator had some design in kindling these fires in the soul. What was that design? Surely if these susceptibilities were only intended to glow with revenge and hate, to dilate with pride and ambition, to canker with envy, to inflate us with vanity and self-estimation, or to agitate us with those feverish emotions which actuate half the world, and toss them as roll the tempestuous waves, it were a useless expenditure of creative power; nay, worse, it were to qualify us to become the devastators of society. But ah! this vast capacity of emotion, affection, will, was given us for the noblest purposes—it was designed as the *soil* in which Christian zeal might take root, and work, and thrive for the world's redemption—that we might be filled with those loftiest emotions and sublimest aspirations which are fitted to bear us on in the service of Christ amid the severest difficulties; to nerve us to tread those thorny paths which lacerate even to torture the susceptible spirit, and energize us to encounter enemies the bitterest, the most virulent that earth or even hell can raise. For the accomplishment of such high achievements—achievements which Christ has made it our duty to accomplish in his name, this capacity of strong, all-controlling emotion is just what we need. When filled with holy affections, what will it not inspirit us, with God's help, to perform? It will urge us forward in the path of duty as irresistibly as the force which moves the earth on its axis, bringing day and night with unfaltering certainty. It will work incessantly as the steam that works the engine, ren-

dering us every-day Christians, inducing us to sow beside all waters, to shed around us the sweet dews of Christ's love, to make home and its surroundings a garden of rich perfume; as well as to become messengers of love to carry salvation to distant regions, diffusing the verdure and loveliness of spring over every moral desert which disfigures our earth.

Now since this capacity, when occupied with holy affections, qualifies us for this highest work, and since it was designed by our Creator for this very purpose, it becomes our indispensable duty to employ it thus, and to employ it in no other way. It should not be filled with affections centred on self, but on God. It should not glow with anger, but with love to Christ and holy indignation against sin. It should not swell with pride, but with the glorious hope of the Gospel; not corrode with envy and jealousy, but glow with a genial regard for man in his trials and sorrows; not heave with aspirations for worldly gain or renown, but with aspirations to become rich in good works, and to save the souls of the wretched. When our power of strong emotions is thus employed, we shall be Christlike in activity and usefulness here, and fitted, when the present scene is over, to burn with seraphic love and to join in immortal hallelujahs before the throne. Then, indeed, our capacities for enrapturing emotion and the resistless energies of zeal will find their full activity, demonstrating that we were made for a higher sphere of service—the unending beatitudes of the divine presence.

In the third place, this high state of emotion, affection, and will, constituting Christian zeal, is the normal state of the soul. God made us for a certain end, to occupy a certain niche in the great temple of intelligent existence. He gave us just the capacities and tendencies we need; all have offices to fill—work to do; otherwise some are useless, made for no valuable purpose — a supposition impeaching alike the wisdom and goodness of our Creator. But to suppose we possess any *degree* of power not employed, nor intended to be employed, the result is the same—a useless power is equally imparted. But the soul was constituted not only for activity, but for *specific* activity. We were to glorify God, to love and obey him—to

be ourselves holy, and to promote the holiness of others. It is not then enough to say that the human mind was made for the highest activity, but for the highest holy activity. The divine service is its appropriate sphere. When, therefore, all the capacities and susceptibilities of the mind are excited or drawn out in their full energies towards God and the honor of his name, the mind is in the state in which it was created to exist. The divine ideal of the human soul before the creative fiat was spoken, is realized. When a machine, with its several wheels and cogs, bands and springs, all occupying their proper position, and whirling with their proper motion, is producing the finished fabric, the machine is answering the end of the inventor. When the muscles and ligaments of the body, all its secretions and functions, are in full action, it is in a healthful or normal condition. So with the human mind, when all its wheels and springs are working in the fervor of their power, are animated by the Holy Ghost and suffused with holy love, the organism is moving in its perfection; it is in its normal state.

This completeness of mental and moral activity accords with our conception of angels. They are the personifications of spiritual energies, moving like flames of fire. They are cumbered with no dormant faculties. Holy love, rising with an intense flame in the very centre of their being, and controlling the whole, moves all their powers and moral proclivities in the direction of duty. We can conceive of nothing less than this profoundest activity as constituting their normal state; for to suppose them less vitally energetic than their capacities allow, would destroy at once that idea of purity and exaltation which we attach to angelic existence.

The same elevated conception is also our idea of the glories and immunities of the human soul when separated from the body. We conceive of it as free, buoyant, springing, from its prison in all the living energy of its nature, no clog weighing it down, no impediment hindering its movements. It is this conception of the soul's inherent life, its capacity for spontaneous and tireless action when freed from the body, which, sometimes, when we feel the workings of heaven-born powers

within us, the aspirations of unutterable thoughts, the fine delicacy of emotions too etherial for a lodgment in this gross dwelling of clay, when the soul seems shackled, even entombed in the body, the organs of speech but the mockery of implements to express what is yearning for expression, and yet cannot find development—inspires us with undefined longings to break from our confinement within the walls of the body, that our freed spirits may act with all their native vigor, soaring as flames of fire on angels' wings and with angelic ardor. To attain this spontaneous and glorious activity we instinctively desire as the perfection of our being; and these deepest longings of our natures can never be satisfied without attaining, or the prospect of attaining it. The thought of remaining as we are, bound down by sin and flesh forever, would be most oppressive.

Besides, whom do we regard as the *model man* in the church, or in society? Him who is putting forth, in full, the energies of his entire being. To satisfy our sense of right, judging of the conduct of others, it is by no means enough that they are thus energetic in amassing wealth, in promoting political or social improvements, in cultivating science, literature, or art; all their efficiency must be exerted in the service of holiness or of redeeming mercy. It is only such men as Baxter, Whitefield, Nettleton, and Harlan Page, men who approximate, in spirituality and purity, the sinless man, Christ Jesus, and who are ever struggling for a closer and closer resemblance to that brightest ideal of human perfection, that receive our highest approbation; even they fail to receive it entirely, because we are constantly discovering in them some shades of selfishness, some languor in religious zeal.

Our consciences demand the same earnest spirit and conduct in ourselves. We carry with us the living conviction that all the powers which God has given us ought to be employed in his service, and that to their utmost capacity. For the least coldness, supineness, or formality, we feel condemned. We may, indeed, become encased in self-righteousness, or frozen in stupidity, and justify ourselves in exceedingly defective conduct. But even in such cases, we in some way convince ourselves that we are doing all we can for

Christ in the circumstances; otherwise, our consciences trouble us. They demand the glow of the whole soul—the kindling of all its fires, else they compel us to hear their condemning voice. Thus this fervor, denominated Christian zeal, is alike the dictate of our reason, of our hearts and our consciences, both in respect to ourselves and to others.

All sin inevitably hinders the movement of the mental organism. It is in the soul like gravel in the eye, fretting its muscles and integuments, destroying or impairing vision. It is like the blood infused on the brain, paralyzing or benumbing parts, or the whole frame. Thus sin cannot fail to throw the soul from its normal state—to cripple or weaken its powers. To indulge the settled slumbers of any moral susceptibility must be offensive to God, because the soul is not then in the state in which it was constituted to exist. As it came forth from its Maker's hand, and moved according to its laws, every part in full play, stretching upward toward the throne in holy aspirations, and exulting in the joy of obedience, he pronounced it very good. As he now sees it under the paralysis of sin, its parts in conflict and jarring in their motion, the whole halting and laboring on in its revolutions, he can no longer be pleased with it. It is like the dwarfed tree, bent and twisted and misshapen by excrescences, instead of the well-proportioned oak, with its crown of branches and foliage towering in its princely grandeur. It is like the stately edifice with its timbers wrenched, its roof cracked, its walls yawning, standing beside the magnificent temple rising in the symmetry of its proportion and the beauty of its architectural ornaments, the ideal of what the builder intended. Man, the sinner, man, the spiritually indolent, is not the model being which the Creator made to reflect his intellectual and moral image, heralding forth his glory. The least languor or halting in his movements diminishes the lustre which the divine ideal man was designed to throw around him.

Man, therefore, is truly man, only when he is spiritually alive, stripped of selfishness, permeated and actuated by love to God and good will to his fellow-immortals, consecrated, soul and body, to Christ, and absorbed in the interests of his holy

igdom; otherwise he is no more man than the stinted tree owing on the sand-bank is the lofty oak of the mountains, the dilapidated edifice is the magnificent temple of Grecian te. Man can rise to his true dignity only by existing in normal state—by being what God intended him to be—teadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the rd."

The fourth ground of obligation lies in the revealed law of d demanding Christian zeal. The divine law revealed is perfect agreement with the law written on the mind. It nds itself around the whole man, and binds him, as an intellectual and moral being, to the throne. It is briefly comehended in a single precept; "Thou shalt love the Lord thy d with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all r mind, and with all thy strength." This is an intensive de of expression. Its real import is, Thou shalt love the rd thy God with every power of the soul wrought up to its ghest energy. It demands not love beyond mental and dily capacities, only to the extent of these capacities. Up this point there may be no languor, no coldness, no indifference. It demands the kindling up of all our powers into one re, intense flame of love to God. It must be a vital principle, working vigorously outward—a well of life, sending rth its deep and fertilizing streams. If we possess all these fections which the law prescribes, we shall cherish the utost dread and abhorrence of sin, and the deepest sorrow on count of it wherever it may be found; entire confidence in od and the atoning sacrifice of his Son; the most implicit signation to his will as manifested both in his law and in his ovidences; we shall feel the deepest interest in the welfare of l men, even in regard to our bitterest enemies, those who are slaming our characters, or heaping injury and insult upon ; we shall exclaim with our dying Lord: "Father, forgive em, for they know not what they do." Indeed, every feelg and affection which a soul wrought up to the strongest tensity of love can feel, must be experienced by him who lly obeys the first great command.

Nor does the requirement demand this glow of feeling for hour, for a day, or a year only, but through our whole

lives, even onward through the untiring cycles of a never-ending duration. The law knows no relaxation in its force. It is eternal and unchangeable as God himself; "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever." The degree of love, therefore, which the requirement enjoins, knows no diminution. There may be no flickering in its flame, no fading of its brightness. It must ever increase, as our intellectual capacities increase, in effulgence and glory, till it shall be lost amid the richer effulgence enwrapping the eternal throne, and the soul possessing it shall shine forth with the ineffable brightness and celestial beauty of a seraph.

This description of holy love in its fulness may be thought overdrawn; but we do not believe it possible for human language to color it too deeply. We cannot even conceive it. The eagle may bend his strong pinions to the sun, and fasten upon it his unflinching gaze, but he cannot reach its bright domain. So with regard to our conception of the love which the divine law enjoins. We may form a picture of its brightness; we may gaze and wonder at the image we have formed; still the conception will fall far below the reality. Our selfishness and pride prevent our forming any adequate idea of its extent and glory. We are ever inclined to affix to the divine law too low a standard. Our consciences trouble us. We are convinced that we do not come up to that high point of duty designated in the Bible. We are therefore disposed to bring the standard down to our own diminutive measure. But all our efforts will be vain; we cannot alter the divine law. It stands on that high pedestal on which God has placed it; and there it will continue to shine and burn and confound the wicked for ever. None of our own standards will avail us; we must be judged by that standard which God has fixed. This we must face, our naked souls be brought up before its consuming blaze, and every thought and feeling and motive be scanned in its scrutinizing light, and our characters determined accordingly.

The divine law demanding all this intensity of emotion demands, emphatically, Christian zeal. And shall not an obligation based on this eternal law arouse us to the solemn consideration of its claims? If we can contemplate with

indifference that law interwoven in the framework of our nature, requiring for its full development our extremest activity in religious service, shall this revealed law, promulgated directly from the throne, and fastened upon us by the immutable relations we sustain to our rightful sovereign, be unheeded?

The fifth ground of obligation to exercise Christian zeal, is the fact that it is the great end for which Christ redeemed us: "Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works." This shows that Christ had far-reaching designs in the sacrifice which he made for man. True he had an immediate end, which was to make satisfaction for sinners to the law—to pay the price necessary to redeem them from the curse, to open a way, by enduring such suffering as would be equivalent, in view of infinite justice, to the penalty of the law; so that God could be just, and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus. But he did not shed his redeeming blood in such unutterable agony simply to save ruined man. He had designs stretching infinitely beyond this, designs of far intenser interest to the Godhead—to make men like himself in purity and blessedness, ever working together with him. This ulterior design is brought to view in the text quoted above, declaring that he wrought out the work of atonement "to purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works." This remote end of the atonement is taught with equal explicitness in other passages of Scripture: "Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish." "For the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ: till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." Here we are taught that "the perfect man," "the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ," "the Church without spot or wrinkle," is the ultimate end of Christ's redemptive work. In accepting

his atonement, we are to receive him not only as our high priest but as our king.

His declaration, that he came not "to destroy the law or the prophets," that not one jot or tittle of the law should fail, and the fact that he reäffirmed the law published on Sinai without change, so that it is still binding upon us in its original force, and will be upon all coming generations, is also demonstration that the ulterior end of the atonement is to secure the restoration of the lost to the holy activities of their being. While the gospel dispensation is a dispensation of mercy, it is equally a dispensation of righteousness. The soul must burn with a flame of love as pure as was required before the Son of God died to put away sin. We must be as morally perfect as God is, or we fail—we transgress the law. Christ by no means came as Redeemer to lower the claims of law, but to reconcile man to it—to make him one with himself in purpose, one with him in labor, and finally one with him in glory. This is touchingly brought to view in the last prayer of our Saviour with his disciples: "That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us." "And the glory which thou gavest me I have given them, that they may be one even as we are one; I in them and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one." Thus Christ, as mediator, came to establish a kingdom of righteousness in this world of sin. It is designed to be a single unit; holiness, girding its throne, is to enwrap its extremities with living light. All its subjects sympathizing with its King, are to be actuated by the same zeal in promoting his interests.

Christ redeemed our whole being; not only the soul, but the body, to be kept pure and consecrate to him; not one, but every element of our mental natures; not only our reason, that it might be enlisted in the investigation, reception, and promulgation of holy truth, but also the heart, all the sensibilities of the soul, all its capabilities of impassioned emotions, of lofty aspirations, of untiring affections and fixed determination of will, that they might burn with seraphic fervor in promoting his kingdom. But, alas! too prone are we to

forget that Christ redeemed the *whole man*—the heart and the intellect alike; and hence we become either the mere advocates of doctrine, perhaps sink to the level of spiritual pugilists and furious ranters about formulas of opinion and modes of worship, or we become the mere creatures of feeling—the worshippers of passion. But when we receive fully into our souls the truth that every element of our being belongs to Christ by right both of creation and purchase, enraptured with the glories of heavenly truth, we exhibit it as we ought, not in the cold crystallizations of a winter's morning, clear and glittering, but in the warm carnation of life, touched with the beauty of sanctified imaginations and illumed by the fire of renovated affections; in a word, we become living representatives of Christ on earth, "full of grace and truth."

To become such, we are affectionately urged by all the winning authority of the scheme of mercy. This claim, grounded in the blood of the Son of God, and coming in the tones of pardoning love, addresses us with a power which nothing but an iron heart and a seared conscience can resist. It speaks to us in the eternal council of the Father and the Son in the covenant of redemption, and in every step by which it has been unfolding through the ages. It is heralded in the song of the angels announcing the birth of the Prince of Peace. It is uttered in all the earnest words of the Great Teacher when on earth. It appeals to us in his betrayal; in the shout of his blood-thirsty enemies, "Crucify him! Crucify him!" in his agonizing prayer and bloody sweat in the garden; in the six hours' anguish of the cross, and in his last cry, "It is finished." In short, in all the circumstances of his excruciating death and victorious resurrection, it appeals to our kindliest sensibilities to arouse all the energies of our natures in his holy service.

ART. VI.—THE NEW LATITUDINARIANS OF ENGLAND.

By Prof. H. B. SMITH.

RECENT INQUIRIES IN THEOLOGY, *by Eminent English Churchmen; being* "ESSAYS AND REVIEWS." Second American, from the Second London Edition. With an Appendix. Edited, with an Introduction, by Rev. FREDERIC H. HEDGE, D.D. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. 1861. Pp. xiv. 498.

The Westminster Review, No. CXLVI. Oct. 1860. Art. 1, *Neo-Christianity*.

CHRISTIANITY and philosophy, faith and reason, have been in a constant process of conflict and of attempted adjustments. In this contest, the aim of philosophy as opposed to Christianity has always been to show, that the alleged Christian facts and verities are not final or real; that they are only partial and imperfect statements of more universal truths which reason is to substitute for them. The victory of reason would then, of course, banish Christianity into the realm of the mythical or the imaginary. The aim of Christianity, on the other hand, has been to defend the revealed faith, as containing the best, the final, and the necessary system for the human race. And the victory of Christianity would not annul, but only rectify human reason; it would, in fact, consist in showing that reason itself demands such a specific revelation to solve the ultimate problems of human nature and destiny. Thus far in this warfare, the Christian faith has been the stable as well as progressive party, while infidelity has been always changing its front, and prophesying some future victory. But the weight of historic reality and historic progress has remained with the Christian Church, which has never even remained in its old

entrenchments, but has been always planting its standards in the camps of its foes.

Each of these two contesting parties claims of course, when consistent, to have a final and universal system of truth. But this system has been, in each successive age, a different one with the opponents of Christianity, while the Christian system has always stood firm upon certain simple and well-defined positions. Every new system of philosophy, metaphysical, moral, or physical, represents a new stadium in the progress of human thought, in the knowledge which man has of himself or of the natural world; and each successive system, when thoroughgoing, has claimed to be ultimate, and has baptized itself with the name of human reason. In order to make good its assumptions, it must of course enter into conflict with that one religious system, which has the historic prestige and position, and which also claims universality; and the character of this philosophic assault has varied with the postulates of each philosophic system. But the nature of the Christian defence has been unvarying on all the main points on which it rests and must rest, as the one divine system of redemption. Though the doctrines and polity of the Church, internally, have been subject to change of form and re-statement, to meet heresies, schisms, and objections, yet, as against infidelity, the attitude of Christianity has been uniform, simple, and unchanging. It has always claimed to be a specific, divine revelation, supernatural in its origin, announced in prophecy, attested by miracles, recorded in inspired Scriptures, centering in the person and work of the Godman, and having for its object the redemption of the world from sin. It presupposes a personal God, and anticipates a future state of reward and punishment. On these positions it has always stood: here it has been exclusive—exclusive, just because it is a final and universal system. As soon as it abandons these cardinal positions, it abandons its claim to supremacy and ultimate authority, and is resolved into some more general movement, into some philosophic generalization. Its revelation is specific, and not to be resolved into general reason; its Book is inspired, and no other book is thus divinely inspired; its pro-

phecies are out of the category of historic conjectures or morbid clairvoyance; its miracles are above and beyond the course of nature; its Redeemer has, as the Godman, a specific and unmatched dignity, and there is no other such union of divinity and humanity; and his is the *only* name given under heaven amongst men, whereby we must be saved. The Christian faith claims, and has always claimed, that there are limits here which cannot be passed, without passing outside of the sunlight into a penumbra or the shades; that the mere abstract and generalizing notions which philosophy would substitute for these realities, are ghostly shapes, without essential vitality or reality. They lack the signature of life: there is no divine breath within them. They are the masquerades of imagination, and not the living forms of real truth.

The constant aim of infidelity, on the other hand, its tenacious purpose in the midst of all the changes of philosophic systems and methods, has been, and must be, to bring down the Christian faith from this position of supremacy and universality; to show that on these points the Christian system has no specific and unrivalled eminence. We speak of infidelity here of course in its higher forms and aspirations; of an infidelity which is not content with incidental and fragmentary criticisms and objections, but which really grapples with the subject in its larger relations; of an infidelity which tries to an wer the question, What is the highest, truest, and final system for man? The aim of such infidelity has ever been to eliminate from all the specific Christian truths their fixed import; to resolve the facts of revelation, inspiration, prophecy, miracle, redemption, incarnation, and regeneration, into some more general and abstract notions. A philosophic unbeliever resolves revelation into intuition, miracles into the course of nature *plus* myths, inspiration into genius, prophecy into sagacious historic conjectures, redemption into the victory of mind over matter, the incarnation into an ideal union of humanity with divinity realized in no one person, the Trinity into a world-process, and immortal life into the perpetuity of spirit bereft of personal subsistence. He takes the wondrous volume in which all these truths and facts are embodied and em-

balmed, and which on that very account is the unique wonder and the very marvel of all literature, and demands that it shall be interpreted just like any other book, not merely in its words but in its inmost sense; that its histories, its prophecies, its miracles, its sacred truths, shall be subjected to the standard by which we try the words and explain the sense of Herodotus and Plato, of Virgil and Tacitus, of Dante and Bacon. All in it that is supernatural, all that discriminates it as a specific revelation, is to be adjudicated by natural laws and reason. And the philosophical unbeliever knows full well that, if this radical point is gained, he has gained his cause; that he has resolved specific Christian truth into something else,—into his own system; and that it is that system which is left, while Christianity has been sublimated in the process; for no one can resolve these specific truths and facts of Christianity into mere general ideas or idealizing formulas, without annulling their nature, and robbing them of their formative principle, just as a plant or animal loses its specific vital force when decomposed into its inorganic elements. Especially has the whole form and pressure of modern unbelief run in this direction. It has come to its most distinct expression in the conflict between Christianity and Pantheism. It has come to consciousness in this contest; for, to absorb the concrete in the abstract, to deny real being to any thing individual and personal, to resolve specific truth into spiritual ideas as its last expression, is the whole method and art of pantheism; and hence all this anti-Christian movement runs into it by a kind of logical necessity.

The significance of the volume of *Essays and Reviews* which we have put at the head of this article, is in the fact that this general tendency is supposed to be here represented by men of high position in the Church of England, where we have not been wont to look for such things. If these Essays had been published by avowed unbelievers, they would not have made any stir. There is nothing new, nothing that has not been said a hundred times before, either in the way of criticism or of theory. Many of the same objections have been made and answered in every century of the Christian church. Far abler

attacks upon Christianity have also been made even in England, to say nothing of Germany, without discomposing the steadfastness of Christians, without enlivening the hopes of infidelity. But this volume, a series of disconnected essays, is in its fourth edition in England, and in its second, under a more definite title, in this country, and has called forth comments from all the leading reviews of both countries. Whence this eager interest in a volume with so unpretending a name?

A part of it is owing to the position of the authors in the world of letters and in the Church of England. Dr. Temple is Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, and Dr. Arnold's successor as Head Master of Rugby, one of the most important schools in England; Dr. Rowland Williams, a graduate of Cambridge, is Vice-Principal and Professor of Hebrew in St. David's College, Lampeter, a training school for English clergymen; Baden Powell, lately deceased, was Professor of Geometry in Oxford University; Mr. Wilson, vicar of Great Staughton, was one of the four tutors who remonstrated so strongly against No. XC. of the Oxford Tracts for the Times, as containing principles inconsistent with subscription to the Articles, and he now advocates the lowest terms of subscription; Mr. Goodwin, a graduate of Cambridge, refused, it is said, to take orders, from an honest conviction that his views were inconsistent with the clerical profession; Mr. Pattison and Mr. Jowett are both teachers in Oxford; the latter is Regius Professor of Greek, and is exerting an influence second to that of no other man in educating the young men of that University; Mr. Pattison has just been elected rector of Lincoln College, Oxford. Several of these writers had contributed to previous volumes of Oxford Essays. Dr. Temple wrote there on National Education, and now writes on a wider theme, the Education of the World; Professor Powell wrote on Natural Theology, and here assails the Evidences; Mr. Wilson's previous essay on Schemes of Comprehension is followed by his present theory of a "Multitudinist" church; Mr. Goodwin advances from the Papyri of Egypt to the Mosaic Cosmogony. Dr. Rowland Williams attained repute by his "Dialogue on the Knowledge of the Supreme Lord, or, Christianity and Hinduism," pub-

lished in 1856. Dr. Jowett's commentary and essays on Thessalonians, Galatians, and Romans foreshadowed many of the views which he here distinctly announces. Professor Powell's previous works on science and revelation contained substantially the same principles, though stated perhaps in a more shaded outline. These writers, then, represent, at least in a fair degree, the present tone of thought and criticism prevailing in certain highly cultivated circles in England, particularly in Oxford. The work has been said to represent the so-called Broad Church party; but Stanley, Maurice, and Kingsley have certainly not yet avowed some of the more objectionable views contained in it; and neither the philosophy of Coleridge, nor the theology of Charles Julius Hare, has any representative among these seven champions of "a liberal faith," which the American editor describes as "reverently listening, if here and there it may catch some accents of the Eternal voice amid the confused dialects of Scripture, yet not confounding the latter with the former; expecting to find in criticism, guided by a true philosophy, the key to revelation: in revelation, the sanction and condign expression of philosophic truth."

Another source of the interest felt in these Essays is derived from the connection of the authors with the venerable University at Oxford, which for the past thirty years has been the chief seat and citadel of that form of Anglican theology, most opposed to Protestantism and Rationalism. The Tractarian movement was to restore the faith; it has ended in strengthening Rome on the one hand, and evoking this rationalistic reäction on the other hand. This was well nigh inevitable. For tradition cannot solve the questions raised in the nineteenth century: the episcopal succession does not necessarily confer either the learning needed to reply to criticism, or the grace which is superior to doubts; the claim of sacramental grace rather provokes than disarms the spirit of free inquiry: the consent of all the fathers of the ancient, and even of the Anglican, church does not meet the inquiries raised by the perpetual conflict between the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-nine Articles: and even if the authority of

the church be proved harmonious with the authoritative Scriptures, there still remains the question between revelation and reason. The Oxford school appealed first and last to church authority: the Evangelical school responded by an appeal to the authority of the Bible; and now, their conflict has called forth an adversary to both, with which neither is able to cope, appealing to the authority of Reason as ultimate. Thus it must be, where criticism and reason are ignored. The attempt to suppress them, by arbitrary authority, gives them new life and strength. Oxford now listens to Jowett and Temple, and has just ceased to hear the voice of Powell; thirty years ago, it was hearing Newman, descanting on the development which led him to Rome, and Pusey, pressing baptismal regeneration by the authority of tradition. And much of the force and influence of these Essays are found in their constant opposition to the revival of patristic, and even mediæval authority in the teachings of this university. The denial of the right of private judgment is bearing its legitimate consequences in this reäction. Reason revenges itself for the degradation, which tradition would fain impose upon her.

The interest begotten by these bearings of the work is heightened by the variety of subjects discussed, and the evident unity of aim in the midst of this variety. A prefatory note informs us, that the authors "have written in entire independence of each other, and without concert or comparison." But they probably knew each other pretty well, and were drawn together by elective affinity, if not in the form of a premeditated plan. The subjects here discussed, if fully treated, would each require at least a volume by itself. They enter into the very heart of the most important theological and philosophical questions of the age. Earnest minds are debating them in Germany and America, as well as in England. Opinions uttered about them by men of standing and culture are welcomed, discussed and repeated. Dr. Temple leads the way with a theory of the Education of the World: Dr. Williams follows, rehearsing with an almost blind idolatry the speculations of Bunsen about primeval and Jewish history, and applauding his vague theories of Christian doctrine: Pro-

fessor Powell scouts all the external evidences of Christianity, and denies the possibility of miraculous intervention: Mr. Wilson professedly discusses the project of a National Church, but really aims to show that Christian history and doctrine are so uncertain that the church must be sacrificed to the nation: Mr. Goodwin is content with trying to prove that the Hebrew Cosmogony is irreconcilable with modern science: Dr. Pattison, formerly, it is said, of Newman's school, reviews the Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, in the first half of the eighteenth century: and Mr. Jowett, in altogether the best written essay of the series, vindicates such an interpretation of Scripture as would annul every creed of Christendom, not even excepting the Nicene formula. In this great variety of subjects, treated by men of mark and position, there is a source of attraction, enhanced by the common aim running through all, least apparent in the contributions of Drs. Temple and Pattison. That aim is to show, that the external evidences of Christianity are insufficient; that its sacred Books are not specifically inspired; that the histories contained in these Books are to be judged as we would any other histories, and in many parts are incredible; and that the doctrines of historic Christianity are to be resolved into more general truths, into more philosophic and rational formulas, if they are to retain their hold over the minds of this generation.

In the course of every great debate on vital questions, there will spring up a class of men, men of thought and culture, too, who are in a state of uneasy equilibrium between the two parties, alternately accepting some of the general (though none of the extreme) positions of both parties, and fairly unable to decide between the two. They are not adapted either to the work of destruction or reconstruction. They are impotent to believe, or to disbelieve. They are, it may be, connected with the historical church by education, and general assent, and social position, and yet they feel the force of critical difficulties and philosophic doubts. They would not undermine Christianity, and still they cannot defend it. If they publish Essays and Reviews, revealing this oscillating condition, we naturally feel all the interest in them, that we do in a man, hanging upon

the edge of a precipice. And of course such essays must be fragmentary and not systematic: disintegrating and not constructive: throwing their influence on the side of doubt, even while disavowing unbelief. They will be made up of half errors and half truths. They will state the difficulties, it may be the arguments, on both sides, but as a problem to be solved, for they have no solution to offer. They have no consistent system, either of unbelief or of belief. They abandon the old fortresses, and have built no new ones, but are on the march in search of an encampment from night to night. And they will very probably say, that such essays and reviews "illustrate the advantages derivable to the cause of religious and moral truth, from the free handling, in a becoming spirit, of subjects peculiarly liable to suffer by the repetition of conventional language, and from traditional modes of treatment;" and they will find sympathizing friends to praise their "frankness, breadth and spiritual heroism." But yet, after all, truth is better than free inquiry; the goal is more than the course; faith is more solid than doubt. And when the subjects concern the highest welfare of man here and hereafter, when the issues are so momentous, and when the strife is hottest, what we want to hear is the voice of assurance and not the words of doubt. Such men of no system, neither believers nor unbelievers, are not the men for the times; they deceive themselves if they think they are helping Christianity: and if they know they are not helping it, but helping to undermine it, they are practising a real, even if unconscious, deception upon others. Let them come out frankly, and say just what they believe or disbelieve: if they cannot do this, they are not yet fit to speak the needed word at such times. They have no right to sow the teeth of dragons in the garden of the Lord, and in his name. And when they tell us that these subjects "are peculiarly liable to suffer from the repetition of conventional language, and from traditional modes of treatment," did they really suppose, that the "conventional language," and "traditional treatment," were all on the side of orthodoxy? did they never find anything of the sort, among doubters and critics, and unbelievers? We will venture to say, that, taking the history

belief and unbelief down through all the centuries, there nore that is "conventional" and "traditional," in the lan- ıge and objections of infidelity, than can be found in the ristian literature—more stale repetition of cant phrases, of investigated objections, of mere verbal difficulties. This st be so: for Christianity has been always put on its de- ıce: and to defend, there must be some investigation, while attack often requires only a phrase. And this volume il- trates the point very fully: for all through it, by almost ry essayist, points are assumed as proved which are still in bate, stale objections are urged without the hint that they ve been replied to. The whole book in fact is a series of as- nptions, on almost every particular point of criticism and ficulty, that the acts are closed, the charges proved, the dict rightfully pronounced, and that the culprit has nothing re to say; although its authors must be aware, that there ıot a difficulty or objection which they have repeated (there ıot a new one in the whole book), that has not been replied in some form, and to which the defenders of Christianity not ready to reply. And the chief peril of the times, as y must be equally aware, is not on the side of traditional unquestioning belief. The age is not at all in danger of ieving too much. Criticism is not mute: reason is not too nble. The men of science are in no particular danger of ng overwhelmed by ecclesiastical dogmatism. Inspiration revelation are not accepted on mere traditional authority. lief in uninvestigated dogmas is not our most imminent il; bibliolatry is not the disease of the age.

hese Essays also serve to illustrate the state of criticism, ology and speculation in the most venerable and renowned he English universities. The English nation is pledged to testant Christianity, and its universities have been es- ned among its strongest bulwarks. Have they so cultivat- learning and science as to be ready for a great emergency? en the contest between Christianity and philosophy which been going on for fifty years in Germany as never before, ed across the Channel (to pay back the debt which Ger- ı rationalism owed to that English deism, from which it re-

ceived its impulse), would it find these sequestered retreats of learning fully prepared to meet the objections, and repel the foe? If these Essays are to be taken as any indication of the state of theological learning, we think that every unprejudiced reader will echo the strong language of Professor Hussey in a recent sermon before the university, who "solemnly warned his hearers that the study of theology was dying out." In point of fact, the criticism and theology of England are outside of its great schools. No volume that we have recently read illustrates so fully the danger of half learning: the facility with which men who have not been thoroughly trained in the whole debate and conflict, can innocently assume that objections are irrefragable, and ignore all replies. Most of the writers have apparently derived their objections and their learning from German sources: and thus show the danger of beginning such studies, without pressing through them. Jowett echoes to the school of Tübingen, accepting its principles, and not avowing its inferences. Williams repeats Bunsen. But Baur and Bunsen both had developed theories, which their disciples are not quite ready to accept. They take the premises and avoid the conclusion. They appropriate the doubt, and refuse the theory which makes it consistent. And, then, they have got just so far into this German criticism and philosophy, as to learn the difficulties, without studying the replies. Dr. Pusey quotes Luther's saying about his adherents, "that they were like Solomon's fleet, some of them bringing back gold and silver, but the younger only peacocks and apes." Thus fares it with many students of German science. The men who are now leading the theological and philosophical investigations of that country are men who have passed through profounder difficulties, and more thorough criticism, than these Oxford essayists seem to have yet suspected; they have weighed the difficulties with boldness and freedom, and have come out, in spite of them, into the clear light of revealed truth. But all this class of men, the best and brightest lights of Germany, are not known or studied by the Oxford reviewers. That Delitzsch, Keil, Kurtz, Hävernick, Bertheau, and Hengstenberg have gone over all

ir Old Testament difficulties; that Olshausen, Ebrard, Tho-ck, Lange, Stier, and even De Wette, Meyer, and Lücke, re replied to many of their New Testament criticisms, they not seem to have suspected. They can give up even the spel of John, though such "traditionalists" as Hase, De tte, Meyer, and Ewald cling to it. They follow Strauss excluding all prophecies from the sphere of credibility: ugh he allows, as they will not, that the Scriptures profess contain them. They reduce the Christian doctrines to the nimum, of accordance with reason, though such men as ander, and Nitzsch, and Julius Müller, and Rothe, and n Schleiermacher allow their reason to be instructed by elation. They have not got far enough into German the-gy and philosophy to have any knowledge of those positive structions of the Christian system, which are meant to re-cile faith and philosophy: they have just got far enough feel the doubt and difficulty; but they have not enough neces-y of believing, or necessity of systematizing, to carry them to positive position. Not one of them has any definite theory Christianity as a complete and final system. Jowett comes nearest to it in some vague intimations about the incarna-n. Dr. Temple may have more positive views, but they e not stated. Williams is all afloat with Bunsen. Powell lks about a sphere of belief, but is positive only on the sub-ct of natural laws. Past theories are to them obsolete, and e future is conjectural. In Christian antiquity they find no uide; in the history of English theology no certainty; from ermany they import only criticism; the Scriptures give no sting place; and their own reason has not yet as yet found y solution of the difficulties or answer to the problems. They ive up Scripture history, prophecy and miracles: they aban-n the canon: they are to verify Scripture by criticism and ason: and what reason gives as ultimate, they do not tell Is such a work as this the best that English university lture can give in the great conflict of the age? Are such en the worthy successors of Cudworth, Bull, Waterland, tler and Horsley? Have they even as consistent a position, e they as worthy of being the teachers of the land, as Sam-

uel Clarke, Lardner and Paley? for these last did not abandon the outposts. But these new comers ask us to give up all the old defences, and they do not give us any other. We are willing to hear an open adversary, with a system which sweeps the field: we want to hear those Christian advocates of the faith, who know what they believe, and what they can affirm and defend. But we cannot learn much from those who only object and never affirm, who criticise on principles that undermine the whole fabric of Christianity and yet are not keen enough to see, or bold enough to avow, those principles; whose faces are turned to the Church, and whose arms are vigorously rowing their boats in the opposite direction. If they adopt the criticisms of Tübingen, let them avow its principles: for the criticism is worthless and nugatory, except as connected with the system. If they use the art, and do not know the science, they are yet learners and not fit to be teachers. Their criticisms are valid, if there is no miracle, no inspiration, no specific revelation. Their criticisms are invalid, if there be inspiration, revelation, and redemption. And there can be no compromise here. It is either fact or myth. And the Christian Church has a right to know, which of the two, its teachers held the Bible and Christianity to be.

Do we, then, object to the posture of inquiry, criticism, and debate? By no manner of means. We are willing to grant, and even to welcome it; it has its appropriate sphere. There are difficulties about Scripture history, chronology, and the application of its words to doctrinal statements subsequently framed, which require study and examination, and yet await a final decision. Some of them it may not be possible to decide at all; we may lack the necessary materials or links in contemporaneous history. There are difficulties about the authorship of certain books, which may leave that question in suspense. Any and all fair and candid statements of such doubts and difficulties, and any help towards a solution, we cordially greet. But what we do object to is, that professed Christian teachers should assume that these contradictions are all proved, and that the defenders of the Bible have nothing reasonable to reply; and that they should do this

ithout even even noticing or refuting replies already given. hat we object to still more definitely is, that they should nduct their whole criticism on underlying principles which ey do not care or dare to avow, or cloak those principles in nbiguous phrases that mislead the unwary and enchant the itiated; for they are either ignorant or conscious of the aring of these principles. If ignorant, they have no right speak with authority; if conscious, they speak only to lude. There are, in short, several previous questions which ey ought to have settled for themselves, before writing such book for the public: the questions as to the possibility and ality of inspiration, miracles, prophecy, incarnation, and demption. If these questions are settled in the affirmative, uch of the special criticism of the Essays would fall at once the ground. If they have answered these questions to emselves in the negative, then, as honest men, they ought to ave told us so. If they are undecided, they ought not to nduct their special criticisms as if all these points had been decided in the negative.

An examination of the individual Essays, so far as our space allows, will confirm these general statements about their method and principles. We cannot of course enter into detailed criticism. Many of the assertions so recklessly made in a single sentence, would require a dissertation either to prove or to disprove them. But the substance of each dissertation may be so far given, as to vindicate our general judgment about the men and the book.

The Head Master of Rugby opens the volume with the most comprehensive subject embraced in it, viz. The Education of the World. Progress is the law of the spiritual creation. Man is only man by virtue of being a member of the race. The race, like the individual, has its childhood, youth, and manhood. "First come Rules, then Examples, then Principles. First comes the Law, then the Son of Man, then the Gift of the Spirit," (p. 6). The result of the Jewish education (the Law) was monotheism and chastity. When the Son of Man came, he found the world prepared by four races, each of which had a distinct character. "The Hebrews had disci-

plined the human conscience, Rome the human will, Greece the reason and taste, Asia the spiritual imagination" (p. 22). Christ, as the great example (aided by Greece, Rome, and the early church), then taught and moulded all these into one church. The power of this example declining, the "freshness of faith" being lost, "we possess in the greater cultivation of our religious understanding, that which, perhaps, we ought not to be willing to give in exchange" (p. 28). We come under a law "which is not imposed upon us by another power, but by our own enlightened will." We outgrow past creeds, and learn "to have no opinion at all on many points of the deepest interest." "The principle of private judgment puts conscience between us and the Bible, making conscience the supreme interpreter where it may be a duty to enlighten, but where it can never be a duty to disobey" (p. 51). Even the doctrinal parts of the Bible "are best studied by considering them as records of the time at which they were written, and as conveying to us the highest and greatest religious life of that time." In "the maturity of man's powers, the great lever which moves the world is knowledge, the great force is the intellect" (p. 55). But, at the same time, Dr. Temple concedes and implies, that a supernatural revelation in Christ is the great moving power and principle even in this ulterior education. He is more definite on this point than almost any other of the essayists. His theory has, we think unjustly, been identified with that of Comte; but he nowhere asserts that positive science is the only or final means of culture, to supersede all others. He represents the race, indeed, as a "colossal man, whose life reaches from the creation to the day of judgment;"* but the culture of this man is to be by and through a

* The *Westminster Review* says that this "colossal man" theory is adopted from Auguste Comte, "without acknowledgment and perhaps unconsciously"; and that "it is a flagrant instance of the habit now prevalent amongst Churchmen (though rare in this book) of snatching up the language or the idea of really free-thinking men, and using them for their purposes in a way which is utterly thoughtless or shamefully dishonest." But the accusation should rather come from the other side, for this idea of the colossal man was suggested by Pascal, and borrowed "perhaps unconsciously" by Comte. In his Pensées (Partie 1. Art 1, suppressed

revelation, given once for all, and in one passage said to be "infallibly" given.

The difficulty about his theory (if it can be so called), is found in the fact that many of its most important points are so vaguely stated, that they might easily be pressed into the service of a rationalistic construction of history. He seems to have no thorough knowledge of the subject he discusses, or of the bearings of some of his statements. What he attempts to present, is a general plan or scheme of human history, from the beginning to the consummation of all things; in other words, a philosophy of history. Some of the best minds of the age, philosophers and historians, have been and are at work on this vast problem. Every new system of philosophy brings this within its scope, as one of its tests. The chief works on the subject Dr. Temple does not seem to have consulted. Even Bossuet's and Schlegel's schemes are superior to his. Herder's is much more genial and complete. Hegel's (translated into English) is more comprehensive. Comte's is more thorough in its grasp of the real problem. That any one should suppose that, under the figure of the education of a single man, and under the three categories of law, example, and principles, the whole course of history could be comprised and mastered, shows that fancy has the mastery of judgment; that symbols are substituted for ideas; and that in the form of history its soul and its substance are lost sight of. The idea is evidently taken from the best mode of training boys at Rugby rather than derived from the open vision of history itself. Whole nations and empires, Egypt, India, Turkey, are en-

in the first editions, De l' Autorite en Matière de Philosophie), Pascal writes: "De là vient que, par une prérogative particulière, non seulement chacun des hommes s'avance de jour en jour dans les sciences, mais que tous les hommes ensemble y font un continuel progrès à mesure que l'univers vieillit, *parce que la même chose arrive dans la succession des hommes, que dans les âges différents d'un particulier. De sorte que toute la suite des hommes, pendant le cours de tant de siècles, doit être considérée comme un même homme qui subsiste toujours, et qui apprend continuellement;* d'où l'on voit avec combien de l'injustice nous respectons l'antiquité dans ces philosophes; car, comme la vieillesse est l'âge le plus distant de l'enfance, qui ne voit que la vieillesse de *cet homme universel* ne doit pas être cherchée dans les temps proches de sa naissance, mais dans ceux qui en sont les plus éloignés?"

tirely omitted from, and cannot be brought under, his scheme. Nor is the notion of education itself, on which all here depends, analyzed or defined. Education *in* what? Education *to* and *for* what? These are certainly radical, as they are unnoticed inquiries. The legal period is described as one of restraint; but law has an end or object, and is not merely a disciplinarian. Example doubtless instructs; but, what does it and ought it to instruct us about? The highest stage is that of principles; but what are these principles? Conscience is to be supreme, and reason is to guide; but what are the dictates of this supreme conscience? What are the ideas and laws of this guiding reason? None of these questions are touched upon; and hence the whole theory is nebulous. The shadow is perpetually mistaken for the substance. A law of external growth is stated in figurative guise; but what it is that is growing, and what it is to grow to, we are not told, excepting in those general phrases which a naturalist might utter as sonorously as a Christian, for each can put his own contents into them. What confusion of thought, for example, in the statement (p. 32), "that the New Testament is almost entirely occupied with two lives—the life of our Lord, and the life of the early church;" as if one should say, that Xenophon's writings were occupied with two lives—the life of Socrates and the life of the Greek nation. Who can get any adequate idea of what was going on in the middle ages, from being told (p. 49), that the church "was occupied in renewing, by self-discipline, the self-control which the sudden absorption of the barbarians had destroyed"? Have we touched the essence of the Reformation in the position, that it taught "the lesson of toleration"? It doubtless did that in part, but that was a very small part of its work. And when we are assured that, in these last days, "the great lever which moves the world is knowledge, the great force is intellect," this, if taken strictly, is the common talk of the commonest unbelief; or, if it is not to be taken strictly, the writer did not appreciate the force and bearing of his own words. This would be a poor lesson even for the pupils at Rugby. What a contrast between Dr. Arnold, with his high moral and Christian enthusiasm

vigorous statement of substantial truth, and Dr. Temple, h his indefinite and immature speculations upon the most ortant themes! The one knew so much of history, that hardly ventured to speculate upon it; the other gives us phrases instead of either facts or ideas. By his very in-niteness he prepares the way for the definite doubt which ows in the next essay.

his second treatise is by Dr. Rowland Williams, who be-es in Bunsen and does not believe in the Bible; or rather, believes in Bunsen's Bible, excepting that he is obliged to nile" now and then at some superstition about Jonah's sonality, and the possibility of particular prophecies, to ch the Baron still clings. To those who know any thing the estimate in which Bunsen is held at home in criticism l philosophy, this obsequious veneration of Dr. Williams the Chevalier is really amusing, especially when coupled h his undisguised contempt for any thing that has any r of orthodoxy. Bunsen, it seems, is "the man who, in darkest perplexity, has reared again the banner of truth, l uttered thoughts which give courage to the weak and ht to the blind." This may describe Bunsen's effect upon self; but it is the only testimony of the kind we happen have met with. "Our little survey," he adds, "has not versed his vast field, nor our plummet sounded his depth"; l then, fairly unable to restrain the sacred fire, he breaks in metre:

> "Bunsen, with voice like sound of trumpet born,
> Conscious of strength, and confidently bold!
> Well feign the sons of Loyola the scorn
> Which from thy books would scare their startled fold.
> To thee our earth disclosed her purple morn," etc.
>
> "But ah! not dead, my soul to giant reach," etc.

Of Bunsen, in many relations, no right-minded man can ak in other terms than those of admiration and unfeigned pect. He was full of noble impulses; he had the highest e for freedom of speech and of conscience, which he brave-defended; he opposed, even at the loss of high station, the ctionary policy of the Prussian court. His learning was

varied and ample, and no one can read him without being stimulated to thought and investigation; and he has but just left the world, with the cheering words of simple faith upon his dying lips. The vague speculations in which he so much delighted, were exchanged in the decisive hour, for the hallowed Christian forms of speech which his philosophy was always tempting him to abandon. He was deficient in just those very qualities for which Dr. Williams lauds him. He was not a judge, but an advocate. He worked in the mine, and not in the mint. He collected (not without the assiduity of others) a vast mass of materials, which he could not reconstruct into order. On the most slender basis of facts, he would sometimes rear the most extravagant of hypotheses. A single piece of pottery in the mud of the Nile, induced him to elongate by ten thousand years the life of the race. His reconstructions of history were made by imagination, and not by induction. His philosophy of history lacked thoroughness and precision. And in respect to Christian doctrine, he was perpetually hovering between the words of the creeds and the formulas of Hegel. His attempt (in his Philosophy of History) to resolve what he calls Semitic speech into the language of Japhet (that is, orthodox formulas into Hegelian abstractions), is one of the most curious illustrations of the process by which concrete realities can be sublimated into barren abstractions. And in all these things, his English disciple echoes the great master, as if he were under the spell of an enchanter's wand.

His Essay is simply a resumé of the results of the idealizing school of modern criticism, as to the history and doctrines, the inspiration and authority of the Scriptures. No proof is attempted. He seems to think the whole matter is decided. Where he is not willing to make direct assertions, he throws out wanton insinuations.* The tone of self-conscious superi-

* Dr. Williams has since written an "Earnestly Respectful Letter to the Lord Bishop of St. David's, on the Difficulty of bringing Theological Questions to an Issue;" to which Dr. Thirlwall replied in a calm and convincing manner, and drew out a "Critical Appendix," which, by as cautious and candid a review as the Journal of Sacred Literature, is characterized as "one long-drawn quibble;" adding, that "no

ority affected in this Essay is not supported by any thing contained in it. We need only refer to a few points under the heads of history, prophecy, and doctrine, to show the conclusions to which the rationalistic tendency must lead. The introductory statements are devoted to generalizing the ideas of revelation, inspiration, miracle, and prophecy, so as to rob them of their specific import. A faith, to whose miraculous tests reason and conscience "must bow," is declared to be "allied to priestcraft and formalism, and not rarely with corruptness of administration or of life." By arbitrary hypotheses as to the time necessary for a supposed development, he carries back the race at least twenty thousand years. But when we look for the facts to warrant this extension, what we find is an inquiry as to how long it took French to grow out of Latin, and Latin out of its original crude forms. If it took two thousand years for this, how long must it have taken to form the Hebrew from its primitive germs? The arithmetic is certainly not very exact. The Pentateuch is of course declared to be a gradual growth "from a Bible before our Bible"; it came to its present form about one thousand or seven hundred before Christ. That previous documents may have been used in its composition might be conceded, without denying its Mosaic authorship; but Dr. Williams reasons upon it, as if Kurtz, and Hengstenberg, and Keil had never written on the question, or noticed all the arguments by which its genuineness has been assailed.* He abandons the prophe-

one of his opinions is manfully stated, expounded, justified or repudiated." Though he takes shelter, as a reporter, under Bunsen, yet the whole tone of the Essay, unless it is, what the *Westminster Review* terms, "a mere mystification," allows no doubt about his adopting its main positions.

* Some of his incidental explanations are exegetical curiosities. The "avenger of the first-born" becomes "a Bedouin host." The passage of the Red Sea is "poetry." Some criticisms show lack of thorough study. He makes *sagans* (officers) in Is. xii, 25, to be a Persian word, though Fürst denies it. He argues against the genuineness of the last part of Zechariah, though De Wette himself recanted his doubts, and Hävernick has replied minutely to all the objections. He translates Psalm ii, 12, "Worship purely," instead of "Kiss the Son," though this rendering is rejected by the most eminent scholars, Gesenius, De Wette, Ewald. Compare Brit. Quarterly, Jan. 1861, which also refers to his proposed translation

cies of Daniel, transforming them into mere history or conjecture, without condescending to refer to the replies of Auberlen and Hävernick. In fact, he gives up all prophecy, excepting "perhaps one passage in Zechariah, one in Isaiah, and one in Deuteronomy on the fall of Jerusalem;" though even these "few cases tend to melt, if they are not already melted, in the crucible of free inquiry," and what is left is certain "deep truths" and "great ideas." Even the Messianic interpretation of the 53d of Isaiah is rejected (p. 80), although for seventeen centuries only two interpreters (excepting Jews), and both of these professed unbelievers, gave it such a non-Messianic sense. Bunsen makes it refer to Jeremiah, and Williams to Baruch, or rather to the "collective Israel." This last interpretation, as Hengstenberg has unanswerably shown, is most violent, has no analogy in the Old Testament, and demands the most unnatural personifications; as when it is said, "he made his grave with the wicked and with the rich in his death." Even a kind of spiritual clairvoyance as to particular future events, to which Bunsen adheres, is rejected by his disciple. Consistently with these views (if not their source), he denies any specific inspiration, making it to be "the voice of the congregation." "Our Prayer Book is constructed on the idea that the church is an inspired society." "If any one prefers thinking the sacred writers passionless machines, and calling Luther and Milton 'uninspired,' let him coöperate in researches by which his theory, if true, will be triumphantly confirmed" (p. 87). But, surely he must know, that orthodox theologians do not look upon inspired men as "machines," or refuse to recognize the human element in the Divine word. Is there no possible medium between the mechanical theory of inspiration, and the rejection of all specific inspiration?

It is this theory of general, in distinction from specific inspiration, which is at the basis of Dr. Williams' method of in-

of "mighty God" (Is. ix, 6), as "strong or mighty one,"—asking "how it comes to pass, that *el* here alone in all Hebrew books should "be translated one." Equally curious is his emendation of Psalm xxii, 17, viz. "like a lion," instead of "they pierced,"—purely conjectural, and "in the face of all MSS. and ancient citations." Ibid. p. 25.

terpreting prophecy: for if there be real prophecies in the Scriptures there must be a divine inspiration: if there be no inspiration, there cannot be any prophecy. The whole runs back, of course, into the underlying theory, that there cannot be any direct supernatural interference, to control the naturalistic order of development. It is only on the assumption of this development hypothesis, only on the exclusion of supernaturalism from history, that these interpretations become plausible. Strauss and his followers lay it down as a canon of interpretation, that there cannot be either miracle or prophecy, and interpret accordingly; although they grant, that the books themselves claim to contain both miracle and prophecy. This is a much easier, and a more honest course, than to try to make out, that the books themselves do not claim to have supernatural contents. There are three ways of procedure here: one is, to say that the narrative contains prophecies, and is true; another, that it claims to contain prophecies, but, as there cannot be any prophecy, that this claim is false; another is, that it does not claim to contain prophecy. Rationalism, so far as it still pays a lingering deference to the Scripture, while denying the reality of prophecy, tries to make out the latter point. But here it is opposed, by the plain intent of the Old Testament: by the counter testimony of Christ and the apostles in the New: by the almost unanimous verdict of Christian interpreters; and also, by the concessions of unbelieving interpreters, who say, that the Scriptural writers undoubtedly claim prophetic inspiration, but that the claim is absurd. If Dr. Williams should take this latter ground, of course his task would be easier; for now he is obliged to reconcile a belief in Scripture, with an unwillingness to believe in prophecy; and the only way in which this can be effected is, by trying to show that after all, there are no proper predictions in the Bible. And though there are "some doubtful passages" remaining, yet he thinks that these will "melt away," and leave only "great ideas." He cannot consent to give up the Bible wholly; and yet he interprets it on principles, which undermine its authority, and make it to be the most enigmatic, if not contradictory, of books. In contrast

with such a specimen of half-learning, and of vacillating views, it is refreshing to turn to the most recent work of one of the best and ablest of German scholars, who is above all suspicion of being a bigoted adherent of the letter of Scripture and of tradition, and whose learning and exegetical skill far surpass Bunsen's, to say nothing of Dr. Williams. Professor Tholuck in his work on The Prophets and their Prophecies,* reviews the whole subject in a philosophical manner, yet unfettered by naturalistic hypotheses. And the result of his studies is, that these prophecies cannot be interpreted "as the utterance of subjective religious aspirations; and that the very course of history has impressed upon these declarations the stamp, and confirmation, of an objective and supernatural inspiration." On the score of mere testimony, such a declaration outweighs any authority that can possibly be ascribed to the opinions of either Bunsen or his Anglican disciple. Bertheau has recently published a series of essays (in the Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie, 1859, 1860), which evince a thorough study of the subject. Professor Fairbairn's work, issued in Edinburgh, 1856, on Prophecy, its Nature and Functions, ably refutes many of the positions so confidently advanced in these Essays, as the final verdict of criticism.

But it is in the sphere of doctrines, that Dr. Williams utters the most extravagant opinions, fully illustrating that anti-Christian tendency, which we described at the beginning of this article—resolving the realities of faith into mystical and unmeaning generalities. He speaks (p. 89) of "that religious idea, which is the thought of the Eternal, without conformity to which our souls cannot be saved." Justification by faith is "peace of mind, or that sense of divine approval, which comes of trust in a righteous God, rather than a fiction of merit

* Die Propheten und ihre Weissagungen. Eine apologetisch-hermeneutische Studie von A. THOLUCK. Gotha, 1860. Delitzsch in his Prophetische Theologie stands on the same general ground. Hengstenberg's examination of all these prophetic passages is so thorough, that even the rationalists of Germany confess that refutation of him is essential for the vindication of their interpretations. To ignore these replies, after the manner of Dr. Williams, would make them at once lose caste in the republic of letters.

by transfer;" it is "a verdict of forgiveness upon our repentance." Regeneration is "an awakening of forces of the soul." Resurrection is "spiritual quickening." Gehenna is "an image of distracted remorse." "Heaven is not a place so much as fulfilment of the love of God." "The incarnation is purely spiritual." The fall of Adam "represents ideally the circumscription of our spirits in limits of flesh and time, and practically the selfish nature with which we fall from the likeness of God, which should be fulfilled in man."

But this application of "ideology" to doctrines comes to its most remarkable results in his speculations (following Bunsen, in part) about the Trinity. Ultimate is "the law of thought;" this law is "consubstantial with the being of the Eternal I AM. Being, becoming, and animating, or, substance, thinking, and conscious life, are expressions of a Triad, which may be also represented as will, wisdom, and love; as light, radiance, and warmth; as fountain, stream, and united flow; as mind, thought, and consciousness; as person, word, and life; as Father, Son, and Spirit." "The Divine Consciousness or Wisdom, consubstantial with the Eternal Will, becoming personal in the Son of Man, is the express image of the Father; and Jesus actually, but also mankind ideally, is the Son of God. If all this has a Sabellian, or almost a Brahminical sound, its impugners are bound, even on patristic grounds, to show how it differs from the doctrine of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen, and the historian Eusebius." We apprehend that few persons have read this doctrinal exposition, without some slight sense of bewilderment, and suspecting at first that their own eyes must be somewhat blurred. Not even Bunsen himself was ever quite so involved. Language is fairly turned topsy-turvy; and thought, logic and history are equally defied. Sabellianism is clearness itself in the comparison. To call it Brahmanism is absurd. It is most like the logical pantheism of the school of Hegel; but no Hegelian was ever yet guilty of concocting such a jumble. While we have entire respect, and even sympathy, for those views of the Trinity and Incarnation, which find in these mysteries substantial truth and rational elements; and while we also be-

lieve, that that view of the divine nature which makes it inconsistent with the Incarnation and Trinity is philosophically imperfect as well as Scripturally incorrect; we cannot find in such caricatures as this any thing that ministers either to faith or knowledge. It shows, that the author had read just enough of Bunsen, and perhaps Hegel, to be confused and overawed. Let us look at it a moment. The "law of thought" (not thought itself) is consubstantial (not merely identical) with the Being of the Eternal I AM; i. e. the law of thought is of the same substance with the being. Can any body tell what that means? What is this law of thought (which is also Being)? It is given in a series of triads—which are, of course, meant to be coördinate—according to which it appears that the first one in the triad may be called, either being, or substance, or will, or light, or mind, or person, or the Father; the second one is, becoming, or thinking, or wisdom, or thought, or word, or the Son; the third is, animating, or conscious life, or love, or warmth, or consciousness, or life, or the Spirit. By what process of consistent thought can these terms be thus used? How can the first be 'mind,' or 'person,' without presupposing the 'thought' of the second, or the 'consciousness' of the third? Can any just distinction be traced between the 'mind' of the first, the 'thought' of the second, and the 'consciousness' of the third? If the first is already 'person,' what means it, that consciousness is relegated to the third member? And the confusion becomes still more palpable, when our philosophical theologian goes on to assure us, that the "divine consciousness or Wisdom" ('consciousness' was just before the third, and 'wisdom' the second, but now they are identified) "consubstantial with the Eternal Will, becomes personal in the Son of Man." But "person" had already been given as an equivalent for the first member of the Triad; now it seems, that though there was "person," there was not any thing "personal," until the Son of God appeared. And then, too, how is 'consciousness' the same as 'wisdom,' and how are either or both 'consubstantial with will'? We confess, that we have not the least idea what the writer means. He intimates, that it might be called Sabellianism; but Sabellianism, though

an inadequate, is a perfectly well defined theory, viz. that the original deity (Monas), through and by the Logos, becomes Son and Spirit (one interpretation says, Father, Son and Spirit), in the manifestation. What has that theory in common with such a farrago of words? And when Dr. Williams proceeds to say, that his notion "does not differ from the doctrine of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen, and the historian Eusebius," he either betrays his own profound ignorance of the subject, or is imposing on the ignorance of his readers. There is almost nothing in common. Justin Martyr identifies the Logos with Christ, and illustrates the incarnation by the relation of speech to mind, but he rejects the illustration from the sun and its beams. Origen held that the Logos (Son) is God, is personal, and subordinate; and he introduced the phraseology of an 'eternal generation'; but he carefully avoided every thing that looked like a physical emanation. Tertullian speaks of a Trinity of one divinity, the Father, the Son and the Spirit: and he uses the illustrations of fountain, stream and river, of root, branch and fruit, purely as comparisons. In the theory of Hippolytus, the Logos is the sum of the divine reason, and issues forth as a distinct hypostasis to create the world. The clear head of the historian Eusebius made him inclined to Semi-Arianism, which is at the utmost remove from all such mystical theorizing as Dr. Williams attributes to him. And whatever uncertainty there may be about the opinions of some of these teachers of the church in relation to the formulas subsequently elaborated, there can be no doubt, that none of them ever adopted a theory which either identified thought and being, or made the Trinity to be equivalent to a logical process.

Inspiration having been resolved into general illumination, prophecy into sagacious anticipations, and the Christian dogmas into ideology, we are prepared for the next step, taken by Professor Powell, in his Essay on the Evidences of Christianity, viz. the denial of the validity of all external corroborations of a revelation; and the assertion of the impossibility of miraculous intervention. His previous works on the Order of Nature in Reference to the Claims of Revelation, and on the Spirit

of the Inductive Philosophy, contained the principles which are here applied in a more popular and discursive manner. As we have been promised a review of his general position in respect to the Evidences, we give only an outline of his positions. He asserts that the main appeal of the writers on Evidence in the seventeenth century was "to the *miracles* of the Gospel;" to mere external testimony, the testimony of the senses; and assumes, that the progress of physical research has nullified all possible valid evidence from this quarter. But Mr. Pattison, in this same volume, says, that until 1750, "the *internal* evidences" were most insisted upon in England; that "the main endeavor was to show, that there was nothing in the contents of revelation which was not agreeable to reason" (p. 286). And it is a fact, verified by the whole history of theology, that the internal evidences have always been most insisted upon, wherever Christian doctrine has been most firmly held, that the most orthodox have most relied on this argument; and that those writers who have dwelt more exclusively on the external evidences (as Paley and his school) have been comparatively indifferent to specific Christian truth, and a vital Christian experience. A formal church relies on external authority; a formal creed is apt to insist on the outworks, as if they were the citadel. There was also another reason, why so much stress was laid on miracles in the last century. Though they are not the only, or the highest evidence, they are yet essential to the Christian system as a supernatural and historic revelation. After Hume's speculations, miracles became in England, and even on the continent, a test question as to the reality of a divine agency, not limited or circumscribed by the fixed succession of events in nature. The real question was, not merely that of evidence to a revelation, but whether deism or even atheism was to triumph over Christian theism. Is there—as Mr. Powell expresses it, "only the invariable operation of a series of eternally impressed consequences, following in some necessary chain of orderly connection?" The belief in Providence was at stake, as well as the belief in a revelation. The ultimate question was as to the very idea of God; whether he is bound to the order of nature, or is above it, and may control

and direct it to some wise moral end? Hume could not believe in a miracle because he did not believe in God. The battle was nominally about the evidences, but really about the question, whether there are efficient causes producing, and final causes shaping, the order of the universe.

Professor Powell's position as to miracles, in connection with the Evidences, is, that if they were "in the estimation of a former age, among the chief *supports* of Christianity, they are at present among the main *difficulties*, and hindrances to its acceptance" (p. 158). The believers in miracles, he says, are possessed by certain prepossessions and prejudices, by which they interpret testimony, and get out of it a great deal more than it can possibly contain. But Mr. Powell has no such a priori principles, excepting perhaps this one—viz. that the order of nature cannot be interrupted. "The entire range of the inductive philosophy," he says, "is at once based upon, and in every instance tends to confirm, by immense accumulation of evidence, the grand truth of the universal order and constancy of natural causes, as *a primary law of belief*, so strongly entertained and fixed in the mind of every truly inductive inquirer, that he cannot even *conceive the possibility of its failure*." This is really a deification of natural law. It confounds, as Mr. Powell does throughout his disquisition, the rational principle of causality, with the empirical facts of orderly sequence. The "primary law of belief" is, that there can be no event without a cause. "The universal order and constancy of *natural* causes" is no primary belief at all. This order may be violated, without violating the principle of causality. This is conceded even by John Stuart Mill, who says in his Logic—"A miracle (as was justly remarked by Brown) is no contradiction of the law of cause and effect; it is a new effect, supposed to be produced by the introduction of a new cause. Of the adequacy of that cause, if it exist, there can be no doubt." This single position upsets the logical force of Mr. Powell's whole argument. He has no thorough understanding of his own position. In his zeal to establish it, he even goes so far as to deny that the omnipotence of God can be proved from natural theology, saying (p. 128) "that it is

entirely an inference from the *language of the Bible*, adopted on the *assumption* of a belief in revelation." But if these natural attributes of God are proved only by revelation, how can the revelation itself be proved? Professor Powell does not mean, we suppose, to deny the being or perfections of God; he expresses (p. 129) a dissent from "the first principles" of Emerson and Prof. Newman; he even admits the fact of a revelation. But all this only makes the confusion of his argument still more hopeless. Even Hume and Mill would admit the possibility of miracles, on the supposition that there is a God. But Mr. Powell believes in a God and denies the possibility of miracles. His objections to the proof by testimony have been often refuted: they are not as sharply put as in the writings of Hume; and they lose their chief force, if his principle about the inviolability of natural laws is unsound. His idolatry of mere physical law is carried to a greater extent than in almost any modern writer of repute, outside of the schools of materialism and "positivism." He speaks of the "*inconceivableness* of imagined interruptions of the natural order, or supposed suspensions of the laws of matter" (p. 124); he talks of "the universal self-sustaining and self-evolving powers of nature"; he perverts Professor Owen's Address before the British Association, so as to make it sanction the theory, that "creation is only another name for our ignorance of the mode of production"; he advocates, more categorically than Darwin himself, the law of "natural selection," and the hypothesis that "new species can be originated by natural causes." He even implies (p. 150) that "ultimate ideas of universal causation" can be "familiar only to those versed in cosmical philosophy in its widest sense"; which is the very reverse of the truth, since universal causation cannot be found in cosmical, but only in rational philosophy. He asserts that "in nature and from nature, by science and reason, we neither have nor can possibly have, any evidence of a Deity working miracles; for that we must go out of nature and beyond science."

And yet, with all this, strange as it may seem, Prof. Powell seems to admit a positive revelation, and the necessity of religious faith. It sounds like the irony of Hume (though we

cannot believe that it is so), when he reduces the whole matter, in the clearest statement found in his involved and repetitious essay, to the alternative, that an alleged miracle is, either, a physical event, and so to be explained by physical laws alone; or, an event "asserted on the authority of inspiration," in which case "it ceases to be capable of investigation by reason, or to own its dominion. It is accepted on religious grounds, and can appeal only to the principle and influence of faith." His whole argument goes to show, that a scientific and reasonable man cannot accept it on the latter grounds. And yet he affirms that "intellect and philosophy" "admit the higher claims of divine mysteries in the invisible and spiritual world"; that "reason and science conspire to the confession, that, beyond the domain of physical causation and the possible conceptions of *intellect* or *knowledge*, there lies open the boundless region of spiritual things, which is the sole dominion of faith" (p. 143). Such statements, now, prove irresistibly one of two things: and in either case this dissertation is robbed of its force as an argument. Either Prof. Powell admits a real revelation of spiritual truth from a Divine Being, addressed to faith, which we may and must rest in; or he does not. If he does admit this, then his argument against the possibility of miracles falls to the ground; for he has correctly stated (p. 159) that the "real question, after all, is not the mere *fact*, but the *cause* or *explanation* of it." If he does not admit this, then his whole argument is needless: for he had only, in that case, to say, I do not believe in a God, and therefore cannot believe in a miracle. If he does not believe in a God, his essay is an intentional, and barefaced deception. If he does believe in a God, the foundation of his reasonings is undermined. And at the very best, he leaves such a dualism between philosophy and faith, between science and religion—a dualism so broadly stated, so totally unreconciled, as to show, that he has not thoroughly studied the relations of this vital subject. To state the relations of the two is the great problem to which his discussions should have converged. He does not investigate this problem at all. No Christian believer can accept the dilemma as he puts it. Every unbeliever will welcome his positions as really

proving that physical science is supreme, and that faith is essentially unreasonable. He banishes all revelation to the sphere of subjective experience, and thus deprives it of all objective or historical validity.

The same unwillingness or incompetence to deal with a great subject in its larger relations, is shown in the fourth Essay, on the National Church, by Henry Bristow Wilson, B.D., Vicar of Great Stoughton, Hunts. The subject suggested by the title is the great question of the union of church and state, which is at the heart of European and British politics. Can there really be a National Church in the present state of opinion in England? Is not the dissolution of the unnatural union of church and state necessary to the salvation of Christianity? What are the respective principles, rights and position of the church and the state? These are grave and fundamental inquiries, with which Mr. Wilson intermeddleth not. He brings the whole matter down to individual and local interests—to the question of personal subscription to the Articles. He wants to find out how he can hold the opinions he does hold, and remain Vicar of Great Stoughton. And his argument is a good one, provided he can interpret the terms of subscription in the same way as he interprets Scripture and the creeds. He accepts the whole of Scripture, interpreting it as symbol and allegory and parable, doubting its history, and idealising its doctrines: he can accept any creed, putting it through the "ideological process;" and there is therefore no logical difficulty in his subscribing to the Articles. By an ingenious, not to say Jesuitical, mode of explaining them, he shows very clearly how a person can at one and the same time deny and confess the fundamental points of belief. And this same person was one of the Four Tutors, who on the 9th of March, 1841, published a Protest against the notorious Tract XC., saying, "that the modes of interpretation suggested in that Tract, evading rather than explaining the sense of the Thirty-nine Articles . . . are inconsistent with the due observance of the Statutes;" asserting that this Tract "has a highly dangerous tendency," and "puts forward *new and startling views* as to the extent to which

that liberty may be carried." * It is really humiliating to trace the process by which he defends the subscription of himself and others of like mind. He is obliged to assent to the Canons (5 and 36) of 1603, which assert that these are "worthy of excommunication" "who affirm that any of the Thirty-nine Articles are in any part superstitious or erroneous"; but he suggests that they may be 'inexpedient' and 'unintelligible,' without being 'erroneous'; and that "without being *superstitious*, some of the *expressions* may appear so." In interpreting the 36th canon, which reads, 'he *alloweth* the bo[illegible]s of articles, . . . and *acknowledgeth* the same to be agreeable to the Word of God,' he resorts to the subterfuge of explaining 'allow' in the feeble, modern sense of 'acquiescence' or 'submission,' instead of the undoubted sense of 'approve,' in which it is there used; and so, too, he asserts that one "may *acknowledge* what he does not maintain . . . meaning only that he is not prepared to contradict"; and that "agreeable to God's Word" means, "they have the same sense in the Articles that they have in Scripture, or do not contradict it"; and then he interprets Scripture as "parable, poetry or legend," as "literal or allegorical," as containing "inadequate statements," and "dark patches of human passion and error." He can undoubtedly receive the Articles just as he receives the Bible: the same principles of interpretation that apply to the one will do for the other. But does not all this show that these principles of interpretation enfeeble the moral judgment? Ought not Pascal's Provincial Letters to be circulated anew? If all this be "allowable," another clause must be added to the old satire about the Church of England: it not only has "a Popish Prayer-Book, an Arminian clergy, and Calvinistic Articles," but also Rationalistic Interpreters.

From the statements and intimations which Mr. Wilson gives about his views, we do not wonder that he feels uneasy under the yoke of subscription, and is very much tempted to defend his main position, that "a national church need not, historically speaking, be *Christian*." Some of his opinions, as incidentally

* See 'Certain Documents connected with Tracts for the Times,' No, 90, Oxford, 1841; cited in the Quarterly Review (London), Jan. 1861.

or expressly avowed, are: that the sacred writers often give us "their own inadequate conceptions, and not the mind of the Spirit"; that many of the Scriptural prophecies, applicable to things already past, "have never been fulfilled"; that the world was in no special need of a revelation when Christ came (p. 175); that the doctrines of the New Testament "were for the most part applicable only to those to whom the preaching of Christ should come"; that the Gospels contain "legendary matter and embellishment"; that there is no trustworthy Old Testament history before the taking of Jerusalem by Shishak; that the first three Gospels are irreconcilable; that John's Gospel was not by the Apostle; that "St. John's view was much narrower than St. Paul's," and Paul's charity was more ample than John's; that the resurrection may be denied, and a man still be Christian (p. 184); that excommunication in the primitive church was only for immorality, and that that church was 'multitudinist'; that a Book may be canonical and not inspired (p. 197); that there were in the apostolic church 'very distinct Christologies' (p. 201); that Calvinists must believe that "all others than themselves" "belong to the world"; that Arian, Pelagian, Lutheran and Calvinistic views are all to be merged in the ethical and moral; that the idea of an 'isolated' individual salvation, 'the rescuing one's self,' 'the grace bestowed on one's own labors,' 'the crown of glory,' and 'the finality of the sentence,' 'unfit men for this world, and prepare them very ill for that which is to come'; that the 'application of ideology to Scripture, to the doctrines of Christianity, and to the formularies,' though Strauss 'carried it to excess,' is yet the great means of insuring unity and peace, and that 'liberty must be left to all as to the extent in which they apply the principle.' By this ideology, Jesus is 'Son of David,' 'Prince of Peace,' and 'High Priest,' all in the same way, not as fact, but in 'idea': the '*incarnification* of the divine Immanuel remains,' although the 'angelic appearances' are 'ideal' (p. 298). But what is to keep any one from idealising in the same way the 'incarnification' (if this word does not already do it), and the resurrection, and the atonement, and the life everlasting? And, in fact, all that he leaves of the Scriptural doctrine of a

future state is, as expressed in the concluding sentence (p. 232), the hope that "all, both small and great, shall find a refuge in the bosom of the Universal Parent, to *repose*, or be quickened into higher life, in the ages to come, according to his will." And thus here again we have the same tendency, as to both fact and doctrine, carried out with even greater assurance, and more boldly avowed, which indicates the real position of these essayists in the present conflict between rationalism and Christianity. Mr. Wilson adopts, in fact, every principle of criticism and interpretation contained in Strauss's Life of Christ, and the writings of the Tübingen school. If he is not aware of the inevitable tendency and logical results of these principles, he is deplorably ignorant of the themes on which he writes; if he is aware of them, and is still a believer in positive Christianity, he is betraying the cause, which in his position he ought to defend: if he cannot defend it, he is bound as an honest man to say so, and give up his position and emoluments in the church which fosters him while he is enlisted in its subversion.

It is no wonder that, holding such views, and holding on to the church, he is anxious to 'multitudinize' it—to resolve it into a mere moral society, with only ethical ends in view. A "national church," he says, "need not, historically speaking, be Christian . . . That which is essential to a national church is, that it should undertake to assist the spiritual progress of the nation and of the individuals of which it is composed, in their several states and stages." * What his project amounts to is this — ethics and ideology shall be nationalized, and called a church. But the establishment of such a church is the abolition of the church; it is the baptism of scepticism with the name of the church; it is the overthrow of historical Christianity. Scepticism, he virtually says, is so widely

* Mr. Wilson wants to have the clergymen of the Church of England as exempt from the obligation to subscription as are the laymen. The Christian Remembrancer, Oct. 1860, p. 345, says, that persons professing themselves members of the Church of England may in private life hold what they please, "for they are never obliged to express their assent either to articles of religion or formularies of faith; and so the clergyman who was under the same law of liberty might be allowed to believe anything or nothing."

diffused that, if we are to have a national church, it must be on a basis which will admit sceptics: otherwise the church cannot be national. And when this alternative is presented to the English people, we doubt not that they will denationalize the church, rather than nationalize rationalism. It is better to save Christianity, than to continue the union of church and state at such a fearful cost. 'Multitudinism' is a sign of latitudinarianism, and not its remedy.

The contribution of Mr. C. W. Goodwin to this volume is the least ambitious of the series; it does not pretend to give the writer's dicta and judgments on all the most important questions of the day in forty or fifty pages: it confines itself to the Mosaic Cosmogony, considered "as the speculation of some Hebrew Descartes or Newton, promulgated in all good faith as the best and most probable account that could then be given of God's universe" (p. 277). He disposes of the difficulty, "that the writer asserts so solemnly and unhesitatingly that for which he must have known that he had no authority," by suggesting, that "modesty of assertion" is the peculiar quality of "modern habits of thought," the result "of the spirit of true science." Perhaps Mr. Goodwin and the men of modern science are more "modest" than Moses and the prophets; although we confess we should hardly have inferred as much from the present volume. The object of this essay is to expose the utter futility of all attempts to reconcile Genesis and Geology. This is achieved by taking for granted that Genesis means to teach truth in a scientific way; that it must be literally interpreted; and that Geology has arrived at final results about Cosmogony. Nothing in the way of fact and argument is advanced, which has not been long familiar to the scientific and Christian world—nothing which has not been examined in the works of Hugh Miller in England recently, in the Archaia of Dawes, and in the treatises of President Hitchcock and Dr. Tayler Lewis in our own country.

Dr. Mark Pattison's essay on the Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688–1750, is a valuable historical investigation, chiefly upon the great Deistical Controversy, in which England led the way. The general external characteristics of

dispute, the points made, the principles debated, are can-
y stated, and illustrated with much of curious learning.
t age is described as "destitute of depth or earnestness; an
whose poetry was without romance, whose philosophy was
out insight, and whose public men were without charac-
" As far as deism and the Christian evidences are con-
ed, the point insisted upon is, that the defenders of
istianity made up a 'conventional' case. Up to about 1740,
main object was to show the reasonableness of Christianity:
ing the latter part of the eighteenth century, the argument
chief respect to the external evidences. The Wesleyan
tion was chiefly in the sphere of personal experience. A
er reactionary movement began with the publication of
Tracts for the Times, 1833. The argument during the last
tury was upon the whole favorable to Christianity: it left
matter in about this position, that "there were three chances
revelation, and only two against it." But Dr. Pattison
es out a stronger case against the theology of the last cen-
than the facts fully warrant; it is not fairly described as
home-baked theology," or an "Old Bailey theology, in
ch, to use Johnson's illustration, the Apostles are being
l once a week for the capital crime of forgery;" nor is it
, "that the more they demonstrated, the less people be-
ed." Locke, Bentley, Berkeley, Butler, Samuel Clarke,
rburton and Paley have not, even among the men of Mr.
tison's school, their peers in strength and acuteness of intel-
, in vigor of ratiocination, in candor of judgment, in gen-
learning, or in polemic power. By the force of intellect—
they did not find much of religious sensibility in their
to appeal to, they rescued England from the preva-
e of deism and infidelity; they overcame at home the ra-
alism which made such havoc when it crossed the channel.
h one single exception, that of Hume, they were stronger
abler men than any of which infidelity could make its
t. The Anglican Church, and England itself, owes them
bt of profound gratitude and of lasting homage. Were
now living, or men of equal learning and power, these
ord essayists would have to talk with bated breath. They

did not, indeed, discuss the questions which modern criticism and pantheism have raised; but they did discuss, point by point, every argument which Toland, Collins, Shaftesbury, Woolston and Hume advanced; and they did this in a manly English way, scorning subterfuge, and not taking advantage of their position in the Church to undermine its foundations. They did not pretend to have an absolute system even of Christian truth; but they had a system, and knew just how far they could be positive. They did not appear before the public to insinuate scepticism under the guise of historic candor, nor to marshal all the difficulties against revelation in strong array, without suggesting any solution. They did not like Mr. Pattison, review the past history of the Evidences for Christianity only to show that these evidences were entirely inadequate; nor close such a review of the most important questions that can be debated, with an intimation, that we can not find a sufficient basis for revelation, either in Authority or Reason, or the Inward Light, or in self-evidencing Scripture, or in a combination of the four. This negative result, we suppose, is what gives to this historic review a place in these Essays and Reviews.

The last tract in the series is on the Interpretation of Scripture, by the Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford. It is beyond all question the most thoughtful, carefully written, ingenious and subtle essay in the book. Its grace and charm of style, its tender and often sad tone, its felicity of statement, its suggestive art, give it a kind of fascination. It perpetually reminds us of a skilful surgeon, who holds the sharp knife in a firm but tender hand, and speaks most persuasively when he knows that he is cutting most deeply. It has none of the arrogance of Williams, or the dogmatism of Powell, or the assurance of Wilson; but it is at the same time more insidious than any of them, and equally undermines all positive faith, not only in creeds, but also in the inspired authority of the Sacred Scriptures. What the essay apparently has in view is, to rescue Scripture from arbitrary and dogmatic interpretations, so that we may really know just what it means to say. But suppose we have ascertained that point—would

Mr. Jowett accept its statements as final and authoritative? He certainly could not receive its statements about historic facts, as having any more authority than those of any other book, for he finds inexplicable contradictions. Would he then rest in its doctrinal results as a finality to faith? He cannot do this, for he denies any infallible inspiration. Why then is he so anxious to get at the real sense and meaning of the word? It is to him the record of a past age, a testimony as to what Paul and John believed; but even Paul and John, he says, did not claim a specific, supernatural inspiration. "For any of the higher or supernatural views of inspiration there is no foundation in the Gospels or Epistles" (p. 379). The "idea of a progressive revelation" is the only one, which suits the case: a revelation imperfect and even erroneous in some of its earlier stages and forms of statement; a revelation which is constantly "enlarged" by the progress of science—enlarged of course in this way, that the science supersedes the written word: for "revelation and science reconcile themselves the moment any scientific truth is distinctly ascertained" (p. 383). There is not, then, there cannot be, any final revelation, until science has arrived at its final conclusions. All that precedes is a process of development. There cannot be any binding and ultimate authority in the written Word, even if criticism accomplished its full work upon it, and told us just what it means. The seeming object of the essay is not its real result. It professes to wish to rescue Scripture from perversion; but the argument is so conducted, that, even when thus rescued, it has no supremacy of authority. The principles on which he would have us interpret the Book forbid our receiving it as the Word of God.

The substance of the argument is this. No book has been interpreted in so arbitrary and confused a manner as the Bible. Creeds and opinions of later origin are interpolated into its very words. All sects see themselves in this volume—which is thus a mirror rather than a standard. And in fact, Mr. Jowett grants, that they can all find something in it to support their views, and consequently, that so far they are not altogether wrong. Unitarians, who deny Christ's divinity,

have perhaps less support than most of the others, though at the same time Trinitarians certainly cannot find the Nicene or Athanasian creed in John or Paul. It is plain that diversity is not got rid of, by saying, that the Scriptures themselves give a basis for it. What then is the intent? Not to show that they are all equally right, but all equally wrong; that some hint of their views, but no one of their systems, is found in the Bible. The chaos of creeds has its roots in the Scriptures, but the Scriptures do not decide any thing definite about any of them. No creed in Christendom, not even the Nicene, has proper Scriptural warrant. That is, if we hold to the Bible, we must give up all the creeds; but if we do, what have we left? Why, a book which sanctions something in all these perplexed confessions; and something which has no final authority.

The natural principles of interpretation which Mr. Jowett propounds, so far as they are sound, have been very familiar to the scholars of this country. The words of Scripture have a proper historical and philological sense, which the interpreter is to find. The general laws of language apply here. And Mr. Jowett also admits that the analogy of faith, in a general sense, is a correct principle of interpretation; and he concedes a remarkable unity in the diverse books of Scripture. But when he comes to apply these general principles, he makes assumptions and assertions, which presuppose, not only that we are to interpret the Bible according to grammatical laws applicable to other books, but that we are to subject its sense and teachings to the same rules; that is, we are not to interpret it as an inspired book, but simply as a book; and we are not to apply its truths in any other way than we do any other truths. We are neither "to adapt the truths of Scripture to the doctrines of the creed"; nor to adapt "precepts and maxims of Scripture to the language or practice of our age." We are to "interpret the Scripture like any other book," although "there are many respects in which the Scripture is unlike any other book" (p. 416). If this canon, thus broadly stated, means any thing, it means that in the business of interpretation we are to leave out of sight the question or fact of inspiration, as

determining what authority we shall concede to the declarations of the book. It is true, that as far as the meaning of words go, we are to interpret Scripture as we do other books; that is, we are to try and understand just what its words mean. But this is a very different thing from the position, that, having ascertained its meaning, we are to judge or decide about its truth or falsity, in the same way that we do what is found in other books. Here is where revelation and inspiration come in with a controlling influence. Yet Mr. Jowett perpetually confounds these two things. Thus—Scripture contains prophecy and records of miracles; we are to interpret the account, the words, according to the laws of language; but are we to explain the miracle and prophecy as matters of fact, just as we would those same records in an uninspired volume? Scripture, say these literal interpreters, cannot (e. g. in prophecy) have a twofold sense; but why may not the same words have a twofold or more application? We are to interpret Scripture by its own genius and character, just as we do other works by their particular genius and character; but what is this genius or character? The real question, which Mr. Jowett perpetually keeps in the shade, is not as to the rules or methods of interpreting language; but is as to the authority of the words, supposing their sense ascertained. And in this point of view the question of inspiration is fundamental, and the fact of inspiration is a guide in interpretation. Mr. Jowett's theory allows him to hold that there are prophecies unfulfilled (Jerem. xxxvi, 30, Is. xxiii, Amos, vii, 10–17); that there "are probably no quotations from the Psalms and prophets" in the Epistles, "that are based on the original sense or context"; that alleged miracles were not really performed; that there are irreconcilable contradictions* in the Gospels; that the Old Testament attributes to God actions at variance with the New; that the personality of the Holy Ghost is figurative; that original sin has its support only in "two figurative expressions of St. Paul." In fact his whole theory as to the origin and character of the Gospels would prevent him from drawing

* He has discovered a discrepancy in the accounts of Matthew and Luke as to the original place of abode of Joseph and Mary (Matth. ii, 1, 22; Luke ii, 4).

final teachings from its reports of our Saviour's words. The result of criticism, he declares, is "that we can no longer speak of three independent witnesses of the Gospel narrative"; we need not try to "reconcile their inconsistencies," all we need do is to put them "alongside of each other" (p. 405). It is in fact, he says, not "easy to say what is the meaning of 'proving a doctrine' from Scripture"; . . "when we balance adverse statements, St. James and St. Paul, the New Testament with the Old—it will be hard to demonstrate from Scripture any complex system either of doctrine or practice" (p. 404). It would be unjust to Mr. Jowett not to add, that in several passages he implies a belief in the divinity, and divine authority of Christ. He says, that "he made the last perfect revelation of God to man" (p. 426); and that "it is one of the highest tasks in which the labor of a life can be spent, to bring the words of Christ a little nearer to the heart of man" (p. 419). But he also says, "that we cannot readily determine how much of the words of *our Lord* or of St. Paul is to be attributed to Oriental modes of speech."

The real intent and inmost sense of this Essay are found in the general position, that all definite creeds are unscriptural; that Scripture does not contain a body of doctrine, but only certain general spiritual or moral truths; that "the distinctions of theology are beginning to fade away"; that "the universal and spiritual aspects of Scripture" are to be taught, "to the exclusion of exaggerated statements of doctrines which seem at variance with morality." The world has been taught no real truth, but only "scholastic distinctions" by the successive theological systems. "It is, perhaps, true that the decision of the Council of Nicæa was the greatest misfortune that ever befel the Christian world: yet a different decision would have been a greater misfortune." All this development has really taught us nothing about the sense of Scripture: we are to cut down the tree, its branches, and its fruit, and recur to the undeveloped germ, where all is embryonic and indistinct. But why do this? Would the world probably not be likely to go through the same process again. How strange this succession of systems, if they all end in

naught. How contrary to the idea of providence; how inconsistent with a belief in the presence of Christ in his church by his Spirit! After eighteen hundred years, all we can do is just to begin again. This seems to be Mr. Jowett's idea; but with his view of Scripture it is utterly unphilosophical and impracticable. On his fundamental principle of a developed and progressive revelation, it is reactionary to the last degree. Neither he nor any one else can thus go backward. We must go forward with the church, or outside of it. We must press through the diversity to a higher unity, which shall not be any less positive, any less doctrinal, any less systematic than what has gone before; but more comprehensive, more complete, more practical. Faith is not to be sacrificed to morals, nor doctrine to life. We cannot do without either. Christ is 'the truth' as well as 'the life.' And if we do not have a rounded and definite system of Christian truth, if it is all to be merged in life or indefinite spiritual truths, the Christian church will inevitably succumb before the progress of philosophy. Systems, in the long run, carry the day. If Christianity cannot be presented as a system of truth, it cannot be so presented as effectually to repel the profoundest infidelity of the age. And this Mr. Jowett does not seem to see or feel at all. And yet he is gliding along in this very current. All his arguments and reasonings against doctrines and against the Scripture are based on the principles of a system which controls him almost unconsciously. If his theories are good, they prove a great deal more than he wants or means to have them prove. He advocates certain principles and methods: and it will not be long before some one will be found to draw the legitimate conclusions. It will not take a long time to see, that the solution of the problems which press upon the age is not to be found by resolving Christian truth into a halo or a fire-mist, into a vague spirituality or an indefinite life. For then it is confronted with two compact and well-defined systems, idealism and materialism (positivism), which are fighting with conscious aim the battle for supremacy, and by which Christianity will be resolved into figure or myth, unless

it can show that it contains the truth of both in a higher, a perfect, an absolute form.

It is not surprising that these Essays and Reviews, avowing such opinions, and based on such principles, should have aroused unusual attention. Their general reception in England is what might have been expected from a people that honors manliness, as one of the cardinal social and public virtues. With scarcely an exception, the leading organs of public opinion have declared against the inconsistency of such views with an honest adherence to the Church of England. And the fact, that these writers seem to think that they can still remain connected with this church shows, that their principles of criticism may have reacted upon their moral sense. Such methods of interpretation as are here applied to the Bible and the Articles will unconsciously enfeeble the judgment. And if these principles obtain a recognised lodgment in that church, its destiny is easily foreseen. It cannot become 'multitudinist'; it will only hasten the inevitable rupture of church and state. Nor do we believe that the English people will be seduced from its loyalty to Christianity by such arguments and principles. The underlying principles are those of extreme idealism, the logical consequences of which are found in the pantheistic theory of the universe. But the English mind is essentially practical and historical. It cannot sublimate facts into ideas: it cannot thrive on abstract truth. It needs only to see the real basis of all this criticism and speculation, to disown its validity. For the same process of destruction and reconstruction here applied to Christian fact and doctrine logically leads to the rejection of all that is supernatural, to the denial of a personal God, of immortality, and even of freedom and distinctive moral obligation. It overturns the whole received system of Christian truth; the shadowy form of Christ, which is still reverenced by some of these writers, only needs a bolder criticism, on the same basis, to be itself resolved into a mythical personage. It also implies and involves the destruction and reconstruction of the state as well as of the church.

The article in the *Westminster Review* presses the matter to

such conclusions. It does indeed represent the defection as more serious and entire than the Essays warrant. It does not make sufficient allowance for the possible unconsciousness of the writers as to the character and results of their principles; but it understands the bearings of these principles themselves, and asks, "how soon will the Hebrew Scriptures take their place upon the bookshelf of the learned, beside the Arabian and Sanskrit poets?" "Of what use can it be to talk of articles and liturgy, or of creeds, to a Protestant church which has been robbed of the written word from which they are all deduced?" It says that, "in their ordinary, if not plain sense, there has been discarded the Word of God — the Creation — the Fall—the Redemption—Justification, Regeneration, and Salvation—Miracles, Inspiration, Prophecy—Heaven and Hell—Eternal Punishment and a Day of Judgment—Creeds, Liturgies, and Articles—the truth of Jewish history and of Gospel narrative—a sense of doubt thrown over even the Incarnation, the Resurrection, and Ascension — the Divinity of the Second Person, and the personality of the Third. It may be that this is a true view of Christianity, but we insist in the name of common sense that it is a new view." It correctly judges that the "very essence of the discussion" is in the question, "not, what is the true theory of revelation, but *what is its true extent?*" Is there a specific, or only a general, revelation or inspiration? If the specific be denied, the argument of the *Westminster Review* is conclusive; if it be maintained, the criticisms of the Essays are undermined. "They are our friends, who have introduced this doctrine of ideology."

Its own general theory is given by the *Westminster Review* in "the conception of development"; this idea, it says, is what has led these authors to write such a book, and this idea, too, it asserts, is dissipating all past faiths, and preparing the race for another religion, "the outgrowth of human thought." "Step by step the notion of evolution by law is transforming the whole field of our knowledge and opinion. . . . Two coördinate ideas pervade the vision of every thinker, physicist or moralist, philosopher or priest. In the physical and the moral world, in the natural and human, are ever seen two forces—

invariable rule and continuous advance; law and action; order and progress; these two powers working harmoniously together, and the result inevitable sequence, orderly movement, irresistible growth." It is in such orderly growth that "we find the one grand analogy through the whole sphere of knowledge." Yet, at the same time, "no rational thinker hopes to discover more than some few primary axioms of law, and some approximating theory of growth. Much is dark and contradictory." But still, the law remains, and sweeps away Christianity, and leaves positive science alone in its stead.

This is the theory of the *Westminster Review*, which it would substitute for the theistic and Christian idea of the universe. And we urge against it the same objection, which it so strongly urges against the Essays and Reviews—it is not fairly and honestly stated in its fundamental principle. We suppose that fundamental principle to be really Comte's theory of positivism, viz.—that materialism is the ultimate philosophical system, and that all we can know is by induction from external phenomena. This is the only theory, which gives consistency to the positions of the Review. Why was it not distinctly avowed? Why does the writer complain of the Oxford men for not being willing to state all they hold, when he himself shows the same reserve? If the theory is not atheistic, it is pantheistic. But neither atheism nor pantheism is distinctly proclaimed. Why not? Again, the 'two ideas' of 'order' and 'progress' explain nothing, give us nothing ultimate: and so the whole theory is a form without substance. Order and law presuppose something, some forms of being, some substances, which are subject to this order and these laws. 'Development' is a word without contents—until we are told *what* it is that is developed; what is the *law* of the development; and *to what* the development leads as its consummation. And yet this philosophical reviewer, on a height of speculation above all the thinkers of the Christian church, presents us with a theory, which is to supersede all the past, and does not tell us a single word about the only points, which could make the theory intelligible. He covers up all the difficulties in such words as 'law,' 'order,' 'progress,' 'development.' Manifestly,

e has got to go through a few more categories, before he can retend to having a system of ultimate truth. What is it, that s developed: is it ultimately, matter or spirit? What are its ws: are they those of the spiritual as well as of the material rorld, or are they only the law of physical sequences? In hat, is the development to issue, in the conquest of nature, or n a kingdom of God? Whence this development? Is its origin o be sought in the blind forces of nature, in unconscious spirit, or in a personal God? If in either of the former—can he tell us, how the rational can be produced by the irrational, wisdom by a blind force, and personality by unconscious spirit? And if the origin of all this development, of all this law and order, is to be sought and found only and ultimately in a conscious, personal intelligence, then all of the reviewer's arguments against supernaturalism, revelation and inspiration, are worthless. For he who believes in a personal God cannot doubt the possibility of revelation, inspiration, incarnation and redemption, in their specific Christian import: he cannot believe that natural law is all, and that supernaturalism is a fiction.

Art. VII.—THE SINAITIC MANUSCRIPT.*

It will be remembered that Tischendorf published a fragment of the Greek Septuagint in the year 1846 from a manuscript obtained in Egypt, to which he gave the name of the "Frederick Augustan Codex," after his royal patron, the King of Saxony, under whose auspices he had made the journey, which issued in its discovery. Having explored the libraries of Paris, England, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy, the bounty of the king, his friend, enabled him to travel into the East to

* Notitia Editionis Codicis Bibliorum Sinaitici Auspiciis Imperatoris Alexandri II. susceptæ. Edidit Ænoth. Frid. Const. Tischendorf, Theol. et Phil. Doctor, etc., Ipsius. F. A. Brockhaus. 1860. Quarto, pp. 124. [This article is taken from *The Eclectic* (London), Dec. 1860.]

prosecute the work of disinterring parchments of the Holy Scriptures, and other works of ancient learning, from the monasteries and tombs in which they had long been buried. The success of our own Tattams and others might well stimulate his zeal, while the fact that he followed in the track of equally learned and industrious antiquarians might in the same degree have abated his hopes of success. The greater part of 1844 was devoted to research in those regions, from which no student returns absolutely empty-handed; although as time rolls on, and the ground is more frequently gone over, less and less remains for learning, aided by curiosity, to glean.

What Tischendorf secured during his sojourn at Sinai, in the monastery of St. Catherine's, was a miscellaneous collection of fragments of old MSS., deposited in a basket, as of no value —incapable of connection, restoration, or use,—waifs saved from the fire to which others had been committed. Amongst them were scraps of a copy of the Septuagint, too small to be cared for by the monks of St. Catherine's, by whom they were easily surrendered to the German *savant*. By him they were naturally prized as of extreme importance from their presumed antiquity, surpassing any thing known in Europe: *quo dubito an quicquam in membranis Græce scriptum extet antiquius.* But larger portions of the same MS., containing the whole of Isaiah and the books of Maccabees, which he was fortunate enough to discover on the same occasion, he could not prevail on his monkish entertainers to part with. Solicitation was vain—so Tischendorf did the next best thing which a disinterested scholar could do, and that was to urge the religious care of the MS. upon his hosts. His hope was that either himself or some other student of sacred learning would yet succeed in becoming its possessor. This much-coveted fragmentary Codex, after many years of waiting, and fancying the while that it must have found its way to Europe by the hands of some more lucky adventurer than himself, Tischendorf has at last succeeded in being the medium of introducing to the critical world. The enterprising critic visited the monastery once again in 1853, determined to transcribe what remained of the Codex, should it still be found deposited within the walls of

St. Catherine's—but to his dismay he could then obtain no tidings of the precious document. This was a terrible disappointment to high expectation, and forced Tischendorf, in his *Monumentorum Sacrorum Ineditorum Nova Collectio*, Vol. I., 1855, to content himself with printing a single page of Isaiah, which he had transcribed on his first journey to Egypt.

It was not to be supposed that a literary resurrectionist, with such a decided vocation for codex-snatching as our author, could rest contented with so unsatisfactory a conclusion of his quest; that pickaxe and mattock would be quietly laid low to rest with a—

Nunc arma. . . . hic paries habebit.

Tischendorf's solicitude for his desiderated *corpus diplomaticum* was too effectually awakened to fall into any siren slumber; and nothing would satisfy his vigilance but an active search. The good-will of the present Emperor of Russia was secured by memorial for his enterprise, so that towards the end of 1858, he was commissioned on the part of his Imperial Majesty to prosecute his researches again in the precincts of Sinai, with a view to the recuperation of the much-longed-for manuscript. No sooner was the edition of his New Testament, with critical apparatus, out of hand—the *Editio Septima Critica Major*—than Tischendorf started again, and reached the scene of his discovery on the 31st of January, 1859. Henceforth, we must describe his proceedings by particular dates, for the story has all the minuteness of a diary and all the interest of a romance. So little success did he meet with to reward his earnest inquiries, that by the 4th of February he had thought of bending his course homeward, and had engaged his horses and camels for the return journey to Cairo on the 7th, when walking with the Providor of the Convent, he spoke with much regret of his ill-success, and of the worth of the MS., of which he exhibited the printed fragments in his works. Returning from their promenade, Tischendorf accompanied the monk to his room, and there had displayed to him what his companion called a copy of the LXX, which he, the ghostly brother, owned. The MS. was wrapped up in a piece of cloth,

and on its being unrolled, to the surprise and delight of the critic, the very document presented itself which he had given up all expectation of seeing, and with it far, far more than he could calculate upon seeing, even in case of success. His object had been to complete a fragmentary Septuagint, but with a good fortune that really falls to the lot of literary explorers in the present day, he alighted upon a copy of the Greek New Testament attached, of the same age as the other, perfectly complete, not wanting a single page or paragraph: *ne minimâ quidem lacunâ deformatum.* This was, indeed, a glorious discovery, an unhoped-for boon, a literary crown to his previous labors that overtopped them all, and would never fade. These precious fragments—for they lay loose and disjointed in a heap, with no cover but a cotton rag—Tischendorf conveyed like stores of gold to his cell from the monk's chamber, who had himself taken them from the apartment of the librarian. In solitude, Tischendorf gloated over his hid treasure, and poured out his thanks to the God of Heaven who had so strangely prospered his journey. Unable to sleep from excess of joy, he sat up the whole night transcribing the Epistle of Barnabas, which was at the end of the New Testament. Next day, it was agreed with the fraternity that as soon as permission could arrive from their superiors at Cairo, the document should be forwarded to that city for the purpose of transcription. Starting on the 7th of February, our German divine reached his destination on the 13th, and there, after the lapse of only eleven days, he received the precious parchments on the 24th.

Within two months afterwards the whole was carefully copied,—comprising more than a hundred thousand of short lines, in which the Codex was written,—partly by the hand of Tischendorf himself, but also partly by the labor of two friends whose tasks he revised, letter by letter. Much additional labor was imposed by the emendations made in the original text of the MS. in nearly eight thousand different places. These, of course, had to be taken note of no less than the unaltered readings, with a view to a really accurate and satisfactory edition of the whole.

After the MS. was copied, the original became of course less

matter of request than before. The monks might take it back, or bestow it where they pleased; but Tischendorf—very judiciously, as we conceive—suggested the propriety of their presenting it to the Emperor Alexander, as a tribute of respect for an eminent professor and ornament of their common faith. This suggestion was unanimously adopted; but as no sufficient authority existed at the time for making the gift absolute, Tischendorf was allowed to take the MS. with him to St. Petersburg, in order with its help to complete a scrupulously accurate edition for the press. On the 28th of September, it was entrusted to his care at Cairo for that purpose, Tischendorf having between the conclusion of the transcription and that date made a protracted tour for literary purposes through Jerusalem, Beyrout, Smyrna, Patmos, and Constantinople. It were merely superfluous to add that wherever he went he met with a courteous reception, and all available assistance from Russian ambassadors and consuls, to whom Tischendorf makes ample and grateful acknowledgments.

In the middle of October our successful traveller left Cairo and reached St. Petersburg in the next month. The manuscripts which were the acquisitions of his journey were submitted to the inspection of the Emperor, by whose command they were opened to the public examination of the curious for a fortnight, especially the Sinaitic Codex, whose fame had been promulgated by native Russian authors some few years before, no less than by the Leipsic professor. With the publication of this latter Tischendorf was charged, in the most speedy and convenient manner possible; but so as to exhibit correctly the ancient handwriting, to be worthy of its Imperial patron, and to meet the just expectations of scholars devoted to the study of the sacred texts.

The method of printing to be pursued is that of our own Codex Alexandrinus, by types cast in the form of uncial letters, —a method rendered the more easy in the present case by the great uniformity observed throughout in the characters of the MS. Smaller letters, indeed, are sometimes found at the end of lines, a remarkably common characteristic of ancient MSS., and these are represented in types of corresponding diminu-

tion; but, besides this, where compound letters or syllables occur, or diphthongal or contracted characters, these have their counterpart in the printed edition, in peculiar types. The ink to be employed, moreover, will bear resemblance to the faded ink of the Codex, and be rather brown than black.

An equal care will be expended on the exhibition of the emendations of the first and second corrector, who are both of a venerable antiquity. These are to appear on the page along with the text; but the corrections by later hands in the shape of erasures, additions, or diacritical signs, will be exhibited and described in the commentary.

A few pages taken here and there from the text will be rendered, by the arts of photography and lithography, so accurately as to leave no information wanting to obtain a correct notion of the appearance of the Codex. It will live before the student's eye.

This Sinaitic manuscript, when it makes its appearance, is intended to occupy three quarto volumes, of which the two earlier will be devoted to the Old Testament, and the remaining one to the New. They are to exhibit the text in four columns on each page, as in the Codex itself, with the poetical books—the Psalms and others—stichometrically arranged in two columns.

The New Testament volume will include the Epistle of Barnabas and that of Hermas—of both of which the Greek originals had hitherto escaped detection.

A fourth volume will follow, dedicated to a comment, critical and palæographical, on the preceding text, together with copious prolegomena, embracing the history of the Codex, its age, its comparison with other fac-simile copies, its text, and a collation with the Vatican, Parisian palimpsest, and the British Codex A. Tischendorf is sanguine enough to hope for the establishment of a fixed and settled Greek text of the New Testament, as the probable result.

The whole four volumes are to appear in St. Petersburg in the middle of the year 1862, and the impression will be limited to three hundred copies. The special reason for fixing this period, and hastening the execution of the work is, that in that

year the Russian empire completes a thousand years of its history, and the publication of this *opus aureum* of Biblical criticism will be considered, amongst others, no unbecoming memorial of a great political event. The copies provided—the complete and fac-simile copies—will not be for sale, but at the disposal of the Emperor, of his free will, to the learned corporations of the world.

The common edition will exhibit the text stichometrically arranged, but in the ordinary Greek type, of which Tischendorf gives a specimen in his *Notitia*, now lying before us. All the other critical apparatus will be as available to the purchasers of this edition as to the favored possessors of the *livre de luxe*. In 1862, the whole New Testament may be expected in a cheap form, from the press of Mr. Brockhaus, of Leipzig. So far for the facts connected with the discovery of this interesting document: and now for a few matters relating to its peculiarities of lection and appearance.

There are only 345 folios and a half of the entire Codex remaining; of which 199 belong to the Old Testament, and 147 and a half to the New, comprising, under this latter title, Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas. The Old Testament portion begins with a leaf containing chapters ix., x., xi. of the First Book of Chronicles. Six folios follow, containing the Book of Tobit, completing the portion wanting in Tischendorf's prior Friderico-Augustan MS. Eight leaves are devoted to Judith, which is perfect. Twenty-six folios contain the entire First and Fourth Books of the Maccabees. The whole of Isaiah fills 26 folios, and six follow, with the earlier chapters of Jeremiah. Nine of the minor prophets are represented here, viz.: Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Habakkuk (spelled αμβακουμ), Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, occupying fourteen leaves. The whole of the poetical works are complete in their stichometrical form, a form so common, on the testimony of Gregory of Nazianzum, Amphilochius, Epiphanius, that these were called the stichometrical books. These are in two columns only; and stand in the following order:—Psalms, 40 leaves; Proverbs, 15; Ecclesiastes, 5; the Song of Solomon, 3; the Wisdom of Solomon, 9; the Wisdom of Sirach, 25; Job, 15.

The New Testament follows Job, and its books stand thus: the Four Gospels; the Epistles of Paul; the Acts of the Apostles; the Catholic Epistles; the Apocalypse of John; the Epistle of Barnabas, with the fragments of Hermas. Like the Vatican MS., the Sinaitic Codex adopts the curt titles for the sacred books, of *κατα μαΘΘαιον, προς ρωμαιους, πραξεις αποστολων, επιστολη ιωαννου.*

Tischendorf claims for the MS. an antiquity reaching back to the fourth century. The singular regularity of the characters is presumed to be proof of its age, inasmuch as it shares this peculiarity in common with the few oldest MS. known; moreover, it does not use initial letters. And it adopts either no system of interpunction at all, or a very defective and irregular one. The orthography of the MS., the order of the books, the simple titles of them, and the absence of the accents, are also pressed in to give testimony to the antiquity of the Codex. The Ammonian chapters and Eusebian Canons are wanting in this copy, as well as in the Vatican, although that before us does not share with the Vatican manuscript in the use of the peculiar divisions observed in the latter. The seeming adoption of the apocryphal works of Barnabas and Hermas, is likewise regarded by Tischendorf as proof of its antiquity; for on the testimony of Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, we know that down to the third century these works were considered as belonging to the canon, while Eusebius admitted them, as *Scriptures of doubtful recognition*, amongst the *ἀντιλεγομενα* in the early part of the fourth century. But toward the close of that century, in the Councils of Laodicea, A.D. 364, and Carthage, 397, these works obtain no place amongst the canonical books. As six folios, moreover, have been lost between Barnabas and a fragment of Hermas, as is ascertained by the quarto foldings, it is presumed that these missing leaves may have contained another of the doubtful books, while at the end of the imperfect Hermas may have followed a fourth. It is open to suggestion, indeed, that the Alexandrian Codex of the British Museum, with its Epistles of Clement at the end, may compete in antiquity with the Sinaitic on this same ground of containing apocryphal books

within its covers; but to this the answer is, that although late in the fourth century Jerome declares that the first Epistle of Clement was publicly read Scripture in some places (*nonnallis vero locis etiam publice legi*), it is certain that the second Epistle never shared that privilege. Some other reason, therefore, than its use in public services must have prompted its addition to Codex A, while the fair presumption, on the other hand, is in favor of the Apocalypse being written at the end of the Sinaitic Codex, while the books of Barnabas and Hermas were still in public repute and use. This is Tischendorf's argument, not ours.

Another mark of presumed antiquity is the absence of the closing verses of the Gospel of Mark, which Eusebius and Jerome alike testify to be wanting in the more accurate copies —the latter saying even more broadly than this—*Omnes Græciæ libros pæne hoc capitulum non habere.* Yet all our known Greek MSS. uncial and cursive alike, with the Itala and Vulgate, the Syriac and Gothic versions, etc. etc., exhibit our full common text, with the exception of the copy before us, and the Vatican codex. The MS., then, which exhibits the Eusebian usage, is probably of the Eusebian age, say before 340.

The words ἐν ἐφεσῳ, moreover, are wanting after τοις οὐσιν in the first verse of the Epistle to the Ephesians; a peculiarity exhibited in the Vatican copy also. The presumption is, therefore, that both these copies exhibit the text of the older Greek Codices of Basil.

In common with most, if not all the older MSS., the Codex Sinaiticus inserts the Ephelkystic ν as readily before a consonant as before a vowel. No discretion appears to have governed its employment, for it is found present and absent in the same verse under all circumstances.

The usual contractions appear, of $\overline{\kappa\nu}$ for κυριον, $\overline{\iota\nu}$ for ιησουν, $\overline{\pi\rho\varsigma}$ for πατρος, $\overline{\pi\nu\varsigma}$ for πνευματος, $\overline{\chi\nu}$ for χριστου, $\overline{ουνων}$ for ουρανων, $\overline{\theta\nu}$ for θεου, $\overline{ανος}$ for ανθρωπος, and so on. These are scarcely worth observing, except that they may help, with other marks, to determine the age of the Codex.

Itacisms are abundant; as, for instance, αι for ε, ασφαλισασθαι

for *ασφαλισασθε*, Matt. xxvii, 65; yet three imperatives end in ε in the same verse, without any change.

A more remarkable instance of the same change appears in xxviii, 5, where *φοβηθηται* for *φοβηθητε* is followed directly afterwards by *ζητειτε*, an imperative in the usual form.

An instance of the converse, in the case of a noun, is exhibited by Mark i, 5, where we read *ιεροσολυμειτε* for *ιεροσολυμιται*; other instances are—*αναβενων* for *αναβαινων*, Mark i, 10; yet *καταβαινων* correct in the same verse; *ζεβεδεου* for *ζεβεδαιου*, Mark i, 19, 20; *απολεσε* for *απολεσαι*, Mark i, 24; *εργαζεσθε* for *εργαζεσθαι*, 2 Thess. iii, 10; *κεσαρα* for *καισαρα*, Acts xxviii, 19; *καταβενον* for *καταβαινον*, James i, 17; *επισκεπτεσθε* for *επισκεπτεσθαι*, James i, 27.

This is the more uncommon itacism, and will therefore justify this allegation of instances.

Ει for ι occurs in *ιεροσολυμειτε*, recently quoted; another case of *ει* for *ι* is shown in *ηγγειεκεν* for *ηγγικεν*, Mark i, 15.

These are both extremely common forms of this peculiarity, and demand no further remark.

But the converse of the latter change, namely, the representation of an original diphthong *ει* by the single iota, is so frequent in the manuscript before us, and that, moreover, in inflections and syllables where a long sound necessarily falls, and renders the absence of the epsilon the more remarkable, that this peculiarity becomes in some sort a characteristic of the MS., and may lead, with other features, to a conjecture concerning its natal soil.

Σισμος for *σεισμος*, Mark xxviii, 2, is common enough to be unworthy of note; *εὐθιας* for *εὐθειας*, Mark i, 3; *βασιλια* for *βασιλεια*, Mark i, 15; but it seems uncommon to encounter *υμις* for *υμεις*, Matt. xxviii, 5; *πορευθισαι* for *πορευθεισαι*, Matt. xxviii, 7; *τηριν* for *τηρειν*, Matt. xxviii, 20; *συνζητιν* for *συνζητειν*, Mark i, 27; *επιτασσι* for *επιτασσει*, *ib.*; and *χιρος* for *χειρος*, Mark i, 31.

The infinitives of verbs in this form are extremely frequent, and remarkably peculiar. We observe in a short space, in addition to those instances above—*λαλιν* for *λαλειν*, Mark i, 34; *μενιν* for *μενειν*, John xxi, 23; *αρεσκιν* for *αρεσκειν*,

Gal. i, 10; *ιδιν* for *ιδειν*, Acts xxviii, 20; *αποθανιν* for *αποθανειν*, Apoc. ix, 6.

We find nothing like this last peculiarity in the Vatican MS., which corresponds to so great a degree with the Codex whose specimens are under review.

Ου for *ω* appears in *κλεψουσιν*, Matt. xxvii, 64; *ω* for *ο*, *ποιησωμεν*, Matt. xxviii, 14; *αυτων*, Gal. i, 1; *λεγων*, Acts xxviii, 26; *ο* for *ω*, *ιασομαι*, Acts xxviii, 27; *ε* appears for *ι* in *ἀλεεις*, Mark i, 17; *ε* for *αι* in *απολεσε*, Mark i, 24; *ζεβεδεου*, Mark i, 19; and *ζεβεδεον*, verse 20; *εργαζεσθε*, 2 Thess. iii, 10; *πεση* for *παιση*, Apoc. ix, 5; *ε* for *α* in *ενεβησαν*, John xxi, 3, if not a various reading; *τεσσαρες*, Apoc. ix, 14; *ε* for *ει*, *πλεον*, John xxi, 15; *υ* for *ι*, *τρυτου* for *τριτου*, 2 Cor. xii, 2.

Without adducing any larger number of special varieties or examples, we may state that we have detected a hundred and thirty-five instances in the course of the few pages devoted to extracts from the New Testament in Tischendorf's specimens.

From pages 23 to 38 of our *Notitia*, the Editor has assigned to an exhibition, in four columns on the page, of a fac-simile distribution of the Old and New Testament texts, in ordinary Greek types. It fairly represents the original, and is without accents and stops. The extracts are miscellaneous, and not consecutive; the Old embracing scraps from Tobit, Judith, and Maccabees of the Apocrypha; Isaiah, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon; the New, from page 30 to 38, having extracts from Matthew, Mark, John, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, 2 Thessalonians, Hebrews, Acts, James, and Apocalypse. Since in the New Testament as many as ten authors are presented on eight pages, it must be evident to every reader that the extracts are short.

The readings of this manuscript will go to confirm many which appear in the Vatican and the oldest known MSS.; but at the same time the Codex Sinaiticus differs considerably from the Vatican Codex, especially in the greater correctness of its scribe. Some thousands of various readings in Codex B must be ascribed to sheer carelessness or incompetence in the original writer, and have no critical value whatsoever.

In our collation, for instance, of Codex B, in Mark i, 1–35,

with the Elzevir of 1624, we find ninety-one variations from that text; many of these mere lapses of the pen, and some—alas! that we should have to say it—provoking and unpardonable misprints of Mai's edition. In the same verses in Codex ℵ, for so Tischendorf marks this great discovery—we meet with eighty-four variations. This does not seem a great discrepancy in number, but the difference between their differences from the common standard of comparison is remarkable. For instance, in the first verse, B inserts *υἱου θεου*, which Cod. Sin. omits. B omits *ἐγω*, which Cod. Sin. inserts in verse 2. B omits *και* before *κηρυσσων*, which Cod. Sin. exhibits, and again before *ἐγενετο* (9). There is a great difference in verse 10, Tischendorf reading *καταβαινον και μενον ἐπ' αὐτον*, B *καταβαινον εἰς αὐτον*. At the beginning of verse 14, the *Notitia* reads with 1624, *μεταδε*, instead of *και*, with B; and in verse 18, *ἠκολουθησαν* instead of B, *ἠκολουθουν*; it further contains *εκαθεν* (19), which B excludes; it has *σοι* (24) for the incorrect *σν* of B; it includes *το πνευμα* before *το ακαθαρτον*, which B omits, probably from homœoteleuton. Tischendorf's MS. reads again, in verse 28, *ἡ ἀκοηαὐτου εις ὁλην*, whereas B reads *ἡ ακοη αὐτου εὐθυς πανταχου*; it further puts *της ιουδαιας* of the same verse for *της γαλιλαιας* of Codex B. Further, in verse 29, it reads with the Textus Receptus *ἐξελθοντες ἠλθον*, but B changes the number into *ἐξελθων ἠλθεν*; it reads *ἐδυ* with the T. R. for *ἐδυσεν* of B (32). From *κακως ἐχοντας* of 32 to the same words (33), a long omission (homœoteleuton)—supplied indeed by a corrector in the lower margin—takes place in Tischendorf's Codex which does not occur in B; in 34 it does not exhibit the transposition which B makes of the words *λαλειν ταδαιμονια*; and finally, with the T. R., it does not admit the supplement or gloss of 34, in B, *χριστον ειναι*.

The Vatican and Sinaitic MSS. agree in reading *τω ἡσαια τω προφητη* in verse 1; in omitting *ἐμπροσθεν σου*, verse 2; both observe the same double transposition in verse 5, as well as another transposition in verse 9; both read *σοι* instead of *σε*, verse 11; both omit *εκει* in verse 13, and transpose *ἡμερας τεσσαρακοντα*; both agree in omitting *της βασιλειας* in 14; both read *και παραγων* for *περιπατων δε*, 16; both read *σιμωνος ἀμφι-*

βαλλοντας in the same verse, instead of *ἀυτου ἀμφιβαλλοντας ἀμφιβληστρον*; both omit *ἀυτων* after *δικτυα*, verse 18; both agree in the exclusion of the exclamation *εα*, but the corrector of Tischendorf's MS. supplies it in the margin (24), and in reading *φωνησαν* before *φωνη μεγαλη*, 26; both agree in the reading *διδαχη καινη κατ' ἐξουσιαν* (27), one of the most characteristic in the whole chapter; both omit *αὐτης* after *χειρος*, and *ὠδως* after *πυρετος* (31). These be it remembered, belong to a portion only of a single chapter.

On the whole, however, we may venture to say that the MSS. exhibit the same general type, and correspond more closely with each other, than either of these old uncials would be found to do with any modern cursive.

We doubt the extreme age of either, and by no means acquiesce in the claim put forward by Tischendorf for the prime antiquity of Sinaitic Codex. Its tattered condition insensibly biasses the judgment of the critic, and leads him to ascribe to venerable rags an age which he denies to a well-preserved family wardrobe, which may owe its better condition not to fewer years, but to greater care in keeping. The Vatican Codex has for centuries been in safe hands, which have at least preserved the sleekness of its skin, although they may have shrunk from acquaintance with its inner structure; whereas the ignorant and apathetic monks of the desert handed their unvalued treasure over without concern to the custody of the lamp closet, or the fretting moth. If we look at the written characters of the two MSS., the small folios of the Roman Code, and the longer leaf of the Arabian one, we shall find the former more minute, rude, and imperfect. In elegance of the form of the letters, the preëminence is easily claimed for Tischendorf's great discovery. In all likelihood there is no great difference between the ages of the respective documents, probably not so much as one hundred years.

The testimony of this manuscript will be appealed to, in order to decide the conflicting claims of certain long-disputed passages in the New Testament. While we cannot speak for the entire text, until we see a consecutive whole, we are enabled to specify a few of its readings, wherein, with the authority of an oracle, it seems to settle controversy, the entire t[illegible]

dency of modern investigation leading in the same direction. For instance, it excludes the doxology at the close of the Lord's Prayer, Matt. vi, 13.

The Gospel of Mark ends with the 8th verse of the xvith chapter, cancelling or ignoring the twelve verses which follow in our revised text. We should be glad to know whether a blank page, or portion of a page at this place, indicates a knowledge on the part of the transcriber of the existence of those additional verses, and a critical care in their exclusion. It would seem to be so in Codex B.

It omits the whole narrative of the woman taken in adultery, John viii, 1, 2.

In the Epistle to the Ephesians the words ἐν εφεσῳ, about which there has been much controversy, are wanting.

In 1 Timothy iii, 16, the reading of the newly-discovered Codex is, ὁς εφανερωθη—"*Who* was manifested in the flesh," not "*God*." But a corrector, whom Tischendorf places as late as the twelfth century, has inserted the word "God,' yet so carefully as to leave the original text intact. Without prejudice, we trust we may say that we are not satisfied with this reading, ὁς, *who*. The contracted Θεος presents the same word essentially with the addition of the cross bar above, $\overline{\text{ΟΣ}}$ and the tittle in the letter Theta, so that the one could be easily mistaken for the other by an ignorant or hasty scribe. And the evil would not rest with the single copy, as in a printed book, but every copy or translation made from it would spread and perpetuate the evil. The sense requires Θεος; and even if the word itself were not used, the signification of the passage implies it. If it be replied that it is an emendation of some theologian, our answer is that it is one of the most happy in the world. Bentley, in his most felicitous mood of conjecture, never imagined any thing half so neat, complete, and exigent, as this change. If it is a forgery, he must have been a singularly clever suppositor who first drew his pen over the relative pronoun of the text, and made that a direct statement which before was only a clear implication. According to our idea, the internal evidence of the passage is so strongly in favor of the common reading, that no amount of external evidence can displace it.

In Acts xx, 28, the common reading is confirmed *την εκκλησιαν του θεου* "to feed the Church of God, which He hath purchased with his own blood."

And in the celebrated passage of the Heavenly witnesses, 1 John v, 7, we have the evidence of this, as of all other trustworthy Greek manuscripts, that the lection is spurious. This last discovery seems to give the *coup de grace* to a forgery that has imposed upon countless generations of men, and has drawn down on the head of many a blameless and orthodox critic the vials of sectarian wrath, as though to dispute the passage were to deny the faith. Yet the triple testimony of the context—"the spirit, and the water, and the blood"—constitutes so perfect and beautiful a witnessing to the Messiahship of the Son of God, that we need no importation into the passage of any other witnessing—the proposed interpolation only marring the connection of the apostle's reasoning, and spoiling what it attempts to mend.

With a most praiseworthy liberality of citation, Tischendorf has presented the readers of the *Notitia* with a collection of some four hundred readings out of the Gospels in his Codex. Of these more than one half agree with his own previously-printed New Testament, and rather less differ from it. On what principle he made his selection of passages we cannot say: some of them have long been matters of controversy and general interest; but the majority have no special value.

From Matt. x, 41, he quotes *λημψεται* with the letter Mu, for *ληψεται*, the usual mode of spelling the word, and, after Hug, gives it an importance which by no means belongs to that orthography. It has been abundantly shown, since Hug's time, that this orthography is common, and has nothing in it distinctive of Egypt or of any other region of the Greek-speaking world.

On the subject of orthography in general, we may observe that little can be built thereon in determining either the age or the native country of a manuscript, except where it may exhibit a distinctly pronounced dialectic peculiarity. Many of Tischendorf's printed readings in his texts, after Lachmann, consist solely in an adherence to an antiquated and fluctuating mode of spelling. In this feature, as well as in observation of

grammatical forms and syntactic concords, there are gr
curacies and perpetual variations in these old record
cumstance not to be wondered at when we bear in n
class from whom the scriveners were usually taken
scribes but ill-trained scholars. Several peculiarities o
sion retained in our common texts of the Apocalypse a
able to the same origin—the ignorance, hurry, or n
the transcriber, and not necessarily the fault of the
author. Of laches of this sort our MS., in common wi
other, abounds: Ex. 9. Apoc. ix, 7, *ὁμοιωματα* . . .
Apoc. ix, 13. *φωνην* . . . *λεγοντα*: Apoc. ix, 1
. . . *ἐχουσας*. We have many instances besides marke
book and others, but revert to a single sample from
pels: Mark xviii, 14. *βδελυγμα* . . . *ἑστηκοτα*.
mind it indicates a serious want of judgment to att
give currency and perpetuity to such gross mistakes
as parts of a standard text of the Greek Testament, e
since their weight is counterbalanced by correct spell
faultless concords in the same MS. on similar occasi
with the same words. We embalm, as it were, sordid
the amber of permanent imprints when we reprodu
mistakes as the deliberate records of competent scril
in a sense, as the utterance of inspiration. In the cas
similes such a course is obvious and correct—every
tittle of the MS. claiming presentation to the reader's
John iv, 7, Tischendorf's own Testament reads *πειν*
to drink—a mere peculiarity, and possibly a blunde
scribe; but in 1 Cor. ix, 4, *πιειν*. We may expect to s
his next edition, for such is the curious spelling of th
Sinaiticus, with a few others. Tischendorf's blind ad
to novelties of this unimportant kind, and slavish, b
unequal submission to the testimonies of the older unc
(adopting many readings, on the sole authority of C
rob his texts of much of the weight they would otherwi
with discriminating scholars. It would puzzle the
professor himself to specify the advantage we gain fr
ing *πειν* for *πιειν*, in the text referred to, when Hero
tinctly declares that it was incorrect to pronounce the
a monosyllable, even the ruder ancients never havi

tenanced such an abuse; and gaining no assurance, amid the conflicting testimony of MSS. that such was the word used in the autograph of the Apostle John. This, with sundry other peculiarities, is not to be commended in the learned and indefatigable author of our present *Notitia*.

We should do him an injustice, however, if we did not, ere we close, describe in one short paragraph some other contents of this interesting quarto pamphlet. His journey was productive of a fertile harvest of more or less value in the shape of fragments of Greek palimpsests, Greek Uncial MSS., Greek cursives, Syrian and Coptic religious works, Hebrew MSS., Samaritan, Slavonic, Abyssinian, Armenian, and a few antiquities of a miscellaneous kind. He has thus succeeded in rescuing from possible destruction some portions of works, the very dilapidated state of which would precipitate their fate by rendering their custodians careless. A small library of antique documents of priceless worth has rewarded his researches, and of these the most important will be placed in our hands by the medium of the press as occasion and leisure shall serve. Amongst other matters contained in the *Notitia*, in a detail of some fifty pages, we find the commentary of Origen on the Book of Proverbs in Greek, to the text of which Tischendorf appends notes that impugn the correctness of Mai's edition in hundreds of readings. Speaking of Mai's book, he describes some of the blemishes of the text as of prodigious faultiness—*quæ ex miro errore fluxisse dicas.* His own edition is of surpassing interest—full of Scripture quotations, and marked by all the peculiarities of Origen as a commentator.

But the main topic of interest is the disinterred Codex itself, which possesses the unique distinction of being *the only copy of the New Testament in Uncial characters which is complete.* A wants the greater part of Matthew, besides sundry leaves here and there. B wants half the Hebrews and the Apocalypse. C is only a collection of fragments; while D contains no more than the Gospels and Acts. We need go no further—for the Codices nearest to completeness are A and B. ℵ, on the contrary, is perfect from beginning to end, and being the gift to the Christian Church of an Arabian monastery at the foot of Sinai, presents us with the singular fact that three thou-

sand years after the giving of the Law, from the same spot issues the only perfect copy of the writings of the New Covenant which has survived in its peculiar type to our own times. It is a fresh illustration of the contrast, exhibited in the text of St. John, "The law came by Moses, but grace and truth by Jesus Christ."

It proclaims, moreover, the only use which monasteries and convents have ever subserved, namely, the preservation of manuscript books. On the invention of printing, hundreds of thousands of parchments found their way to the bookbinder as the most proper material for his handicraft. In the presence of the newly-gained faculty of easily and marvellously multiplying printed books, written books became of no value, and were sold to mechanics for the purposes of their trade. Those only that lay hid in monasteries escaped the ravages of the spoiler; and a kind Providence has thus overruled an essentially bad and unchristian institution to good ends. We never knew any other advantage that monkery has brought to the world or the churches, while it has been the parent of a thousand ills—its worst, perhaps, being the representation that spiritual religion is incompatible with common life. Yet, what were Christianity if it were not a blessing and a consecration for the market and counting-house, the factory and the domestic fireside?

We have but a word to add, and that is this: that critics have been building up a satisfactory text of the Greek New Testament by industrious research and careful collection for the last three hundred years. Every fresh discovery of MSS. has corrected some things, and added and taken away others; but all, like the present magnificent Codex, confirm the essential integrity of the text now in current use. They shake no doctrine; they scarcely affect a single important word, and leave the impression upon the most studious and sagacious minds—those that have most closely sifted the matter, and possessed the rarest qualifications for a correct decision—that the ordinary Greek Testaments, from Erasmus downwards, make no extravagant claim upon our fullest confidence when they demand to be considered adequate representations of "the true sayings of God."

Theological and Literary Intelligence.

GERMANY.

The Necrology of Germany is increased by several illustrious names. Baron Bunsen died Nov. 28. Heinrich von Schubert is lately deceased. Prof. Baur, of Tübingen, died Dec. 2. Jost, the historian of the Jews, living at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, is also recently deceased. Duke Paul of Wurtemberg was buried Nov. 29 in Stuttgart. Prof. Dahlmann died Nov. 28. He was one of the leaders in the revolution of 1848, of the same party with Arndt, the brothers Grimm, Gagern, and others, who formed the moderate portion of the Frankfort Parliament. He was a member of the deputation which offered the Imperial Crown to the King of Prussia; and afterwards, when banished from Hanover, he received an appointment as Professor in Bonn.

Prof. Baur, of Tübingen, was born June 21, 1792; became Professor in Tübingen in 1826. At first a follower of Schleiermacher, in his later writings he adopted the principles of the Hegelian system. Notwithstanding the destructive character of his criticism, his last words are said to have been a prayer: "Lord, grant me a peaceful end!" (Herr, gewähre mir ein sanftes Ende.) He was smitten with apoplexy, July 18, and again November 29. His writings are among the ablest in the modern German theology, equally distinguished for research and criticism. He published on the Manichean System, 1831; on Apollonius of Tyana, 1832; on Socrates and Christ (a criticism of Ackermann's work on Plato), 1837; Christian Gnosis, 1835; Catholicism and Protestantism, in reply to Möhler, 1836; History of the Atonement, 1838; History of the Trinity, 3 vols. 1843–5; Paul, 1845; the Evangelists, 1847; History of Doctrines, 1847, 2d ed. 1858; Christianity in the First Three Centuries, 1853, 2d ed. 1860; Epochs of Christian Historiography, 1852; Christianity in 4th and 5th Centuries, 1859; besides numerous articles in the Tübingen Theological Journal (now the Journal for Scientific Theology) and other periodicals. He was the head of the Tübingen school, now so well known; Schwegler and Zeller were among his chief disciples. His chief aim was, by criticism to reconstruct the early history of Christianity, in accordance with the law of a gradual development.

Christian Karl Josias Bunsen was born in August, 1791, at Corbach, in the German principality of Waldeck. He was educated principally at Göttingen, where he commenced his career in 1811, as a teacher in a gymnasium. In 1816, he visited Paris, and soon after went to Rome, where he married the daughter of an English clergyman, and became private secre-

tary to Niebuhr, who was then Russian Minister at the Papal cou
1827, on the resignation of the latter, he succeeded to his diplomati
tion. This post he resigned in 1837, and the year after became P
Minister to the Swiss Confederation. In 1841, he was promoted to t
bassadorship to England, filling this high official position till 1853.
1853, Bunsen has lived in Heidelberg and Bonn, engaged in litera
theological labors.

His earlier works were upon Christian Hymnology, and Roman A
ties. His Hippolytus and his Times (Beginnings of Christianity an
kind), Egypt's Place in History, God in History, and Bible-Work, ar
uments of his vast learning and enthusiasm. He requested that Mr
of the British Museum, and Dr. Brandis, of Bonn, might take charge
new edition of his work on Egypt. The English translator of that wo
Cottrel, died only a few weeks since.

Of his last moments the following incidents are reported by M. de
sensé: He "spoke of his wife in the most tender and endearing term
ing, with noble majesty of thought, that 'in her he had loved the E
(*In dir liebte ich das Ewige*). He then gave his parting blessing
children one by one. After this, raising his voice, he prayed: '(
bless my dear friends and my dear native land. May God's blessing
Italy and Italian liberty.' He prayed in succession for Prussia, Ger
and England: finally for the regeneration of the world. One of h
utterances was a grateful recognition of his obligations to Niebuhr, '
will be remembered, had first introduced him into public business, an
had remained his faithful friend through life. He then turned to a s
who had waited on him with tender care and affection, and thanke
cordially. Those recognitions over, he spoke of himself and his care
feelings and his hopes.

"'In spite of all my failings and my imperfections, I have desired,
sought, what is noble here below. But my richest experience is the
known Jesus Christ. I leave the world without hatred to any one.
no hatred; hatred is a cursed thing. Oh! how good it is to conte
life from this elevation. Now we see how obscure a thing our existe
earth has been. Up, up — it does not become darker, but ever br
brighter! I am now in the kingdom of God. Hitherto it has only
presentiment. O my God! how beautiful are thy tabernacles!'

"As his attention was directed to a brilliant sunset, 'Yes,' said he, i
lish, 'that is beautiful, the love of God is in every thing.' 'May Go
you forever,' he added in French. 'Let us depart in Jesus Christ.'
in German: 'God is life and love, the love that wills, the will that
Afterwards in Latin: '*Christus recognoscitur victor, Christus est, est C
victor.*' He proceeded: 'For him to be is to conquer. There is no d
God. I see Christ, and I see God through Christ. Christ sees
creates us, he must become all in all. I desire nothing theatrical,
wish to say a few words in the midst of my children and friends.
going to die, and I long to die. I desire to be remembered to ever
man, and I beg him to remember me with good will. I offer my bl
the blessing of an old man, to any one that desires it. I die at peac
all the world. Those who live in Christ, who live loving him, they s
Those who do not live his life do not belong to him, whatever may
name by which they are called, or the confession of faith which the
To belong to a church or a denomination is nothing. I see clearly t
are all sinners. We have only Christ in God. We exist only in
tion as we are in God: we are all sinners, but we live in God and w
eternal life. We have lived this eternal life in proportion as we hav

n God. All the rest is nothing. Christ is the Son of God, and we are his hildren only when the spirit of love that was in Christ is in us.'"

Von Wessenberg-Ampringen, one of the most distinguished and learned f the liberal Roman Catholic divines, died in Constance, Aug. 9, 1860. He as born Nov. 2, 1777: from 1817 to 1827 he administered the diocese of Constance, and came into conflict with the Roman curia. He was a prolific author. Besides many practical works, he wrote on the German Church, 1816; the Sermon on the Mount, 1820 (5th ed. 1846); Athens in the Times f Pericles, 2d ed. 1828; on the Lord's Supper, 2d ed. 1845; on the Moral Influence of the Theatre (1825), and of Romances (1826); on Fanaticism, 2d ed. 1848; Reform of German Universities, 1833; 7 volumes of Poems; he Parables of Christ, 2d ed. 1845; the Great Councils of the 15th and 16th century—a standard work, 4 vols. 1845; God and the World, or the Relation of all things to each other and God, 2 vols. 1857. He was universally esteemed for uprightness and amenity of character.

Prof. J. G. Kosegarten, of Greifswald, a distinguished philologist, died Aug. 18, 1860. He translated several Sanskrit and Persian works; wrote on the Egyptian Papyri; Arabic Chrestomathy, 1827; History of Univ. of Greifswald, 2 vols. 1856. Prof. Lobeck, of Königsberg, died Aug. 25. His chief work was Aglaophamus, s. de Theologiæ mysticæ Græcorum Causis, 2 vols. 1839.

Dr. Joh. Ant. Theiner died at Breslau, Sept. 29. He was Professor in the Catholic Theological Faculty there, 1824–30. He was one of the leaders in the movement in Silesia, about 20 years since, for the reform of the Roman Catholic Church, and was excommunicated in 1845. He wrote on Divorce, 1834; on the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, 1826; on the Defects of the Catholic Church in Silesia, 2 vols. 1827–30; on forced Celibacy (with his brother), 2 vols. 1828–9; on Reforms in the Catholic Church, 1846; besides some exegetical works. His brother, Augustine, is now engaged in literary labors in Rome.

John George Krabinger, librarian in Munich, died in May of the last year. He was well known by his editions of patristic writings; on Synesius of Cyrene, 1825–35; Gregory of Nyssa, 1835–40; Bernard of Clairvaux, 1842; several of Cyprian's treatises, etc.

Tischendorf is the most indefatigable explorer and editor of manuscripts. He has not only in hand the editing of the Sinaitic MS., but has just issued proposals for the publication (by Hinrichs, of Leipsic) of a new volume of his Monumenta Sacra Inedita: Nova Collectio. The subscription price is 6 Thalers, or 384 francs: 16 Thalers the vol. Among the subscribers are many of the monarchs, and a large number of the public libraries, of Europe. The 1st vol. issued in 1855, contained, Fragmenta Sacra Palimpsesta, of both the Old and New Test. from 5 Greek palimpsest MSS. lately discovered in the East; with Fragments of the Psalms and Evangelists. The 2d vol. 1857, Fragments of Luke and Genesis, from 3 Greek codices of the 5th and 6th centuries, and a palimpsest from Libya; also extracts on other parts of the Bible from 6 MSS. The 3d volume, now to be issued, contains, Fragments of the Octateuch edition of Origen, etc. The 4th vol. is in press: Psalterium Turicense Purpureum, fragments of the Psalter and Hymns from MS. of the 7th century, in gold and silver letters. The 5th volume will contain, Reliquiæ Textus Sacri Utriusque, from 2 palimpsest and other codices; with an Appendix containing the Laudian Codex of the Acts of the Apostles, in Greek and Latin, from a Greek MS. of the sixth century, and from Hearne's edition of this codex in 1715. The whole is promised for 1863 or 1864.

The *Theologische Quartalschrift*, Heft 4, 1860, contains a long essay by

Teipel on Christ's Descent to Hades, in vindication of the Roman Catholic doctrine, against recent Protestant objections; an interpretation of Balaam's Prophecy, Numb. xxiv, 14–20, by Prof. Himpel; and reviews of several new works.

Niedner's *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, Heft i, 1861, is wholly taken up with an article by Prof. Friedrich Uhlmann, of Berlin, on the Persecutions of Christians in Persia under the Dominion of the Sassanides in the fourth and fifth centuries. The narrative is based upon two Syriac documents, published by Asseman in Rome, 1748, in his Acta Martyrum Orientalium et Occidentalium. The chief work is ascribed to Bishop Maruthas, of Tagrit, about A.D. 420.

Piper's *Evangelischer Kalender*, 1861, completes its 12th year. It has furnished 259 sketches of the lives of the great and good men of the Church in all ages; it intends to have 365. Most of these are written by well known divines. In the current volume we have Chrysostom, by Krummacher; Columba, by Bouterwek; Myconius, by Petersen; Seb. Bach, by Krüger; Olevianus, by Cosach. Tholuck contributes an account of the Crucifixion; and the editor has essays on Adam's Grave, on Golgotha, and on the Journeys of Fathers of the Church.

The life of Monica, Augustine's saintly mother, by Barthel, appears in a new edition; it is highly spoken of. She died in 388. In 1430 Pope Martin V. had her bones transferred to Rome.

A work on the great Hebrew scholar, John Buxtorf, the elder, who died 1629, has been published by Dr. Buxtorf-Falkeisen, consisting of his Correspondence. Much of it is new. It contains letters of Casaubon, Cappel, de Dieu, Erpen, Heinsius, Mornay-Plessis and others. Among other things it is related that in his zeal for Hebrew studies, Buxtorf took, with the consent of the Town Council, a Jew, his wife and child, into his house; and that, for attending the rite of circumcision, he was fined 100 florins.

The *Zeitschrift f. wissenschaftliche Theologie*, Tübingen, 1860, Heft 4, contains, 1. A. Hilgenfeld, on the Jewish Apocalyptic Literature, and the latest Investigations about it. 2. E. Kinssman, The most recent Criticisms on the Text of Tertullian—a second article against Oehler, concluding with the statement that "the criticism of Tertullian's text is yet in its swaddling-clothes"; and a short note of Böhmer, replying to Ewald's accusation, that he spoke too favorably of the Roman Catholic Church. Hilgenfeld's article is learned and able, aiming to show, that in the apocalyptic literature just preceding the time of Christ, there are foreshadowings of those expectations about a deliverer, lowly yet victorious, which were realized in Christ. The object is kindred with the general tendency of the Tübingen school, and the criticism is often arbitrary; but yet the essay also contains illustrations of the "unconscious prophecies" which were fulfilled only in Jesus of Nazareth.

The *Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theologie*, Heft 4, 1860, sustains the high position this periodical has acquired for able and learned investigation. The first article, by Prof. Dr. Ritschl, of Bonn, is upon the Ideas of the Satisfaction and Merits of Christ—a review of the history of opinions, from the time of Anselm, and a criticism upon the terms, as inadequate to express the full import of the doctrine of Redemption. Dr. Ehrenfeuchter develops, in a scientific order, the Idea of a History of the Life of the Church, as a part of practical theology. The third essay, by Prof. Diestel, of Bonn, is upon the Monotheism of the most ancient Heathenism, especially among the Semitic nations, reviewing the literature of the subject, as well as unfolding the facts of history. The last article, by Dr. Zöckler, of Göttingen, is upon the most recent speculations in Natural Theology in England, compared with

r German works; examining some of the views of the Vestiges, of ewell, Lyell, Hugh Miller, Pye Smith, Forbes, etc. In the course of it, author corrects Delitzsch for having said that "Pye Smith was a North erican."

he *Studien und Kritiken*, Heft 1, 1861, contains, Hupfeld on Biblical roduction; Weiss on the Origin of the Synoptical Gospels; Ritschl on Antinomians referred to in Jude; Camphausen on Genesis iv; and re- ws of Lücke's John, by Wieseler, and of Gass's History of Protestant ology, by Kling.

he *Zeitschrift f. d. exacte Philosophie*, Parts 1, 2, and 3, 1860, is under management of the Herbart school, the sharpest enemy of the modern man idealism. It is conducted with ability. In all the numbers ed, E. A. Thilo discusses, in three articles, the Fundamental Errors of alism in its Development from Kant to Hegel—in a critical rather than torical spirit. F. H. T. Allihu has a good sketch of the life of Herbart, a full list of his works, and of all the books and articles referring to his tem. The same author has an article on Herbart's Reform of Meta- sics, an historical and critical introduction, followed by a statement of bart's metaphysical principles, by Dr. Cornelius, in the third *Heft*. T. its reviews Drossbach's work on the Genesis of Consciousness, on the nciples of the Atomistic Philosophy.

tlantic Studies by Germans in America, is the title of a work published eipsic, which has already extended to 8 vols., in which Germans living e present their views about us and themselves. Among them are articles Dr. de Sollinger, maintaining the position, that the German nationality is to be absorbed in the American; an account of German authors in erica, of our School system, of the Shakers, of Art in America, etc.

he *Theologische Zeitschrift* is a new periodical in its form (appearing every two months), but in fact a continuation of the Kirchliche Zeit- rift. It is edited by Dieckhoff and Kliefoth, and advocates the high Lu- an positions in an earnest and able way. Among the most valuable cles contained in its successive parts to Oct. 1860, are a full and thorough ussion of Augustine's Doctrine of Grace, by Dieckhoff; Luther's Rela- to Absolute Predestination, by Philippi, maintaining a change in his ws after 1525; System and Scripture in reference to Hofmann's Bible- of, by Dieckhoff; Luther's Doctrine of Grace, 1st article; the Biblical ount of Creation and Geological Hypotheses, by Prof. Keil; the Strug- of the Lutheran Church in Prussia, by Dr. Reich; reviews of the most nt works in the different departments of theology; and a series of ches of ecclesiastical matters in the United States of America, by A. er, Pastor in Hanover. The latter judges all our movements by com- ison with the stable order of Lutheran doctrine and practice, as found in old world. Some of the descriptions are animated; but the point of w is too remote, and the knowledge of the author is too superficial.

a new literary journal, of original design, is just commenced at Gotha, many. It is entitled "English theological Criticisms and Researches," its object is to make English theological writings understood and appre- ed in Germany. The editor, Dr. Heidenheim, says, rightly, that hitherto literary commerce of this kind has been very one-sided in favor of Ger- y, but that, independently of older scholars, in the writings of men like rd, Conybeare, Trench, Stanley, Jowett, etc., German authors will find light of classical culture and genius illuminating and testing their own ories, and trying them by the standard of English common sense. Orig- researches by the editor, a distinguished Samaritan scholar, in the ori-

ental MS. treasures of the British Museum, will also form a feature of e number's contents.

Prof. Druman, of Koenigsberg, has published a work on the "Mechan and Communists in Greece and Rome." His intention is not to give a h tory of the trades, of commerce, of arts and sciences, but to sketch, fr the stand-point of classic antiquity, the condition and life of the Greek a Roman mechanics and tradesmen, and to review all the appearances of co munism in both countries.

F. C. Schwarz, on the Origin of Mythology, has special reference to t Greek and German myths. The author follows up the view of Ja Grimm, that we must expect to find in the Mythologies the crude beginnin of a national religious faith, and that the old pagans regarded their deit as "beings living in nature and manifesting themselves in various natu phenomena."

A selection of English and American poems, German translation, has b published by G. Pertz. They are arranged chronologically. England represented by Shakspeare, Goldsmith, Burns, Wordsworth, Walter Sc Coleridge, Thomas Moore, Byron, Felicia Hemans, Hood, Tennyson, a many others; but of Americans there are only three—Bryant, Longfell and Poe.

Burmeister, long known as a successful South American explorer, is pu lishing, in the two leading geographical journals of Germany, an account his travels in the La Plata region, and of a journey from Rosario, across t Cordilleras to Copiapo, in Chili. He returned to Germany, by way of t Isthmus of Panama, in May last, and the results of his long sojourn the southern division of our continent, will be embodied in a work entit "The Physical Geography of the Argentine Confederacy."

Among the curious books, characteristic of German research, is a Hist of Riddles and Enigmas, by J. B. Friedrich. published at Dresden. It c tains the best examples from all periods of literature, and a philosophi examination of the relation of riddles to proverbs, epigrams, etc. The sel tions are from Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Greek, Latin, French, Engli Italian, Scandinavian, and German sources.

The second volume of Edward Von Wietersheim's History of the Mig tion of the Nations, has been published by Weigel, Leipsic. It embra the period from Marcus Aurelius to Valerian, A.D. 161–268. The aut contests Grimm's theory of the identity of the German Goths and the Th cian Getæ, examining the testimony of Cassiodorus and Jornandez. T conflicts of the Emperors with the Alemanni, Goths, etc., are fully narrat The work is a valuable addition to historical literature.

Professor J. A. B. Lutterbeck, of Giessen, a member of the Roman Ca olic theological Faculty, and author of a valuable work on the Doctri System of the New Testament (2 vols. 1832), has lately published a Histo of the Catholic Faculty of that University, in which he says, that a Cath theology now hardly exists. The work has drawn upon him the rebuke Bishop Von Ketteler, of Mayence. The history of this Theological Facu is instructive. It was established in 1830, but constantly opposed by t Popes. Leo XII. issued a bull against the project in 1827. In 1848 it h 84 students, with such professors as Kuhn, Scharpff, and Lutterbeck. T growing ultramontane influence has finally procured its suppression. A f account of it is contained in the *Deutsche Zeitschrift*, Nov. 10, 1860.

The works of R. Spence Hardy on Eastern Monachism, 1860, and Manu of Buddhism, 1860, are reviewed with high commendation in Gersdor Repertorium, Oct. 1860.

Theology. The late Prof. F. Bleek's (of Bonn) Lectures on the Introdu

tion to the Bible, edited by J. F. Bleek and A. Kamphausen, are to be published by Reimer, Berlin. The first vol. on the Old Testament is issued. The second part of Delitzsch on the Psalms. G. Volkmar, Introduction to Apocrypha; 1. Judith. H. Heppe, The Dogmatic System of the Reformed Church. Calvin's Life and Writings, by Stähelin, vol. 1 in Hagenbach's series on the Fathers of the Reformed Church. C. K. Mayer, The Messianic Prophecies of Isaiah. V. von Strauss, Polycarp. A. Tholuck, The Prophets and their Prophecies.

Philosophy. The fifth, revised edition of Chalybäus, Speculative Philosophy from Kant to Hegel. W. Kaulisch, The Speculative System of Joh. Scotus Erigena, Prague. A. Peip, Jacob Böhme the Forerunner of Christian Science. C. A. Brandis, Aristotle and his immediate Followers (Part 3 of his Hand-Book of Greek and Roman Philosophy). Dr. Gerkrath, Francis Sanchez, as illustrating the Philosophic Movement at the Beginning of Modern Times. R. Zimmermann, Philosophical Propædeutics. 2d ed. Vienna.

The Prussian budget for 1860 shows that 524,960 Thalers were expended for the Universities: 9,271 for stipends; 32,367 for the Berlin Academy of Art; 15,210 for the Academies of Art of Düsseldorf and Königsberg; 65,685 for Museum of Art at Berlin; 22,243 for the Academy of Sciences at Berlin; 26,710 for the Royal Library at Berlin; 53,700 for other institutions; 107,700 for extraordinary expenses for the promotion of Science and Art.

Professor Hengstenberg has been compelled to undergo a public prosecution for his free strictures on political subjects in his *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*. The case has been tried in two courts, and it is now under appeal to the highest tribunal.

The Apologies of Justin, edited by Braun, have been published at Bonn, in a second edition, and at a very cheap rate, about 65 cents. The Epistle to Diognetus has been published at Leipsic by Hartung, ed. by Kreukel, for 18 cents. Some of our German booksellers would do well to keep these on sale.

Brockhaus, of Leipsic, has published a Catalogue of Books relating to the early history of America, prepared by Paul Tremil. It contains 435 titles; many of them are of exceedingly rare Dutch works. One of these, a small tract printed at Amsterdam in 1662, Peter Cornelius Plockhoy, giving a plan of a colony founded in New Netherlands, is valued at $75.

GREECE.

The newspaper "*Star of the East*," of which an account was given in a former number of this Review, continues to be published under the editorial supervision of Mr. Kalopothakes. The manly stand it at once assumed on the side of evangelical truth is fully maintained. We believe that the prospects of the paper are improving; although from the nature of the case the circulation is very limited. The "Star" denounces fearlessly every abuse in Athenian life. Recently it has described and strongly reprobated the unhappy scenes that are witnessed at Christmas, and for a day or two after that festival. Bands of revellers, starting at dawn, promenade the streets, singing in nasal tones such unbecoming songs as to shock all but the most shameless. From singing bacchanalian songs they pass to fights; and

"the feast of the birth of Jesus Christ is celebrated," says Mr. Kalopothakes, "among us who pride ourselves on our orthodoxy, with drunkenness and lewd revelry, strifes and fights, and murders." "To eradicate this evil," he adds, "the only effective means, in our estimation, is the preaching of the divine Word." Unfortunately, the preaching of the Gospel is rare. The bishops are more greedy of gain than desirous of saving souls; and the few preachers who are to be found, select themes of minor importance, instead of the doctrines of faith and repentance.

In the "Star" of December 24th, 1860 (January 5th, 1861, New Style), was published an article on the singular mediæval custom prevalent in some parts of the West, of introducing into the church, at Christmas, a donkey carrying on his back a beautiful girl—a practice commemorative of the descent into Egypt. An ancient hymn sung on this occasion was also given, with the translation into modern Greek, by a professor in the University. The publication could not fail to call forth the anger of the priestly party, and the newspaper entitled "*The Future of our Country* (Μέλλον τῆς Πατρίδος), of January 5th (Jan. 17, New Style), made a violent attack upon the "Star." It called on the government to prevent the utterance of such blasphemies. Nor was the invocation fruitless. The editor of the "Star of the East" was favored with a visit from a deputy of the king's attorney, sent to *seize all the sheets of the offending number* which he might find in the office. Mr. Kalopothakes states in the next issue of his journal, that unfortunately he had neglected to reserve any copies for the attorney, and was consequently unable to gratify him. This is the first instance in which Mr. K. has been interfered with by government. It is, however, in accordance with the low idea of the freedom of the press now held in Greece.

The "*Byzantis*"—a Greek newspaper published at Constantinople—states that on a late Sunday, two Bulgarian priests, at the command of the bishop of Macariopolis, solemnly celebrated in the Western (that is to say, Roman Catholic) church of St. George in Galata, the adhesion of 107 Bulgarians to the Roman Catholic Church. Some of the converts were present; others appeared by proxy. The services were in Bulgarian, and prayers were offered for the Pope.

The most recent statistics of the Island of Sardinia, says Rev. Dr. Revel, show that there are scarcely five per cent of the inhabitants who know how to read and sign their names.

Dr. A. Ellisen has brought out in Leipsic (O. Wigand, publisher), the 4th volume of his Analecta of Middle and Modern Greek Literature—a useful work. It contains two pilgrimages to Hades, the one by Timarion from the 12th century, the other by Mazaris from the beginning of the 15th century—published after the texts of Hase and Boissonade; also the two Memorials of George Gemistus Plethon, addressed to the Emperor Manuel Palaeologus, A.D. 1415. Plethon was a Platonic idealist; and these Memorials, besides their value in respect to the culture of the period, are also, as the editor remarks, "among the most peculiar and remarkable documents on the intellectual relations of Old and New Greece." This is the first complete edition of them.

Sophocles Oikonomos, a son of the veteran Constantine Oikonomos (a learned divine, who died in 1857), has published at Athens a life of the Greek metropolitan Gregory, who, in the early part of the present century, did much for the moral and intellectual elevation of his country. An appendix contains a letter of the Greek patriarch Jeremiah (last part of 16th century), to the Doge of Venice, giving the reasons why the Oriental church could not conform to the Western in the Easter celebration.

Mark Reniere, of Athens, published in that city, in 1859, a work on Cyril

, patriarch of Constantinople, through whose influence a Calvinistic
ion (printed in Geneva 1629, and in "Greek translation 1633") was
t to the Greek church for acceptance. This work, says Gersdorf's
ry, gives a full account of the stormy patriarchate of Cyril, of the
ion to his project, and of his downfall.
anes Philemon, History of the Greek Revolution, has been published
ns in 2 vols., pp. 417 and 421.
Otho University at Athens has secured the library of the great Greek
Thiersch, it having been purchased by the Athenian Senate for the
25,000 drachmas.

SWEDEN.

History of the War between Russia and Sweden, 1741–3, by Niklas
rg, is now completed; the first volume was issued in 1857.—Rune-
oems, second volume, having respect to the war of 1809, are also at
ed; they have been delayed in part by the Russian censors. The title
olume is The Stories of Ensign Stål. Three editions have been pub-
-in Finland, Sweden, and Denmark.—The Chronicles of Olaus Petri
lished, edited by G. E. Klemming.—Mrs. Carter has edited a volume
humous writings of her only son, Edvard Flygare.—One of the illus-
almanacs of Stockholm is called Brother Jonathan.—The first full
a Conversations-Lexicon is about half completed.—Maria Sophie
tz, a noted female author, has published a novel, The Nobleman's
er. *Tribune* and *World.*

HOLLAND.

Utrecht Society for Art and Science proposes for its prizes the follow-
ong other topics: Life of Christian Huyghens; the Affinity of the
and Sanskrit; Justinian and his Times; the Influence of Hegel's
since 1831; Malay Literature; Dutch Settlements in Guinea, etc.
:he thousandth time since the days of Pliny, the story of the exist-
a race of men with tails has again been set afloat. A Dutch journal,
eeniging Christelijk Stemmen, for September, contains a long ac-
f the native population of Borneo. The writer asserts that the Poo-
a race inhabiting large tracts in the interior of the Island, are all
l with tails. A Mr. Van Houtrop, while in the Borneo province
, saw and examined three of these Poonangs. He came to the con-
that their caudal appendages, which are described as from three to
ies in length, hard, stiff, and nearly immovable, are neither a natural
ty nor the result of disease, but a genuine and general characteristic
ace. Some are to be caught and sent to Holland.

SWITZERLAND.

s hundred newspapers and periodicals are published in Switzerland;
rman, 78 French, 12 Italian. There is one journal, on an average,
) inhabitants: in France the proportion is one to 26,642.

FRANCE.

The *Journal des Savants* was established in 1665 (Jan. 5), edited by M. Denis de Salo. It has been discontinued at various times for short periods: four years, from 1792 to 1796, when it was resumed for six months; then there was an interval of twenty years. Since 1816 it has been regularly published. A Methodical and Analytic Table of its contents, 1816–1858, has been made out by Hippolyte Cocheris. It is edited by Biot, Cousin, Chevreul, Flourens, B. St. Hilaire, Mignet, and other academicians, at a cost to the government of nearly $3,000 a year (14,000 francs), besides the expense of printing at the Imperial Press. The works analyzed in it, 1817 to 1840, numbered 40, or 3 a year: the number 1840 to 1858 has been only 19. The other leading journals, devoted chiefly to special branches, are the Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, the Revue Archéologique, the Revue de Numismatique, and the Journal Asiatique.

M. Pierre Clement, of the Institute, has brought out an elegant critical edition of the Réflexions sur la Miséricorde de Dieu, attributed on good grounds to the Duchess de la Vallière, often published, but never so beautifully or correctly as in these two volumes.

Philosophical Works. Jules Jolly, History of the Intellectual Movement in the sixteenth and the first part of the seventeenth century. 2 vols.—Fragmenta Philosophorum Græcorum, etc., collegit F. G. A. Mullachius. 8vo. 2 vols. Didot. 15 francs.—P. M. L. Bautain (Vicar General of Bordeaux), Conscience, or the Rule of Human Actions. 1 vol. 452 p. 7 fr.—Robinet, one of Comte's executors, has published an Account of his Life and Works, in one vol. 631 p. with portrait.

History. Puaux, History of the French Reformation: volume fourth.—The 16 vol. of the new edition of Henrion's Eccles. Hist. comes to Gregory the Great; the whole work will be in 25 vol.—Le Liban et La Syrie, 1843–1860, par Eugène Poujade, pp. 319.—The third edition of Bonnechose, Reformers before the Reformation, in two vols. on Hus, Gerson, and the Council of Constance.—Hase's Church History has been translated into French, from the eighth German edition, by A. Flobert.

The *Annales de Philos. Chrétienne*, Oct. and Nov. 1860, has a severe criticism upon Henri Martin's History of France, by M. Henri de l'Epinois. Most of the points refer to the anti-Papal tendencies and positions of this able history.

P. Cruice has written a Latin translation of the Philosophumena (of Hippolytus), ascribed to Origen, with notes: a vol. of 548 pp. published by Didot, 10 francs.

E. de la Rigaudière's History of the Religious Persecution in Spain, of Moors, Jews, and Protestants, is a plain-spoken and able work; and the French literary journals commend it highly, uttering bold invectives against the persecuting spirit, and ascribing to it much of the evil that has weighed upon the Peninsula.

Cardinal Mai's edition of the Vatican Codex was published at Rome, under the superintendence of Vercellone, in 1857, in 5 vols. 4to. It was at once noticed in the leading German and English reviews. The *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne* for Sept. 1860—three years afterwards—contains a translation of Vercellone's preface, and says, that no journal or review in France has given any extended notice of the work. This is one indication of the state of biblical study in that country.

Of Vinet's posthumous works an additional volume is published; History of Preaching in the Reformed Church of France in the seventeenth century.

Prof. J. F. Astié, of Lausanne, Switzerland, has in preparation a work on Vinet, containing a memoir, and an estimate of his theological and philosophical position.—A new work by Peyrat is announced, The Reformers of France and Italy in the Twelfth Century.—Scherer publishes a collection of Miscellanies, consisting chiefly of critiques on religious and theological topics.

The statistics of the French book trade for 1859 are just published. They show a considerable increase upon the year 1858, and prove that the value of new books exported from France during the last year was nearly three millions of dollars, or two thirds more than the English export of books during the same period. Belgium, which serves as *entrepôt* or emporium for the supply of the north and east of Europe with French books, is highest on the list of importing countries, and England second.

Migne's Complete Course of Patrology, the Greek series, is rapidly advancing; vol. 68 contains the works of Isidore of Pelusium, and Zosimus, the Palestine monk; vol. 69, the works of Nilus, monk of Mt. Sinai, more completely than ever before; vols. 70–74, the works of Theodoretus, bishop of Cyrus, after Schulze's Halle edition of 1769.

The prize proposed by the French Academy of Inscriptions, for a History of the Koran, was gained by a German, Th. Noldeke: his work has been recently published in Göttingen, under the title, Geschichte des Qorans, pp. 390.

Ceillier, Remy Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques, qui contient leur vie, la catalogue, la critique, le jugement, la chronologie, l'analyse et le dénombrement des différentes éditions de leurs ouvrages, ce qu'ils renferment de plus intéressant sur le dogme, sur la morale et sur la discipline de l'Église, l'histoire des conciles tant généraux que particuliers, et les actes choisis des martyrs. Nouvelle edition, soigneusement revue, corrigée et complétée, et terminée par une table générale des matières, par un directeur de grand séminaire. Tome V, contenant les actes des martyrs au 4e siècle jusqu'aux conciles du 5e siècle inclusivement. *Paris*, 1860. 8°. VII, 676 pp.

The Religious Tract Society of Paris is about to publish a Life of Luther, by Mr. Hoff, which gained a prize. A Life of Coligny is also in preparation. Its Almanac, Des bons Conseils, is circulated annually in 200,000 copies.

At the *Imperial Library* there are courses in the Persian language, by Schefer; in Armenian, by de Florival; in Hindoostanee, by de Tassey; Sanscrit, by Oppert; Malay and Javanese, by Dulaurier; Turkish, by Dubeux; Modern Greek, by Hase; Arabic, by Reinaud and de Perceval; Chinese, by Bazin.

M. Guizot's translation of the complete works of Shakspeare is in course of publication by Didier, of Paris. The first volume has appeared, and contains, with M. Guizot's "Study" of Shakspeare, Hamlet, Coriolanus, and the Tempest. The second volume will contain Julius Cæsar, Anthony and Cleopatra, the Comedy of Errors, and Much Ado About Nothing. This edition will also contain the Poems and Sonnets.

The best work on the *Mormons* is said, by the French journals, to be M. Jules Remy's Voyage au Pays des Mormons, 2 vols. published by Dentu, Paris. It brings the history of these fanatics into comparison with similar phenomena in past history; and represents Mormonism as the culmination and concentration of all the fanatical elements found in the United States—Joe Smith made a skilful selection from all of these of what would be best likely to serve his turn.

Sainte-Beuve's Lectures on Chateaubriand and his Literary Group under the Empire, delivered in Liége, 1848–49, have been published in two vols.

M. Brunet, in the new edition of his *Manuel du Libraire*, says that a friend of his, M. Parison, picked up at a stall on the quais of Paris a copy of Christopher Plantin's edition of *Cæsar's Commmentaries*, printed at Antwerp in 1570. It was not in a desirable condition, being scribbled over on the margins and fly-leaves; but the low price asked made him purchase it for the sum of *one franc*. A brief examination of the volume soon showed him that the former possessor and writer of the manuscript notes was Montaigne, the essayist, who had crowded the pages with annotations, and written at the end a long parallel or comparison between Cæsar and Pompey, that was unpublished and quite unknown. M. Parison retained his fortunate purchase through life, and at the sale of his library, it was recently purchased by the Duke d'Aumale for *fifteen hundred and twenty-five francs*.

There are five hundred and three newspapers at present published in Paris. Forty-two of these, as treating of politics and national economy, have to deposit a security in the hands of the government; four hundred and sixty are devoted to art, science, literature, industry, commerce, and agriculture.

It is rumored that the Emperor Napoleon is about to increase the number of members comprising the Academy to fifty, forty having been their number from the creation of that body by Richelieu until now. The Emperor will name the ten new members; after which, future nominations will be made as usual, by the votes of the academic body, to replace the members lost by death.

Messrs. Didot, publishers to the Institute, have announced an antiquarian work relating to a portion of ancient Greece hitherto almost overlooked by classical tourists. It is entitled *Mount Olympus and Acarnania*, an Exploration of these Regions, with Researches on their Antiquities, Geography, History, and Ancient and Modern Populations, by M. L. Heazey, Member of the University of Athens. It is published under the auspices of the Minister of Public Instruction, and is beautifully illustrated with plain and colored engravings.

Protestant works are welcomed with increasing favor. The *Bulletin de Libraire* says of Vinet's History of Preaching among the French Reformers: "Here is the revelation of a literature well-nigh lost in oblivion, notwithstanding its incontestable value. We may henceforth admire under a new form the incomparable literature of that age. It is good to contemplate these noble figures, these grand Christians, these heroes, as Vinet calls them."

Prof. Bois' opening address at Montauban was an able advocacy of the Supernatural.

The eighth volume of Roossiew St. Hilaire's History of Spain has just appeared, embracing a part of the Reformation Period. It contains a full account of the Council of Trent, which is said to be very valuable and important.

The publication of the thorough and comprehensive work of Dr. P. von Tschichatscheff on Asia Minor, under the title *Asie Mineure, Description Physique, Statistique et Archéologique*, proceeds as rapidly as possible. The first volume, on the Physical Geography of Asia Minor, was published in 1853; the second, on its Climatology and Zoology, appeared in 1856; the third, on Botany, will be issued immediately. The remaining volumes, the fourth on the Geology, and the fifth comprising the Statistics, Political Geography, and Archæology, are already far advanced. Dr. Tschichatscheff, in the prosecution of his investigations, made, between 1848 and 1856, no

an six visits to Asia Minor, and the track of of his various journeys through every section of the country. He had previously travelled in other lands, and especially among the Altai ranges.

ITALY.

s of Savonarola on the Bible. A correspondent of the Athenæum hat in the Magliabecchian Library of Florence there is a Bible, printed le in 1491, filled with manuscript notes by Savonarola. An English- as had these transcribed, the abbreviations written out, etc. It makes me of 753 pages. It may be published either in the original Latin or English version.

Chronicle of Franciscan Missions is a new journal, to be issued at every two months, devoted to the past and current history of the mis- of the Franciscan Order, and also to the republication of rare tracts and tions" bearing on this subject. The first number contains an article three journeys of St. Francis d'Assisi to Egypt, Palestine, and Syria; er on the Franciscan mission in Palestine; current missionary intelli- , and the narrative of a journey in 1855 to South America by Castrucci rnazza, who found some Christians among the savage tribes of the ars and Givars. *Correspondance de Rome.*

ong recent Italian works are Albert Mario, Slavery and Thought; zzi, Garibaldi and Cavour; Comin, The Parliament and King; Paolo, n Democracy; Kossuth on Hungary, with a preface by Col. Türr; i, Letters to Antonelli on the Abuses of the Pontifical Government.

University of Naples has been reörganized under the new govern- in six Faculties, viz. Theology, Philosophy and Literature, Jurispru- , Mathematics, Natural Science, and Medicine. A gymnasium, bearing me of Victor Emmanuel, was also to be opened Jan. 1, 1861. Public ls are to be established for all grades of instruction.

Letters of Torquato Tasso, edited by Cesare Guasti, in five volumes, in much interesting matter about his famous controversy with Salviati, pect to the Jerusalem Delivered, and of the part of the Della Cruscan my in the matter.

f. Bonaventura Mazzarella, who became Protestant in 1852, and who en recently appointed to the chair of philosophy in Bologna, has pub- l a work, Critica della Scienza, (Genoa), giving a sketch and critique of ifferent systems of modern thought, and insisting upon the necessity of ig the metaphysical and moral elements in a scheme of speculation.

SPAIN.

correspondent of the *Athenæum* gives an interesting account of the ves in Spain. One at Barcelona contains the records of the kingdom of on, in good preservation. The Archives *de las Indias* at Seville pre- s the documents relating to the Spanish discoveries in America and

The most important collection is the Archives of Simancas, the hivo General" of Spain. The Government intends to collect them all her at Alcala de Henarez, eight leagues from Madrid, in the archiepis- palace. The writer says that he is the first Englishman who ever was mancas in search of materials for English history, his object being to

get documents to illustrate the reigns of the kings and queens of the house of Tudor. French writers, Gachard and Tirant, and a German, Heine, have visited the place; and the Spanish authors, Pidal, Cavra, and Lafuente, have also made use of these materials. The reports of the Spanish ambassadors in England are here preserved, and it is confidently expected that very valuable accessions to history may be gleaned from these annals. Dr. Motley has also made good use in his Dutch Republic of documents from these archives.

Don Patricio de la Escosura, a learned jurist, is preparing a History of the English Constitution.

ENGLAND.

The *Journal of Sacred Literature* for January, 1861. The first article, on the Epistles of Peter, is an attempt to ascertain where these Epistles were written. The conclusion attained is that they were written from Rome—the first Epistle at the beginning of the persecution, A.D. 64; the second at a time when the violence of the persecution had abated. Mary standing at the Cross of Jesus is the subject of the next article. The third is upon the Church History of Scotland, on the basis of the recent works of Innes and Principal Lee, etc. An Essay follows on the Chaldee of Daniel and Ezra, to show that the Aramaean of the Book of Daniel is of the same age with that of the Book of Ezra; also that Daniel does not approach nearer than Ezra to the language of the Targums. An Exegesis of Romans viii, 18–25, followed by a translation of Origen's commentary, makes the *creation* to be equivalent to the *rational creation:* the rational creation was subjected to vanity (finiteness, transitoriness), not voluntarily, but to work out the purposes of him who subjected it. The last article, by B. Cowper, is on the Book of Judith and its Geography. A letter on the Vatican Codex contends, from the omission of "in Ephesus" in Eph. i, 1 that this MS. must have been written as early as A.D. 310. Another on the Eucharistic blessing maintains that nothing is said in the Bible of blessing the elements. J. F. Thrupp's Introduction to the Study and Use of the Psalms (2 vols. 1860) is highly praised, as containing a great deal of useful matter, well digested.

The *British Quarterly Review*, January, 1861, ably edited by Dr. Vaughan, opens with an article on The New Move in Oxford, reviewing the recent Essays and Reviews, and on many points going into the details of criticism. It is by far the best article on the subject which we have seen in any English periodical. 2. French Fiction—its better aspects. 3. Abortive Legislation—giving an account of recent British legislation under this aspect. 4. Coventry Patmore's Faithful Forever. 5. Chinese Characteristics. 6. Autobiography of Alexander Carlyle. 7. On the Origin of Life—a learned and able examination of the theory of spontaneous generation, particularly examining Pouchet's defence of this hypothesis (in his Hétérogénie, Paris, 1859). 8. London in the Middle Ages—full of curious matter. 9. Epilogue on Affairs and Books.

The *Westminster Review* for January, 1861, has, of course, one article attacking the Christian faith; it is on Bible Infallibility and its "Evangelical Defenders," in reference to the controversy about Davidson's part in the editing of Horne's Introduction. The other articles are on Ancient Danish Ballads; Alcohol—what becomes of it in the living body; Canada; Naples and Rome; American Slavery and the Impending Crisis; the inevitable Cavour and Garibaldi; Dante and his English Translators—a review of sixteen different versions. The article on Canada gives an account of the re-

ources and position of that region, and ends with the prophecy that unless ngland so remoulds her constitution as to give to her colonies representa- ves in Parliament, she must look forward to the time, possibly not far dis- nt, when these colonies will transform themselves into independent states.

The *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1861, urges Liturgical revision as a eans of church expansion, in a review of the recent publications on this ubject. The points it enumerates as needing revision are: 1. The form of rords in the ordination of priests. 2. The form of absolution in the office r the visitation of the sick. 3. The compulsory use of the Athanasian reed in public service. 4. Phrases in the burial service. 5. The structure nd language of the baptismal service, with the corresponding parts of the atechism, and of the order for confirmation. The other articles are, Japan nd the Japanese; The Victoria Bridge; Political Ballads of England and cotland; Ocean Telegraphy; Dr. Carlyle's Autobiography; Motley's United Netherlands, highly praised—"fertile as the present age has been in histori- al works of the highest merit, none of them can be ranked above these olumes in the grand qualities of interest, accuracy, and truth;" Forbes and yndall on the Alps and Glaciers; The Kingdom of Italy; Naval Organiza- ion.

The *London Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1861, (Methodist) is edited by Rev. W. rthur and Rev. W. B. Pope. The thorough review of Jowett's theory of evelopment in relation to Paul is by Rev. William B. Pope. The other arti- les are Belgium under the Reign of Leopold I.; Taxation; Early English issions and Missionaries; Russia in Asia; William Pitt; Cotton; New- ealand; Our National Defences; Varieties of Realism, Ancient and Modern. his last article is a good historical account, and presents the subject under spects which will be new to most English readers.

The *Quarterly Review*, London, has a very good account of Canada and he North-west; an exceedingly interesting sketch of early Welsh history nd literature; a cordial and laudatory review of Motley's United Nether- nds; The Iron Manufacture; Italy; The Dogs of History and Romance— ntertaining; The Income-Tax and its Rivals; Essays and Reviews—a trong protest against the new Oxford rationalism.

God save the King. Mr. Francis Dickins, of Rome, writes to the *Notes nd Queries* on the authorship of this national anthem, attributed in France o Lulli, in Germany to Handel, and in England to Dr. John Bull. Dr. Fink, n unsurpassed musical antiquary, wrote a series of papers in the Leipsic usical Gazette, in which he proved that the real author was Dr. Henry arey, who composed both the words and the music, in honor of a birthday f George II. Dr. Carey was born in London, 1696, and died in 1743. Mr. happell, in his Collection of National Airs, also ascribed it to Dr. Carey; nd in his Popular Music of Olden Time discussed the other claims.

Capt. H. G. Raverty, of the Indian service, has published, in three vols. Grammar, Dictionary, and Chrestomathy of the Affghan language. This s the first important work on the subject. The Affghan is a branch of the ndo-European languages.

H. B. Hodgson, The Aborigines of India. 1. The Koch, Bodo, and Dhi- al Tribes, including vocabulary and grammar, creed and customs.

The publication of the Stuart Papers, begun by Mr. Glover in the Atter- ury Correspondence, is to be continued by the Queen's librarian, Mr. Woodward.

The late Sir William Macnaghten published in Calcutta, in 1825, Princi- les and Precedents of the Mohammedan Law; in 1829, Principles and Precedents of the Hindoo Law; these were republished in 1860 by Wil- iams & Norgate, in one vol. pp. 240, edited by H. H. Wilson. The

same house has published a curious work, claiming to be the first Political Economy ever written in Turkish, entitled *Ilm Tedviri Milk*, by C. Wells, Turkish prizeman of King's College, London. But Gersdorf's Repertory says that a German, Von Schlechta-Wssehrd, published in Turkish in 1847 a work on the Law of Nations, which was at once bought up by the Turkish and Egyptian governments, for the use of their diplomats, and expresses the hope that Mr. Wells' book may meet the same fate.

Dr. Cureton, rector of St. Margaret's, Westminster, has been elected Foreign Associate of the Institute of France, by 18 votes out of 29, in recognition of his services to Oriental and Biblical literature.

The *Athenæum* objects to Motley's "bold and brilliant story" of the United Netherlands, that it is "too long," and that it lacks "the higher laws of literary art," knowing "no unity of time or place."

Oxford University comprises 550 Fellows (101 in one college); Cambridge has 431 Fellows: only a small minority give any instruction. Oxford has the patronage of 455 benefices, of the annual value of £136,500; and Cambridge 311, endowed with £93,300 a year.

A writer in the *Notes and Queries* cites from Sir James Stephen's Essays, on the Founders of Jesuitism, an account of a controversy in Japan between Xavier and a Japanese theologian, in which the latter defended "the spontaneous self-formation of all organised beings," as an article of faith of the Bonzes. The writer says that Lamarck and Darwin must yield precedence to the Japanese, apparently ignorant of the fact that this theory was the ancient theory, e. g. of Aristotle, Lucretius, and Virgil.

Another contributor to the *Notes and Queries* brings up the curious passage, found only in the Septuagint (and Latin translations made from it), of Habakkuk, iii, 2: "In the midst of two animals thou shalt be known," which Eusebius explains of Cyrus and Darius (see Isaiah xxi, 7); and which many of the Fathers, as Origen, Jerome, Augustine, explain of the two animals (an ox and an ass), between which, as tradition alleges, our Saviour was placed in the manger at Bethlehem. Isaiah i, 3 was also often allegorically interpreted in this way: "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib." The Roman Breviary, on the Feast of our Lord's Circumcision, and the Missal, in the service for Good Friday, adopt this interpolated text, as if it were Scripture.

Mr. James Finn writes from Jerusalem to the London *Athenæum* that Dr. Basil Levishon, connected with the Russian Episcopal establishment, has recently purchased a MS. vellum Pentateuch, Samaritan, which he believes to have been written during the time of the first Temple of Jerusalem. Some of the circumstances leading him to this conclusion are the jealous care with which it was guarded by the priestly family of Nablus; its not being divided into chapters and sections; names of priests in the margin recording successive occurrences; a marginal note, saying that it had escaped the peril of fire in the time of Zerubbabel. Dr. Levishon is also editing another large Samaritan Pentateuch; it is to be printed with the aid of a lithographic press. He has noted, it is said, 10,000 variations from the Masoretic Hebrew text.

Mr. Sterling, the author of "Annals of the Artists of Spain," has enriched the short list of English works on Spanish Bibliography, with a monograph on books relating to Proverbs, Emblems, Apothegms, Epitaphs, and Ana, being a catalogue of those in his own collection. It is handsomely printed in one volume octavo, and embellished with a view of the Library at Kier, his ancestral seat. Seventy-five copies only are printed, which is to be regretted, as the only other work on the same subject is the "*Bibliographie*" of M. Duplessis (Paris, 1847), and in the division of Proverbs

alone, Mr. Sterling describes, with full titles and collations, one hundred and fifteen books which had escaped the researches of M. Duplessis.

Rev. Dr. Croly, the well-known author and preacher, was born at Dublin, in 1780. He was a graduate of Trinity College in his native city, and began his literary career in 1815, with a poem entitled "Paris in 1815." Among the most celebrated of his literary productions, "Salathiel," a tale founded on the legend of the Wandering Jew, gained him most celebrity. His writings are very extensive, and generally known in the annals of English literature. Dr. Croly enjoyed a wide reputation as a pulpit orator. For twenty-five years previous to his death he had been rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, London—a living presented to him by Lord Brougham, when Chancellor.

The death of Lord Aberdeen just comes within the category of literary events. His lordship—the travelled Thane of Lord Byron's *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*—published *An Enquiry into the Principles of Beauty in Christian Architecture* in 1822, originally written to accompany Wilkins' translation of *Vitruvius*. He also contributed some articles to the *Edinburgh Review* in his early days, which fact brought him within scope of Lord Byron's celebrated satire. Lord Aberdeen died at the age of 77.

Mr. J. A. Froude will be the new editor of *Fraser's Magazine*, in place of Mr. J. W. Parker, Jr., recently deceased. Its proprietors and its principles have been repeatedly changed since it was started on the highest old-fashioned tory principles—now, in new hands, it has become the organ of the "positivist" school of Buckle, J. Stuart Mill, Froude, G. H. Lewes, etc.

At a recent sale of American books in London, one of the rarest was, *Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain*, a unique copy of the long-lost work of Benjamin Franklin, written and printed by himself when working in London, and of which Mr. Sparks (his editor) says: "No copy of this tract is now known to be in existence." From the freedom of its opinions it was known as the "wicked tract" of Dr. Franklin, and at a later period of his life he burnt all the copies but one, "conceiving it might have an ill tendency," so that it has never been reprinted in any edition of his works, and is one of the veritable "curiosities of literature."

In 1851, the purely infidel press of London issued publications to the amount of more than 12,000,000; the issues of avowed atheism during the same period exceeded 640,000; in addition to these were issued 17,500,000 of a negative or corrupting character; and these were exclusive of what are properly denominated newspapers, many of which are published on the Lord's day, and are decidedly immoral in their tendency.

But since that time, great and important changes for the better have been going on in Great Britain. The Messrs. Chambers, the well-known publishers in Edinburgh, Scotland, in a recently prepared paper which presents the results of careful investigation into the subject, make the following statement:

"The sale of books of a grossly demoralizing tendency has been driven into obscurity. On this subject we offer the following statement, the result of careful inquiry into the cheap periodical trade in 1859–60: 1. Works of an improving tendency, circulation per month, 8,043,500. 2. Works of an exciting nature, but not positively immoral, circulation per month, 1,000,000. 3. Works immoral, and opposed to the religion of the country, circulation per month, probably under 80,000."

There are printed in Great Britain, 1,102 newspapers, distributed as follows: England, 791; Wales, 28; Scotland, 138; Ireland, 132; British Isles, 13. Of these there are 39 daily papers published in England; 8 in Scotland; 12 in Ireland, and 2 in the British Isles. The increase has been

very great within the last thirty years. In 1821 there were published in the United Kingdom, 267 journals; in 1831, 295; in 1841, 472; and in 1851, 563; but in 1861 there are established and circulated, 1,102 papers. The magazines now in course of publication, including the quarterly reviews, number 481, of which no less than 207 are of a decidedly religious character.

It is rumored authoritatively that the literary treasures of Oxford will probably receive a magnificent accession in the library of Sir Thomas Phillips, of Middle Hill, Worcestershire. The name of this gentleman is known throughout Europe as the most liberal and enterprising collector of manuscripts that has appeared since the days of Harley, Earl of Oxford, and Sir Robert Cotton. A German *savant* says that his acquisitions of this character are so immense that they go far to make amends to England for the losses sustained by literature in the devastation and destruction of manuscripts at the dissolution of Monasteries by Henry VIII. The Radcliffe Library at Oxford, a noble circular hall, will probably receive the collection, unless it is found expedient to erect a new library building for its accommodation.

The volume on *Antique Gems*, by Rev. C. W. King, among many subjects of interest, details a curious speculation of the author's—that the age which has witnessed the resuscitation of Sennacherib's signet and the ring of King Cheops, "may yet bring to light, from the dark recesses of the Sultan's treasury, the scattered engraved gems of great price which once adorned the Jewish High Priest's breastplate." It is known that this trophy formed part of the spoils of the Temple of Jerusalem, which were carried to Rome by the Emperor Titus, and they were extant in Constantinople in the time of Justinian, by whom they were deposited in the sacristy of Santa Sophia. No lapse of time produces any effect upon such remains, and their intrinsic value must always have rendered them objects of care to every captor.

The fifth volume of Lord Macaulay's *History of England* is preparing for publication, under the editorship of his sister, Lady Trevelyan. It will contain the continuation of that work as far as the manuscript was left revised by him. The narrative is in immedtate connection with the fourth volume, and, with two exceptions, is complete and consecutive, ending with the death of William III. A full index to the entire work will be given in this volume.

Messrs. Longmans & Co. have in press a historical work of high character, by Mr. Thomas Erskine May, Clerk of the House of Commons—*Constitutional History of England, since the Accession of George III.* (1760–1860). Mr. Hallam's classic work ceases at the period where Mr. May commences his labors, and the hundred years that he has for his theme form a period second to none in importance. The author is already favorably known by his works on Parliamentary procedure and precedent.

The India-House Library.—The India-House library, now about to be removed to the offices of the Board of Control, Cannon row, contains upwards of 24,000 volumes of every class of Eastern literature, of which 8,000 are manuscript; this latter portion is famous throughout the world of literature as containing the choicest collection of Sanscrit and Persian mss. extant; some of beautiful caligraphy, superbly illuminated, and dressed in elegant native binding, among which are *Shah Namahs*, *Korans*, and poems in elegant variety, monuments of native skill and industry. In this library is the famous *Koran*, written on vellum, in the ancient Cufic character, by the Caliph Othman III., about 35 of the Hegira (A.D. 655), bearing numerous autographs and seals of Oriental monarchs. There is also a portion of the *Koran* written by Huzut Ali, son-in-law of Mohammed, with the seal of

r and other kings of Persia; and a memorandum written by Shah referring to his having given 1,500 golden mohurs for it. Among ly records of the East India Company are two volumes preserved in ary containing the autographs of subscribers under an act "for rais- ,000,000 upon a fund for payment of annuities, and for settling the o the East Indies," dated July 14, 1698, in the tenth year of the reign liam III. The first entry is by the Commissioners of the Treasury, scribers of £10,000 in the name of his Majesty. The subscribers, n number, include most of the English nobility, as well as foreigners. natures are written on forty-seven pages of parchment. The amounts bed range from £100 upward, the highest (No. 1,055) being that of Dubois, for £315,000. The printed library contains the largest and nique collection of works on all subjects relating to India, China, and chipelago; and as a whole may be regarded as one of the most valu- well as useful libraries in Europe, which is not surprising, when it is bered that that distinguished oriental scholar, Professor H. H. Wilson, r nearly a quarter of a century the librarian. It is gratifying to know e Secretary of State for India has determined to maintain and extend rary of the India office, and render it as perfect as possible, and has ted Dr. Ballantyne, of Benares, to succeed Professor Wilson, as prin- brarian, who will bring great talents as an oriental scholar in carry- t his intentions. But in the interval of his return from India, the has been intrusted to the assistant, who is making active preparations early removal of this library to its appointed destination,—*Express.*

EW FIRST FOLIO OF SHAKSPEARE.—The celebrated first folio of Shak- is, strange to say, one of the commonest folios of the age in which it rinted, although, of course, its authorship gives it a value far above other works of its time. The finest first folio in existence is proba- one in the possession of Lord Ellesmere, tall, uncut, and in the origi- ding, as when his ancestor, the Lord Chancellor Egerton, first bought the crisis of the Collier controversy, Lord Ellesmere produced it at itish Museum, with the exclamation, "There's a first folio for you," is enthusiasm was shared by the auditors and spectators, who com- some of the first bibliographers of the country. A rival, however, llness," purity of paper and type, and all the other bibliographical re- s, to this princely copy of Lord Ellesmere's, has, we understand, been y and unexpectedly discovered in Germany. The fortunate English ser is Mr. Ellis, the young and enterprising bibliopole of Covent Gar- It may surprise some of our readers to know that the marketable f this newly-discovered folio is not far from $1,200.

eleventh vol. of the collected works of Lord Brougham contains his y of the British Constitution, including an examination of its struc- nd working; it is dedicated to the Queen. Mr. Thomas Wright, the s antiquarian, is preparing a "Collection of Political Poems from Ed- III. to Elizabeth." The 3d and 4th volumes of Carlyle's Frederick the re announced. Mr. Froude, the historian, is editing a curious literary elating to the times that have engaged his attention in the composi- f his great work. It is called "The Pilgrim: a Dialogue in the Life tions of King Henry VIII., by William Thomas, Clerk to the Council ward VI." It will be illustrated with notes by the editor from the es and contemporary records of Paris and Brussels. *Port Royal, a ibution to the History of Religion and Literature in France,* by s Beard, B.A., in 2 vols. 12mo. The contents comprise chapters on rly history of Port Royal; Jansen and St. Cyran; Port Royal de the Jansenist controversy; the Peace of the Church; Blaise Pascal;

Madame de Longueville and La Rochefoucauld. The second divisio
second volume will continue the history from the peace of the Churc
final suppression of the community.

*Profitable Meditations: a Poem written by John Bunyan, whil
fined in Bedford Jail. Now first reprinted from a unique copy dis
by the Publisher, and edited with Introduction and Notes, by Georg*
The *Meditations* consist of "Nine Particulars" concerning *Christ*,
Sinner and Saint, Death, Judgment, and other like solemn themes,
ranged as to form a continuous poem.

It is proposed to erect, in Brentwood, Essex county, England, a m
to Hunter, the Brentwood martyr, who suffered martyrdom at this pl
the 26th of March, 1555, during the reign of Queen Mary, being cond
by Bishop Bonner, for reading the Bible. He was burned at the sta
place being at present marked by an old elm-tree, planted to mark th
and known as the "Martyr's Elm." The tree, having decayed throu
is about to be removed, and a committee has been formed to obtai
for erecting, by public subscription, a monument of a similar chara
the Martyr's Memorial at Oxford.

Curious Edition of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism.—Am
rare collection of old books, belonging to Rev. William Dysart, r
Tamlaghtard, is a curious edition of the Assembly's Shorter Cat
which shows that, at the beginning of the last century, this Catechi
extensively used throughout England and Wales. The title is,
Grounds and Principles of Religion contained in a Shorter Catechi
cording to the Advice of the Assembly of Divines sitting at Westm
To be used throughout the Kingdom of England, and the Domi
Wales. The Proofs carefully corrected and Amended. London: Pri
the year 1703." On the leather binding outside, in front of this little
for such it is, the following inscription in Roman capitals has been imp
"The gift of Philip, late Lord Wharton, deceased. Distributed by h
ship's Trustees, 1709."—*Londonderry Standard.*

The Baptist Magazine appears under a new arrangement, edited
Ratterns, W. G. Lewis and C. H. Spurgeon. It has been complaine
its leanings to the negative theology.

Dr. Ralph Wardlaw's Expository Lectures, edited by his son, Re
Wardlaw, are to be published in eight vols. at 5s. each; they embra
Proverbs, Zechariah, Romans, James, and the Life and Character o

Mr. Williams has been chosen to the Sanskrit professorship of
vacated by the decease of H. H. Wilson; the vote stood, for Mr. W
838; for Mr. Max Müller, 610.

The following Theological and Religious Works are announced in L
John Eadie, An Ecclesiastical Dictionary of Denominations, Dogmas,
etc.; J. A. Macdonald, The Principia and the Bible: a 2d edition o
on the Ephesians; Hindmarsh, History of the New Jerusalem Chur
2d volume of Dr. William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible; J. I
Jones, Egypt in its Biblical Relations; Donald Macdonald, Introduc
the Pentateuch; David Brown, The Restoration of the Jews; Word
The General Epistles and the Revelation; F. H. Scrivener, Introduc
the New Testament; a new translation of Thomas à Kempis by th
of Ely; A. C. Barret, A Companion to the New Test.; William Brig
tory of the Church, from A.D. 318 to A.D. 451; John Tulloch, Englis
tanism and its Leaders; William Palmer, Egyptian Chronicles; Life
dinal Pole.

A volume on Scepticism, by Lord Lindsay, is announced—having
ence to the new Oxford movement.—The Fall of Rome and the Rise
Nationalities, by Rev. J. G. Sheppard.

SCOTLAND.

r. J Nichol, of Edinburgh, proposes to republish some of the more im-ant and rare works of the Puritan Divines. Six volumes will be issued ar for a guinea, each vol. to have 500 to 600 pages. The whole number be about 60 volumes. The works selected cost in the old editions £66: he new £10 10s. The chief authors are Manton, Goodwin, Adams etical Works), Bishop Reynolds, Gibbs, Brooks, Clarkson and Char-. Those of Manton, Brooks, Goodwin and Gibbs have never been pub-d in a uniform edition: those of Gibbs and Brooks can now hardly be ured at any price. This project is commended by a large array of es of the most eminent ministers in Scotland, and of many in England in this country. Any church in this country that has a parish library d not do better than to subscribe for this series.

EATH OF PROF. ROBERTSON, D.D.—The Scottish public, and especially its siastical portion, will learn with equal surprise and pain of the death of Rev. Dr. James Robertson, Professor of Church History in Edinburgh rersity, and long a leader in the General Assembly, which took place at house in Ainslie Place here yesterday afternoon. Dr. Robertson was in his fifty-eighth year; but though apparently robust, had long worn spect of a more advanced age. He was ordained minister of Ellon in , and when in that office attained his first and greatest celebrity as a ter in the General Assembly. In the latter years of the non-intrusion roversy, the burden of defending in the Assembly, and in the Synod of rdeen (where the war was hottest), the policy of the moderate or consti-nal party, devolved upon him; and he performed the task with great , energy, and effect. In the course of one of the debates in the Assem-his most distinguished opponent, Dr. Chalmers, remarked that he had r witnessed a finer display of "intellectual gladiatorship" than a com-that had taken place between Dr. Robertson and Dr. Cunningham.—*sman, Dec.* 3.

new and greatly improved edition of Dr. Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical rature* is in preparation by Messrs. Adam & Charles Black, of Edin gh. It will be edited by Dr. Williams Lindsay Alexander, with the as-nce of able scholars and divines, and will contain the latest results of stigation—philological, topographical, exegetical, etc.—in Biblical sub-.

he *North British Review* for Nov. has an article on Modern Thought, ibed to Isaac Taylor, reviewing the writings of Miss Hennell, considered n exponent of the teachings of her brother, of Buckle, of Comte, of rbach and of Herbert Spencer. The drift of the article is to show, that so-called Modern Thought has attained no results, either in speculation or practice, beyond the pantheism of the Buddhists,—that it cannot r a single principle, in which it is superior to this old oriental scheme. bring the argument with this western infidelity to an issue, Mr. Taylor s, that all turns upon the character and claims of Jesus Christ. The posture of the Christian argument upon the evidences is historical and speculative. It is substantially the line of thought, which he had al-y pursued in his work on the Restoration of Belief—a work which we k made a more real advance in the argument with infidelity than any of English writings upon the subject during the last twenty-five years. ther noteworthy article on the Province of Logic and Recent British cians, is ascribed to Fraser, the successor of Hamilton at Edinburgh. ntains an admirable exposition of the nature and bearings of Hamil-

ton's logical system, and of the points in which he has made an advance beyond his predecessors in England. He finds the key to Hamilton's system in his analysis of Notion or Concepts, viewed not merely as a class, but as a "bundle of attributes." Logic has to do not merely with the extent (as classes) of concepts, but also with their contents. That is, it embraces all thoughts, and not merely the laws of thinking. Accordingly the burden of the article is to show, that there must be an enlargement of the sphere of logic, so as to include ontology and cosmology, and also psychological and historical elements. The article is significant as showing, that the formal boundaries so long kept up between logic and the other sciences cannot be maintained. It runs into the same line with many of the speculations of the German philosophers.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The ablest article in *Brownson's Quarterly Review* for January, 1861, is a criticism of Ward's recent work on Nature and Grace — a philosophical Introduction to dogmatic theology. Mr. Ward wrote some years since a work, noted in the Oxford controversy, on the Ideal of the Church; became a Roman Catholic, and has been a Lecturer on theology at St. Edmund's Seminary. Of this new work of his, it is declared by the *Dublin Review*, and by Mr. Brownson, that since the Tracts for the Times, "no work has issued from the English press that can equally claim the attention of Catholics." Mr. Brownson, however, criticises it somewhat unsparingly, as wrong in its method, its doctrine of intuition, and its theory of obligation. Another article on the Separation of Church and State, advocates the solution of the Italian question by giving Victor Emmanuel the control of Italy. The reform of Catholic education, and of the Seminaries for priests is still zealously urged. But Mr. Brownson says, "that we regard all questions which we have heretofore opened, as closed till new and unforeseen events reopen them." In the future conduct of his Review, he will be assisted by his son.

The *Methodist Quarterly Review*, ably edited by Dr. Whedon, is one of the best conducted religious quarterlies in the country. Its Religious Intelligence, Synopsis of Quarterlies, Literary Intelligence and Quarterly Book-Table, are arranged and condensed with great skill. The tone of its criticisms is generally impartial. It has had a sharp, yet kind, word to say, now and then, about some of the articles in our Review. Perhaps if it could see 'Calvinism' as we see it, and we could see Arminianism as it sees it, we might come nearer together. The last number, among other interesting articles, contains a valuable account of Methodism after Wesley's Death, by Dr. Abel Stevens; and an excellent interpretation of The Prayer of Habakkuk, by Dr. James Strong, of Troy. The two *weekly* newspapers of this denomination in New York, The Christian Advocate, and The Methodist, are also conducted with unusual ability. The success of the latter seems to have given a decided impulse to the former.

The *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January contains altogether the most thorough, yet candid, criticism of Theodore Parker's religious and theological position, which has yet been published in any of our reviews. Professor Tyler's essay on the Theology of Sophocles, in the same number, is a scholarly and able exposition. The other articles are, Prof. Haven on the Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton, conceding, we think, too high a value to his general principles; Prof. Harris on the Christian Law of Self-Sacrifice—a very valuable address; and Dr. Emerson on Palfrey's History of New England.

The *Mercersburg Review*, Jan. 1861, contains specimens of a projected popular Commentary on the New Testament, by Dr. Philip Schaff. He be-

gins with the Epistle to the Galatians, giving an Introduction, and a translation and commentary to chapter ii, verse 21. It is clear and condensed. Another valuable article in the same number is on English Versions of the Heidelberg Catechism; a full literature was given last year.

The American Tract Society of Boston is about to publish Gaussen on the Canon, and a new edition of his Theopneustia, translated by Dr. Kirk.

The *New Jerusalem Magazine* gives some interesting facts about the father of Emanuel Swedenborg. He was the episcopal superintendent of the Swedish mission to this country from 1697 to 1735. He published a work called America Illuminata, 12mo, 1732. He wrote his name Jasper Swedberg, the longer form of Swedenborg being adopted by his son when he was ennobled in 1719. Several of his letters are given in translation. Bishop Swedberg died in 1735.

John Murphy, of Baltimore, proposes to publish a collection upon the early history of Maryland, comprising a Relation of Maryland, 1635, with a Map; Father Andrew White's Narrative, in Latin, with a translation; Maryland Relations from a vol. in the British Museum; and the Sotweed Factor, or a Voyage to Maryland.

Mr. H. F. Buckner, of the Southern Baptist mission, has published a Grammar of the Creek or Maskoke Language; the Gospel of John, and Hymns, in the same. They are printed at Marion, Alabama, for the Board of the Southern Baptist Convention.

The Collection of the Conn. Hist. Society, vol. I, contains 13 papers; among them are a Letter of Thomas Hooker to Gov. Winthrop, 1638; abstracts of two Sermons of Hooker, 1638–9; the Trial of Ezekiel Cheever before the New Haven church, 1649, etc.

The Library of Brown University, Providence, contains 29,000 volumes; the Society libraries of the college have 6,000 volumes. A permanent fund of $25,000 is devoted to the increase of the college library.

"Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut" is the title of a volume recently published by Wm. L. Kingsley, of New Haven, giving all the proceedings at the Historical Celebration at Norwich, June, 1859, including twelve Addresses by eminent ministers; twenty-five Historical Papers; lists of all the Pastors who went from Conn. on "missionary tours" before 1798; of missionaries at the West and in the foreign field; a History of the fifteen District Associations; and a history of each of the Congregational churches in the State, 284, and of 21 that have become extinct. The price of the volume is $3.

It is announced, that President Buchanan intends, after his retirement from office, to write reminiscences of some of his distinguished cotemporaries. The biography of President Polk in particular is said to be one of his cherished projects.

The *United Presbyterian Quarterly Review* is now in its second year. The number for Jan. 1861 contains articles on Philosophical Theology, by Rev. D. C. McLaren, D.D.; Forbearance, by Rev. Thos. C. Guthrie, D.D.; Ruling Elder, by Rev. Thos. Sproull, D.D; Tractarianism traced to its Sources, by Rev. James Harper; The Theology of Art, by Rev. Wm. T. Findley; Reformed Churches in Western Pennsylvania, by Rev. A. G. Wallace; Individual Effort, by Rev. M. Morrison; the Second Assembly. This church was constituted in 1858 by a union of the Associate and Associate Reformed, on the principle of "forbearance in love." The question of close communion is already agitated again, in the case of Rev. W. Davidson, whom the First Presbytery of Ohio sustained in admitting persons of other denominations to communion. The Second Assembly met in Philadelphia, May, 1860, consisting of 224 delegates, 117 ministers and 107 elders.

Literary and Critical Notices of Books.

BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

CODEX ALEXANDRINUS. *Novum Testamentum Græce ex antiquissimo Codice Alexandrino a* C. G. WOIDE *olim descriptum: ad Fidem ipsius Codicis denuo accuratius edidit* B. H. COWPER. Londini venumdant Williams & Norgate. New York. B. Westerman & Soc. 1860. 8vo. Pp. xl. 502. We announced in our last number the publication of this beautiful edition of the famous Alexandrine Codex, presented by Cyril Lucar, Patriarch successively of Alexandria and Constantinople, to Charles I. of England in 1629, considered the most valuable MS. of the Greek Scriptures in England, and ranking in importance, at least next to the Vatican and the recently discovered Sinaitic codices. This edition is most carefully edited; the type and paper are excellent. The Old Testament portion of this Codex has been several times edited, recently by Mr. Field. The New Testament has been published only once before, in folio, by Woide, 1786. The present edition is more accurately conformed to the original, retaining its peculiar orthography—even the anomalous forms, the contractions, and in most cases the punctuation—adding to Woide's edition accents, aspirates, iota subscript, etc. The passages missing in the MS. are supplied from Kuster's edition of Mill, and always carefully noted. The modern divisions into chapters and verses are noted in the margin—but the ancient sections are also retained. The text is nowhere altered, even where defective. The order of the books is as follows: The Gospels; Acts; the Catholic Epistles; Paul's Epistles (Hebrews after 2 Thessalonians and before Timothy); and the Apocalypse.

The manuscript itself is a fine and beautiful vellum, written in uncial letters in a delicate hand (very possibly a female, and in fact ascribed to one Thecla by Cyril). Each page contains two columns. In the margin on the left hand the Eusebian canons are noted throughout the four Gospels; and also the larger sections. Some of the numeral letters, and the commencement of the separate books, are in red ink. The text has been retouched in ancient and modern times (as a line over Oς, or Θς, in 1 Tim. iii, 16). Twenty-five folia (says Patrick Junius) are wanting at the beginning; Cowper says about sixteen or seventeen; it begins with Matthew xxv, 6. In John two leaves are missing, vi, 50 to viii, 52; and a calculation shows that the account of the woman taken in adultery could not have been included in them. In 2 Cor. there is a hiatus from iv, 13 to xii, 6. The original MS. also contained, appended to the New Testament, a part of Clement's Epistles,

l eighteen (apocryphal) Psalms of Solomon; though the latter are no ger a part of the Codex. Several texts are thought to be represented in ferent portions of the MS., and it also shows traces of some variety of penship (besides the later additions). The present editor adopts the reading instead of Oς in 1 Tim. iii, 16; if it ever was the latter, he says, the evice for it in the MS. is now effectually destroyed. The line *over* the conction is modern; but it is impossible to say whether, or not, it overlies a re ancient one. The transverse line in the O is "a mere shadow"; so ght that, as the vellum is there very thin, it may be only the central line e, which is directly underneath it, on the other side of the leaf. And wper adds: "The mere absence or invisibility of the cross line of the eta would not of itself be demonstrative, because it has disappeared in a mber of cases about which no question ever has been or ever will be raised. . . We hope that henceforth there will be no more endeavors *demonare digito* the true reading of this passage; and indeed that the Museum thorities will studiously resist all who wish to have the clause at their fins' ends."

As to the age of this Codex, Cyril in his Letter of Donation, ascribes it to ecla, an Egyptian woman, in the 4th century. The evidence for its yptian origin is considered satisfactory by Scholz, Tregelles, and others. o baskets of fruit, e. g. figured at the end of the Catholic Epistles, are just e some Egyptian paintings in the British Museum. The form of the letn, mode of spelling, Arabic numerals, and the fact that Alexandria was ous in the 4th and 5th centuries for the production of books, many of ich were written by female copyists, confirm the tradition. As to its —Patrick Junius says it was written soon after the council of Nicea; chbishop Usher puts it after Basil, who died A.D. 378; Walton thought it least as old as the Vatican Codex; Grabe assigned it to the last part of the rth century. Tischendorf, Tregelles, and Cowper assign it to the fifth ntury.

In its present edition, this priceless relic of antiquity is made more genely accessible. No public library should be without a copy of it; and it is ispensable to all who are interested in the critical study of the New Testant.

John Albert Bengel, Gnomon of the New Testament. Now first transed into English. With original Notes, explanatory and illustrative. Reed and edited by Rev. A. R. FAUSSET, of Trinity College, Dublin. 5 vols. . Edinburgh. T. & T. Clark. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. rth edition. 1860.

John Albert Bengel's Gnomon of the New Testament. Pointing out from Natural Force of the Words, the Simplicity, Depth, Harmony, and Sav- Power of its Divine Thoughts. A new Translation, by C. T. LEWIS, A., and M. R. VINCENT, M.A., of Troy University. Philadelphia: Perpine & Higgins. 1860. Vol. I., through the Acts. Pp. 925.

Bengel's Gnomon, after a century of quiet seclusion, always, however, sulted by scholars, has come to new honor and life in the present genera. In 1856, Schlewitz, of Berlin, published an edition, on the basis of the rd (1773), complete for 2½ thalers ($1.85): this was reissued in 1860. es, of Tübingen, also reprinted it in 1855 (from Steudel's edition of 1835), h Bengel's portrait; and the fifth edition of this reprint (now owned by inkopf, of Stuttgart) is advertised for about $1.75. Werner's German nslation appeared at Stuttgart in 1853. A translation into German of racts from Bengel on Revelation (from his 60 sermons), by Von Pfeil, was blished in a second edition in 1856; followed in 1858 by a small volume

of selections from his minor works. The Edinburgh translation (for the first time) into English is in its fourth edition, and its sale in this country has been such as to warrant the publication of a new translation by American scholars. The whole of the Edinburgh work, five volumes, as reissued by Smith & English, can be had for $5; and the American version, which will make 2 vols. of over 900 pages each, is offered at the same rate, "with a liberal discount to clergymen."

John Albert Bengel was born in 1687, and died in 1752. He was educated at Tübingen, where he was a proficient in philosophical as well as theological studies. From 1713 to 1741 he was head tutor of a theological seminary at Denkendorf; he then became Prelate of Herbrechtingen, having already completed his Gnomon. His Sixty Practical Sermons on the Revelation were preached at Herbrechtingen. In 1749 he was elected Prelate of Alpirsbach, and henceforth resided in Stuttgart until his death.

Besides editing various classical and patristic treatises, he wrote thirty original works. The best critical edition of the New Testament of his time is from him; and he proposed principles of classification of MS. and of criticism, which introduced a new phase into the history of sacred philology. The first edition of his Gnomon was in 1742; the second in 1759, edited by his son-in-law, Rev. P. D. Burk, Dean of Kirchheim. In his work on the Apocalypse, and his Ordo Temporum (1741), and Age of the World (1746), he assigned A.D. 1837 as the probable date of Christ's second coming. His commentaries are remarkable for condensation, lucidity, seizing on the points needing explication, and holding fast the order of thought. They have been a treasury for all subsequent scholars. The principles he adopted have made their way: "Put nothing *into* the Scriptures, but draw every thing *from* them;" "Fasten primary attention on the letter, but never forget the *spirit*;" "The *historical* matters are the bones of the system; the *spiritual* matters are its muscles, blood-vessels, and nerves;" "Those expositions are the safest which keep closest to the text." For a full account of these points, and of his prophetical system, the Preface by Fausset is valuable. Bengel's Life, by Burk, was translated by R. F. Walker, London, 1837.

Mr. Fausset in his edition has been aided by several scholars, Matthew being translated by Mr. Bandinell, Paul's Epistles by Dr. Bryce, the general Epistles by Dr. Fletcher. The translations are, generally, more diffuse than the original, and brief explanations of the more terse and obscure passages are subjoined. The results of modern textual criticism are given in the notes. An appendix to the fifth volume contains an index of technical terms, which Bengel, for conciseness, frequently used. The translation reads, for the most part, well and smoothly, and the additions are made with judgment, and enhance the value of the work. It is handsomely printed, and well done up, in five convenient volumes, in the usual style of Clark's library, and is offered at a rate which can only be remunerative with a considerable sale.

The translation issued by Perkinpine & Higgins is to be contained in two volumes. It was begun by Mr. Lewis in 1856, but suspended on the announcement of the Edinburgh edition. It claims to represent the sense of Bengel more concisely and precisely than the other version, "not depending on the Edinburgh book for a sentence." It contains much valuable additional matter, in the criticism of the text from the works of Tischendorf and Tregelles; and in the interpretation, from Meyer, De Wette, Lücke, Tholuck, Neander, Olshausen, Winer, Stier, Gesenius, Quesnel, and Calvin. These additions are inserted in brackets in the text, and are very useful. To make space for them, without increasing the bulk of the volume too largely, parts of Bengel are omitted, chiefly his discussion of matters now reckoned obso-

lete, his references to older books, and some of his Greek etymologies. Additions have also been derived from the German version of the Gnomon. The work is a highly creditable production of American scholarship.

Both of these editions have their particular value, which we have briefly indicated. While there are, doubtless, some inaccuracies to be found in the Edinburgh version, yet we could hardly join in the statement here made, that "it is verbose beyond all books we have ever seen." We hope that the rivalry between them may contribute to a wider circulation and study of one of the most suggestive commentaries upon the text of the New Testament.

Bunsen's Bibelwerk. The second half of the fourth half-volume contains the translation and interpretation (very concise) of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve Minor Prophets. The first two volumes of the translation and interpretation are now completed, containing an Introduction, the Pentateuch, the older Prophets (Joshua, Judges, 1, 2 Samuel, 1, 2 Kings), and Isaiah, besides those above mentioned. The part just issued was prepared for the press by Bunsen. His decease will not prevent the continuation of the work, for which he had amassed a large collection of materials. The publisher (Brockhaus) has also published a Bible Atlas, to accompany the work, completed by Bunsen. The further arrangements for the continuation are not yet made known.

Lange's Theologisch-homiletisches Bibelwerk. The ninth part of the New Testament division of this excellent work contains the Pastoral Epistles (1, 2 Timothy, Titus), and the Epistle to Philemon, by Dr. J. J. Van Osterzee, who here gives new proof of his great ability as a commentator. A translation of the whole work is announced by the Clarks, Edinburgh, as a part of their Foreign Theological Library.

Commentary on the Epistles of St. John. By Dr. JOHN H. A. EBRARD. Translated by Rev. W. B. Pope. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. 1860. Pp. 423. The Biblical Commentary of Olshausen is continued in this volume by Dr. Ebrard, who also wrote the commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, for the same work. This volume is the eighth of the third series of Clark's Foreign Evangelical Library. As an expositor, Dr. Ebrard occupies a high position, though he is occasionally somewhat prolix, and has not that marked accuracy which distinguish De Wette and Meyer. Among the commentaries on these three Epistles of John this work will take a high place; it is less comprehensive, but at the same time less diffuse, than Düsterdieck. The introductory essay on John and his writings contains a valuable reply to recent criticisms impugning the authenticity of the first Epistle. The Second and Third Epistles are ascribed by Ebrard to the Presbyter John, but vindicated as canonical. An Appendix on the Catholic Epistles discusses the historical sense of the word "Catholic" in this connection, contending that it means "evangelical," and not "canonical," nor "written by many others in common." The introductions to the different Epistles are valuable summaries of the various opinions and views entertained respecting them. The work is well worthy of its place in this Library. The translation reads generally quite smoothly.

The Gospel according to Matthew. Explained by JOSEPH ADDISON ALEXANDER. New-York: Scribner. 1861. Pp. 456. This excellent exposition is complete to the close of chapter xvi; the other chapters are merely given in analysis. Dr. Alexander was employed upon the latter portion of this work during the last weeks of his earthly career. His lamented decease has taken away one of the ablest and most learned men in the American Presby-

terian church. Just as he was maturing his large plans, just as the church was beginning to reap the full advantages of his extraordinary acquisitions, he was called from the scene of his earthly labors. His strong sense, candid spirit, careful weighing of difficulties, clear statement of the exact points to be elucidated, and strict attention to the coherence of thought and plan, give to his commentaries an eminent place. He willingly sacrificed the mere display of learning to the greater good of general usefulness. The present volume, though lacking his final supervision, confirms our opinion of the high place to be assigned to him as a critical and reverential commentator upon the Word of God.

THEOLOGY.

The Works of the Rev. John Maclaurin. Edited by W. H. Goold, D.D. 2 vols. Edinburgh. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. 1860. This excellent and well-edited collection of Maclaurin's works, will be heartily greeted by those who have had access to only a portion of his admirable writings in detached volumes. The first volume, besides the memoir of Gillies and notes by Dr. Goold, contains six discourses, including the two famous ones, the Sins of Men not chargeable to God, and, Glorying in the Cross of Christ; and two profound essays, On Prejudices against the Gospel, and, The Scripture Doctrine of Divine Grace. The second volume has his discriminating Essay on Christian Piety; his learned Essay on the Prophecies relating to the Messiah—his largest work; a Philosophical Inquiry into the Nature of Happiness; and Notes on Sermons—specimens from a large collection reported by Mr. George Brown, a constant hearer of Maclaurin at Glasgow. Mr. Brown says, that the application of the great sermon on the Glorying of the Cross of Christ, was never written out. Maclaurin is one of the great names in the Scottish church. Few rival him in weight of thought, consecutiveness of argument, and impressiveness of appeal. Born in 1693, he was settled in Glasgow in 1723, and, as a minister, was not only diligent and zealous in performing his duties to his people, but sought also the peace and purity of the Church at large, and was active in all projects for the reformation of morals and manners—about which matters some curious and new information is here given, showing how kindred was his spirit to that of Chalmers, in the same sphere, nearly a century afterwards. His testimonies to the revival at Cambuslang may be advantageously contrasted with that of Dr. Carlyle in his Autobiography. Maclaurin was one of Jonathan Edwards' admirers and friends. A valuable note contains various letters he wrote respecting him—now first published. In 1751, he was active in collecting money and stores to help Mr. Edwards, and was also at the pains to send for his "Effigie" and that of his wife. About the latter, he says, that (besides Edwards' portrait) he wants "the Effigie of the person whose best picture takes up about nine pages in that excellent Book of Thoughts on the Revival, Edinburgh edition, from page 35th; and concerning whom Dr. Coleman once wrote, in a letter which I saw, two things: that that person's face was reckoned the best in British America, or words to that effect; and that it was the author's own wife (however so curiously concealed as not to tell whether it is man or woman), which account of the face may naturally put one in mind of the inspired wise man's remark, that "wisdom makes the face shine." (In a letter to Wm. Hogg, Glasgow.) There are thirteen pages of these letters, chiefly about Mr. Edwards and American affairs. Maclaurin's Essay on Prophecy, published posthumously, 1773 (he died in

1754), is not completed, but it has an admirable plan, grouping all the prophecies about Christ. The tests of prophecy, in relation to Christ, are fully and acutely marshalled. Incidentally, he vindicates a knowledge of immortality to the Hebrew church, in an able argument. As indicating his range of reading and authorship, one of his unpublished treatises was, Against the Errors of the Mystics; another was, The Evidence of the Miracles recorded in the New Testament. Those that read these volumes will be inclined to assent to the opinion of the late Dr. John Brown, that "he combines, in an extraordinary degree, excellencies which seldom meet, and have sometimes been thought incompatible; for, while scarcely less intellectual than Butler, he is as spiritual as Leighton."

A Practical Discourse of God's Sovereignty, with other Material Points derived thence, viz. Of the Righteousness of God, Election, Redemption, Effectual Calling, Perseverance. By ELISHA COLES. From the 43d London edition. Philadelphia: Smith & English. pp. 299. The author of this Discourse died in 1688; the first edition was published in 1673. It bears the commendations of such Puritans as Thomas Goodwin, John Owen, and William Romaine. Dr. Ryland said of it, that it "was one of the most useful, and best known to all experimental Christians, of any written in any language." A reply to it, by William Sellon, was published, after a century had elapsed, 1770. The treatise is Scriptural, and practical, rather than scholastic. It defends, with ability, the main points of the Calvinistic system, as then held, against the views and objections of the Arminians. Many points and questions have been since raised, on which, of course, it does not touch. But it still has a historical, as well as practical, value.

The Second Advent of Jesus Christ not Premillenial. By JOSEPH F. BERG, D.D. Philadelphia: Perkinpine and Higgins. pp. 251. The doctrine of the Second Advent, in its various bearings and relations, is vigorously and ably handled in this volume. The main arguments against the premillennial hypothesis are presented with earnestness and conclusiveness. Dr. Berg has the power of seeing and stating clearly just the strongest points for attack and defence. The volume is one well worthy of being read by those interested in these prophetic and important investigations.

Evenings with the Doctrines. By NEHEMIAH ADAMS, D.D. Boston; Gould & Lincoln. New York: for sale by Phinney, Blakeman & Mason. 1861, pp. 415. The main doctrines of the Christian system are presented in this attractive volume, in a simple and familiar manner—the substance of the work having been previously delivered, as a series of evening lectures, in the winter of 1858–9. These discussions are admirable specimens of the way in which even the more difficult topics of theology can be so handled as to be perspicuous to all thoughtful persons, as well as to remove the leading objections. It is at once apparent, that the author has thoroughly studied his subject; but there is no show of learning, there is no obtrusion of technicalities. The orthodox doctrine, even in the old New England sense, is firmly held and advocated; there is no abatement of it in deference to the assumed authority of a merely moral system; and yet the whole presentation is in a candid and charitable spirit, without any trace of polemic zeal. The Word of God is felt to be the author's ultimate authority. Such lectures cannot fail to do good. The style is natural and flowing. The resources of varied reading impart variety to the argument. The heart and conscience, as well as the intellect, are kept in constant play, by appeals which often rise to the measure of an unaffected eloquence. The topics handled are—God, Divine Revelation, The Trinity, The Deity of Christ and of the Holy Spirit,

Man, Atonement, Election, Regeneration, Perseverance, Christian Perfection, The Intermediate State, and Retribution.

The Church of Christ, in its Idea, Attributes, and Ministry. By Edward Arthur Litton, A.M. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. 8vo. pp. 468. Though this book was called forth by the Oxford Controversy, it has a permanent value, as a learned, thorough, and able treatise, in Three Books, on the true idea of the Church, on its Notes or Attributes, and on the Christian Ministry. It reviews all the ground here in dispute between the Romanists and Protestants, and between the Oxford School and its opponents. It is distinguished for clear arrangement, candid statement, and careful learning. Though the author is a member of the Episcopal Church of England, he advocates, in the main, the common ground of the Reformed churches. As a manual for the student on these important questions, his work has a permanent worth. The nature and legitimate results of the Roman Catholic idea of the Church are fully set forth; and the doctrinal statements of the chief Protestant Confessions, with their grounds and reasons, are amply stated and forcibly expounded. The real point of difference is correctly put in the position, that the Romanist makes the essence of the Church to lie in what is visible, the Protestant in what is invisible. The author's general position is in agreement with that of Archbishop Whately. The whole ground of the Jewish dispensation, the New Testament evidence, the testimony of the Fathers, and the opinions of the Reformers is explored. A valuable supplementary chapter gives illustrations of Church principles from the writings of Cyprian and Augustine. The volume ought to have a place in the libraries of our ministers and students of theology; and it is so written as to be interesting and needful to all laymen who may have occasion to read upon the subject.

Christian Nurture. By Horace Bushnell. New York: Scribner. 1861. Pp. 407. Dr. Bushnell's discourses on Christian Nurture, published in 1847, awakened much discussion at the time. They were republished in the same year, with an Argument in their defence, and other discussions "on subjects adjacent thereto." This new volume contains the two original Discourses (which were first published at the solicitation of others), and only one other chapter from the previous volume, that on the Organic Unity of the Family. The remainder of this treatise is made up of thirteen new essays, in the form of discourses, though never used as such. Some of the statements which aroused opposition at the first appearance of these essays will now be more kindly and fairly judged. They ought in justice to be interpreted by the maturer mode of handling the matter, which is found in the later exposition. Though not wholly freed from all difficulties, yet their main bearing and intent are worthy of high commendation. The soul of the theory here advocated is found in the opposition to mere individualism in philosophy and theology. The author seizes the profounder truth contained in the organic unity of the family and the race. And though he seems to us to bring our native sinfulness too much under the laws and processes of nature, yet he undoubtedly holds that these natural laws and processes are directed and controlled, in this matter of Christian nurture, by the laws and methods of the kingdom of grace. When contrasted with stubborn facts, some of his positions about the practicability of training children so that they shall grow up knowing only that they are Christians, seem to picture an ideal, rather than the actual, education; but still it is an ideal, in view of which every Christian parent ought to act, so far as is possible. That the work abounds in fruitful thoughts, in old truths embellished with new and graceful drapery, in new combinations of familiar truths, in striking and felicitous analogies and

turns of thought, and in a high spiritual tone, we need hardly say to any who are acquainted with Dr. Bushnell's writings. The general topic here brought under review is of the most vital interest to the welfare and growth of the Church. It could not be presented at a more opportune juncture. We trust the volume will be widely read and deeply pondered; and refrain the more willingly from further comment, as we have been promised an article on the subject for a future number of the REVIEW. We are tempted, however, to subjoin a curious coincidence with the general theory of this work, which is found in the Summa of Thomas Aquinas (as cited in Hagenbach's History of Doctrines, § 191, Note 5): Regeneratio spiritualis, quae fit per baptismum, est quodammodo similis nativitati carnali, quantum ad hoc, quod, sicut pueri in maternis uteris constituti non per se ipsos nutrimentum accipiunt, sed ex nutrimento matris sustentantur, ita etiam pueri nondum habentes usum rationis, quasi in utero matris ecclesiae constituti, non per se ipsos, sed per actum ecclesiae, salutem suscipiunt. Bating the 'actus ecclesiae,' the angelic doctor and the Hartford divine are not very far apart in their theories, and even in their specific illustrations.

The Character of Jesus; forbidding his Possible Classification with Men. By HORACE BUSHNELL. New York: Scribner. 1861. Pp. 173. This gem is reprinted from the author's larger work on Nature and the Supernatural. It is a distinct and forcible argument by itself, conducted with an elevation of thought and expression befitting this inspiring theme.

PRACTICAL RELIGIOUS LITERATURE.

Messrs. T. Nelson & Sons of London have an agency in New York for their valuable publications, which comprise some of the best standard as well as recent works in our practical religious literature. We are glad to know that there is an increasing demand in our country for works of this character, which help to bind Great Britain and America together by the strong ties of a common religious faith. We have received from these publishers the following six works, worthy of a place in ministerial and parochial libraries.

Contemplations on the Historical Passages of the Old and New Testaments. By the Rt. Rev. JOSEPH HALL, D.D. With Life by Rev. JAS. HAMILTON, D.D. London and New York: T. Nelson & Sons. 1860. 8vo. double columns. Pp. 602. With a portrait. Bishop Hall was born in 1574, and died 1656. He was one of the delegates from England to the Synod of Dort, was appointed bishop of Exeter 1627, and of Norwich in 1641. One of the most eminent of the English scholars of his generation, he was also distinguished for his fervent piety, and for his zeal in the ministerial work. His Contemplations are among the treasures of the English devotional literature. They are a series of meditations upon all the chief events of the Old and New Testament history, often suggesting original trains of thought, and always pervaded by a reverential and sober spirit, averse to mere fancies and allegories. The Life by Dr. Hamilton is an excellent account of Bishop Hall's works and services, enriched by citations of some of his weighty thoughts.

A Commentary on the Book of Psalms. By the Rt. Rev. GEORGE HORNE. London and New York: T. Nelson & Sons. 1860. 8vo. pp. 659. With a

portrait. The Hutchinsonian school of English divines numbered many thoughtful and learned men in its ranks; and among them, Bishop Horne was preëminent for his attainments and ability. Though this school was opposed, in some of its principles, by such men as Newton, Adam Smith, and Law, and though it was extravagant in carrying out its position, that the principles of science and philosophy are to be found in the Scriptures, yet it also helped incidentally to illustrate the wealth of thought contained in the sacred volume. Bishop Horne's Commentary on the Psalms was first published in 1771, when he was Chaplain to the King (he was made bishop of Norwich 1791, and died 1792). The numerous editions through which it has since passed attest the deserved estimation in which it is held, for its devout tone, its ingenious criticisms, and its graces of style. Though modern criticism may disown some of his special interpretations, and especially his application of many irrelevant passages to the Messiah; yet a just estimate of the relation of the Old to the New Testament will find this a less evil than the rationalistic endeavor to exclude Christ altogether from the prophetic word, and from the types and symbols of the older and preparatory dispensation. Though Christ himself may not be found every where, yet his Spirit pervades the whole of the inspired volume.

The Two Great Commandments. By ROBERT S. CANDLISH, D.D. London, Edinburgh and New York: T. Nelson & Sons. 1860. Cr. 8vo. pp. 358. The two great commandments—Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy Neighbor as Thyself—are illustrated in this volume by a series of forcible discourses on the twelfth Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. The exposition manifests that thorough study of the text, which was to be anticipated from so eminent a theologian; while the general arrangement of the matter, and the varied application of the passages, show a high degree of ingenuity and fertility of mind. The Contents are divided into three parts: Part First, The Christian in his Relation to God, vs. 1, 2; Part Second, The Christian in his Relation to his Fellow-Christians—the Church, the Body of Believers, vs. 3–13; Part Third, The Christian in his Relation to a Hostile World, vs. 14–21. The chapter is taken as a summary of Christian ethics: and one object of the volume, successfully achieved, is to show, that the ethics of the Bible are impregnated with its theology. The discussion is not directly of the Two Commandments, but rather to show, that these two great commandments of the law are most fully illustrated, demanded, and worked out only by and through the Gospel. Incidentally, the doctrines of atonement and final retribution are strongly proclaimed and defended, with particular reference to the negative theology. The whole volume, while eminently practical, is practical in the high sense of applying the Christian truth to the Christian life. Weighty thoughts are often impressed by stirring and eloquent appeals.

Christ's Presence in the Gospel History. By Rev. HUGH MARTIN, M.A., Edinburgh. London, Edinburgh and New York: T. Nelson & Sons. 1860. Pp. 306. The living Presence of Christ, in the Gospels, in history, and in the believer, is vividly set forth in this interesting volume. This great and vital theme is handled with freshness, and some degree of originality. The Gospels are depicted as the "Galleries of the King"; and these Galleries visited, give the Baptism, the Temptation, the Synagogue, and the Cross, as subjects of discourse. This work, like many recent publications, serves to show, that the idea of Christ's real presence and direct personal relation to the believer, is becoming more and more the central theme of Christian contemplation.

rayers for the Use of Families. By CHARLES WATSON, D.D., late ister of Burtisland. 14th edition. Edinburgh and London. New-: for sale by T. Nelson & Sons. 12mo. pp. 336. Though these ers do not belong to the highest order of Christian devotional litera-, yet they will be found a useful help to any families that make use of forms. The volume contains, Morning and Evening Prayers for eight s, pp. 7–268; Sacramental Prayers, pp. 269–292; Occasional Prayers, 93–325; Short Prayers for Occasional Use, pp. 326–336.

lain Paths for Youthful Runners. By Rev. THOS. ALEXANDER, M.A., lsea, London. T. Nelson & Sons. 18mo. pp. 232. A very difficult is here well accomplished. It is that of writing sermons for children, ch shall neither be a mere collection of stories, nor a dry and didactic ngue, but a simple and earnest presentation of Biblical truths so as to rest the youthful mind.

ermons on the Seasons; also a Sermon on the Crucifixion of Christ. Rev. FRANKLIN MOORE, A.M. Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins. 0. 18mo. pp. 174. With a portrait of the Author. "It has pleased ," says the Preface, "to impart to the author of this volume a passionate pathy with the sights, sounds, and developments of the outer, material rld." The style of the volume is animated and picturesque, and might occasionally chastened without disadvantage to the impressiveness of the criptions.

Grapes of Eshcol; or, Gleanings from the Land of Promise. By JOHN MACDUFF, D.D. *The Cities of Refuge;* or, the Name of Jesus. By same. New York: Carters. 1861. The first of these volumes is a se- of delightful meditations upon the Better Land, in contrast with the e of our earthly pilgrimage—well adapted to make heaven seem more , and to give comfort and hope in hours of sorrow and despondency. e second volume is an attractive Sunday Book for the Young, with good strations of the six cities. It forms the third volume of Carters' Fire- Library.

England's Yeomen; from Life in the Nineteenth Century. By MARIA SA CHARLESWORTH. New York: Carters. 1861. Pp. 390. The re- ation of the author of "Ministering Children" will secure a wide interest this interesting volume. It is handsomely printed on fine paper, with well executed illustrations. It describes the habits and history of a istian household, among the English yeomanry, through various vicis-des, founded on fact. While not aspiring to the development of any lar plot, it has the merit of simple description, beautifully illustrating enforcing the great duties of practical Christianity.

Thoughts on Preaching; being Contributions to Homiletics. By JAMES ALEXANDER, D.D. New York: Scribner. 1861. Pp. 514. Dr. Alex-r had it in view to write a volume on Homiletics for the use of young isters and students. His brother has collected, in this volume, para-hs from his private journals bearing on this subject, and on ministerial s; a series of Letters to Young Ministers which he contributed to the byterian newspaper; and articles published by him, in the Princeton iew, on the Studies and Discipline of the Preacher, the Matter of Preach-Expository Preaching, the Pulpit in Ancient and Modern Times, and Eloquence of the French Pulpit. These articles were carefully pre-d, and are well worthy of republication. The Letters from the Pres-

byterian are full of useful and wise suggestions, illustrated by ample st of anecdote and learning. The brief hints and suggestions from his Di show how constantly and earnestly Dr. Alexander's mind was emplo upon the great subject of preaching, and the most effective way of brin home the Gospel to men's minds and hearts. The more he preached, more he was delivered from the trammels of technical rules and phraseol Pertinent and forcible suggestions are scattered through these memora What is here given makes us regret all the more, that he did not liv mature a work, which would have presented in a permanent form the sults of his study and experience.

Hymns and Choirs; or the Matter and Manner of the Service of Son the House of the Lord. Andover: W. F. Draper. 1860. Pp. 425. N York, for sale by Mason & Co. This interesting and instructive work Hymnology is in Three Chapters: the First, by Prof. Austin Phelps, D. of Andover, is on Hymnology as an Expression of Religious Life. T Second, by Prof. Edwards A. Park, D.D., is a critical examination of t Text of Hymns. The Third, by Rev. Daniel L. Furber, is on the Digni and Methods of Worship in Song, and contains a forcible plea for cong gational singing. The whole work is to some extent a vindication of t Sabbath Hymn-Book; though it also has an independent value. The pri ciples that should regulate the composition and use of sacred songs are inve gated in a philosophical spirit, and with a true appreciation of the natu and importance of this part of public worship. The historical accounts hymnology show a thorough study of the different characteristics of dif ent periods. Professor Phelps has some admirable sections on this subje Dr. Park's examination of the text of hymns is searching; the enumerati of the multiplicity of alterations is really formidable. A spirit of sha yet refined, criticism pervades the volume. It will reward careful stu Its principles, faithfully applied, would tend to elevate this important p of public worship.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Personal History of Lord Bacon. From Unpublished Papers. By W LIAM HEPWORTH DIXON of the Inner Temple. Boston: Ticknor & Fi 1861. Pp. 424. The papers published by Mr. Dixon in the Lond Athenæum in vindication of Lord Bacon are republished, with additio materials, in this volume. The American edition is issued under the thor's sanction. The work is the most elaborate attempt yet made to verse the traditional verdict about the ingratitude of Bacon to Essex, a his receiving of bribes as lord chancellor. It has, in this task, the advantag more documents than were at the command of Basil Montague, and its ha ling of the subject is much more thorough. Lord Campbell's judgment particular point of attack. The work has throughout the sustained inte of an earnest argument. The advocate means to gain his cause, and of justice he has no lingering doubts. And every just and generous mind sympathize with the attempt to blot out the stigma that has so long attac to "the wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind." That line was the fatal shaft ever shot from Pope's quiver. And Mr. Dixon has succee in showing, that Bacon has been judged with an unwarrantable harshn that he was more sinned against than sinning; that others, even those procured sentence against him, were worse than he; and that, at the utm

he incidentally shared in the corruptions and bribery which were universally practised. He has vindicated him in comparison with the profligates of his times; but he has not shown, that lord Bacon was one of those men, who spurn bribery, and scorn corruption, and have clean hands in an unclean age. He could not show this; for lord Bacon is here the chief witness against himself. His apparent ingratitude to Essex is palliated, if not wholly justified, by the necessity of choosing between Essex and the Queen. What his duty as a public man (from which he prayed to be excused), imposed upon him, may have cost him a hard struggle with his personal sympathies. The allegations about bribery are examined more completely than ever before—and sifted. Undoubtedly lord Buckingham and his party were unprincipled; Coke was both arrogant and roguish; the mitred Williams had to lay down the Seals in ignominy: these bad men were glad to accomplish the ruin of England's greatest man. And, still further,—no case of open bribery, before sentence, is proved against him; and as to all such instances, Bacon says, that he "is as innocent as any babe born on St. Innocent's day." But bribes or rewards taken without inquiry, and taken after decision (as they were every where customary), he does not deny.

But the absorbing interest, and the value, of this book do not depend upon the case being made out. It is forcibly, sometimes eloquently composed. It would be better were the style more tempered, and the zeal less apparent. There is an occasional straining after impressiveness and effect. But it tells us more about Bacon's person, and personal history, about his wife and marriage, about his public bearing and career, than any other book. And it comes, too, most opportunely, just when Spedding and Ellis are producing the best edition of those immortal works, in which Bacon rose far above the age in which he lived.

Autobiography of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle, minister of Inveresk, containing Memorials of the Men and Events of his Time. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860. Pp. 471. Dr. Carlyle was born in 1722, and died in 1802. He was for fifty-seven years the minister of Inveresk, and was familiarly acquainted with all the leading men, who, during the last half of the eighteenth century, gave fame to Scotland. His autobiography, now first published, edited by J. H. Burton, is one of the most entertaining volumes in this class of literature: no one ought to take it in hand, unless he has a few hours of leisure before him. Though it bears some traces of the increasing infirmities of the author at the time of life in which it was written (having been begun in his seventy-ninth year), yet these are slight blemishes in comparison with the fulness, and even freshness, with which events and persons are characterized. This "shrewd, clever old carle", as Scott called him, knew Hume and Robertson at the University, and kept up his intimacy with the latter all through his life; he heard Leechman and Hucheson at Glasgow, and from them imbibed his liberal and ethical tone of theology; he saw the Porteus mob, and was at the battle of Prestonpans (his native place), and tells us how Robertson appeared marching about the country; he knew Blair and Smollett, Shenstone and Garrick; he took an active part in the ecclesiastical controversies under the "Robertson administration", siding always with him and the Moderates; he was also implicated in the famous dispute about John Home's "Douglas"; nor did he neglect his duties as the minister of the parish of Inveresk, where he secured the esteem and confidence of his parishioners. But the biography has its chief interest in its details about the social life and personal characteristics of David Hume, Adam Smith, Robertson, Adam Ferguson, the mathematician, Stewart, and McLaurin, and other men of note. Dr. Carlyle was a literary man without

the ambition of authorship, and a man of public weight, by th of his good sense and strong character. The admirable portrai the volume, indicates thoughtfulness, shrewdness, reserve and Scottish church in the present century is fortunately delivered minion of the Moderate party, which so long restrained its zeal, near to reducing Christianity to a merely moral system: of the racter and aims of that party no more popular account can be fou contained in these pages. Of David Hume it is implied, that h was not as thorough as is generally supposed. We also here Gardiner's conversion, and the famous revival of Cambuslang, by the men of more moderate views. The narrative derives a from the fact that its publication has been delayed for more than

Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character. By E. B. R of Edinburgh. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. Pp. 292. 1861. other book of Scotch origin, and Scotch throughout in its ton The American reprint is from the seventh Edinburgh edition was originally a series of Lectures, which were cordially w larged by new anecdotes and traits in each successive edition. say, after reading it, that there is not a deal of quiet humor, wit, in the Scotch character. There are five chapters giving t istics, respectively, of Scotch Religious Feelings and Obser Scottish Conviviality; the Old Scottish Domestic—a rare char tish Humor and Proverbs; and Stories of Wit and Humor. stories are capital; the characterizing is throughout definite volume is an entertainment, not unmingled with grave thoug gestions.

Notes on New Testament Literature and Ecclesiastical Hist SEPH ADDISON ALEXANDER, D.D. New York: Charles Scrit 12mo. pp. 319. We have here two fragments from the pen of Alexander, posthumously edited by a younger brother. To th pils of the Professor they will doubtless be interesting as mem tures, which are said to have been "remarkable." But outside they can neither enhance the reputation of the learned author, thing of value to the literature of the subjects handled. The g over is merely introductory, and the points made belong to t stock of all teachers in the two departments of theological st presented. This is especially true of the historical fragment, v ceedingly meagre and unsatisfactory. We observe many e charged to the account of careless proof-reading, with here a which appears to have come in directly from the manuscript of as for example, on page 175, where Nicephorus Callistus, who 1850 A.D., is spoken of as belonging to the thirteenth century. of treating Church History now prevalent, which combines t with the *periodic*, will be likely to hold its place in our Semina of the objections urged against it in this volume.

History of the Netherlands; from the Death of William t the Synod of Dort. With a Full View of the English-Dut against Spain, and of the Origin and Destruction of the Spani By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY, LL.D., D.C.L. New York: Harp 2 vols. 8vo. Pp. 532, 563. This admirable work will be notice in the next number of this REVIEW.

A Text-Book of the History of Doctrines. By DR. K. R. HAGENBACH. The Edinburgh Translation revised, with Large Additions from the Fourth German Edition and other Sources. By HENRY B. SMITH. Vol. 1, 8vo. pp. 478. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1861. Notice deferred, as also of *Milman's History of Latin Christianity*, Vols. IV. V. VI., published by the same house.

Legends of the Madonna as represented in the Fine Arts. By Mrs. JAMESON. Corrected and enlarged edition. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1861. Pp. 483. A beautiful and compact edition of a work, equally interesting in a religious and artistic point of view.

The Protestant Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopedia; being a condensed Translation of *Herzog's Real-Encyclopedia.* With Additions from other Sources. By J. H. BOMBERGER, D.D., assisted by distinguished Theologians of various Denominations. 2 vols. royal 8vo. double columns, pp. 768, 768. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1858–60. Herzog's Encyclopedia is undoubtedly the best work of the kind ever published. No country but Germany could have produced it; and in Germany it could only be produced by a combination of the most learned and diligent scholars. The main topics of theology and church history are discussed, in the light of the most recent investigations, by men amply qualified for the work by their special studies in each particular department. The general theological spirit is that of the Union party, representing the consensus of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. While various shades of opinion are of course represented, the work is free from a rationalistic or sceptical tendency. And if any scholar wishes to know the general sum and result of learned investigation on the great facts and personages of church history, and on the doctrines and their history, he cannot well afford to do without the aid which this Encyclopedia offers.

In translating it, a somewhat difficult task was to be performed. The original work is so extended, that a full translation was hardly advisable; nor was it needed for the great mass of American readers. And, besides, many of the original articles are needlessly prolix. Another difficulty was found in the fact, that the original is not yet completed; and the alphabetical order of many words is quite different in the two languages. It seems to us, that Dr. Bomberger, in this "condensed translation", has successfully coped with these hindrances. The translation embraces probably rather more than half the matter of the original, retaining the indispensable literary references. Enough is given to meet the wants of almost any scholar; and, certainly, a great deal more than can be found in any similar work—for there has not until now been even a respectable Theological Encyclopedia in English. The difficulties about the alphabetical order have, of course, delayed the completion of the work. It is now finished to Josiah, and the German is in the middle of S. The conclusion of the American work is promised soon after that of the German. The editor has himself executed about half of this difficult task, and has won the thanks of all scholars, especially those who can appreciate the labor involved. Omissions, of course, there are, particularly in the names of English and American divines. Hopkins, Bellamy, and Emmons, are given under Edwards. The names of Chillingworth, Charnock, John Howe, Hall, Goodwin, Arnold, Hare, Hurd, Davenant, Barrow, Bishop Butler, Horsley, Heylin, Edw. Gibson, Grabe, Gale, Gillespie, Baillie, Boston, Erskine, Hutchinson, are not found; though several of them are certainly quite as deserving of commemoration as many of the Germans, whose lives and works are described at length.

Guesses at Truth: by Two Brothers [JULIUS CHARLES, and AUGUSTUS HARE]. From the fifth London Edition. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 186 . Pp. 555. With a portrait of Julius Charles Hare, finely drawn. This is a beautiful edition, from the University press, Cambridge, of a work we worthy of such attractive paper and typography. Like all the books issued by Ticknor & Fields, it abundantly satisfies the hand and the eye. The first London edition was issued in 1838; and it was recognised at once infusing into English criticism and reflection a new spirit—learned, though ful and reverential, based on wider studies, and pervaded by a more generous philosophy, than were then current. Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Arnold were leading the way in a movement, whose end is not yet. Its critical and philosophical, rather than its theological, phase, is represented in its dawning period in these Guesses at Truth. The popular, common-sense, Scotch and English speculations are criticised, in a fragmentary way indeed, but as to stimulate thought. From almost every page pregnant sentences, suggestive reflections, and striking aphorisms might be culled. It is just the book to have at hand, when the mind is lagging and needs a stimulus, and not an essay. *E. g.* "Hardly any thing is so difficult in writing, as to write with ease." "Contrast is a kind of relation." "Excessive indulgence to others, especially to children, is in fact only self-indulgence, under a *alias*." "Truth, when witty, is the wittiest of all things." "There are persons who would have us love, or rather obey God, chiefly because he forbids the devil." "Be what you are. This is the first step towards becoming better than you are." "In darkness there is no choice. It is light, that enables us to see the differences between things; and it is Christ, that gives us light."

The Christian Element in Plato and the Platonic Philosophy. By Dr. C. ACKERMANN. Translated by S. R. ASBURY. With an Introduction by W. G. T. SHEDD, D.D. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. We are glad to announce the publication of this able work, which we cordially recommend. A full notice of it, prepared for this number of the REVIEW, is necessarily deferred.

The Conduct of Life. By R. W. EMERSON. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860. Pp. 288. Contents: Fate; Power; Wealth; Culture; Behavior; Worship; Considerations by the Way; Beauty; Illusions. The first topic gives the essence, and the last topic gives the net result of these inimitable Essays, to which we shall recur again.

Coins, Medals, and Seals, Ancient and Modern. Illustrated and described. With a Sketch of the History of Coins and Coinage, Instructions for Young Collectors, Tables of Comparative Rarity, Price Lists of English and American Coins, Medals and Tokens, etc. etc. Edited by W. C. PRIME. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861. Small quarto, pp. 292. Not only coin collectors, but all readers of history, will find ample instruction and entertainment in this beautiful work. It is printed on tinted paper, and every other page contains clear and well executed engravings of coins and medals, ranging through all the chief nations and periods. Those who cannot procure the costly works of Mionnet and Eckel will here find a good substitute, sufficient for all ordinary use, and containing much of local interest not embraced in Humphrey's Coin Collector's Manual, and Coinage of the British Empire. In the prevalent zeal for numismatic collections, such a work will be cordially welcomed. Mr. Prime's history of coins and medals is not only instructive, but also in a high degree entertaining. The part relating to American coins

and medals is the fruit of much research, though, as he says, "sadly imperfect," in consequence of "the obscurity which overhangs the history of American coinage." Among the special subjects are, Rare Coins of the U. S. Series, Gold Coinage of U. S., Prices of Coins and Medals, Colonial Coins, Washington Coins, Medals and Tokens, Presidential and Election Medals and Medalets, Political Tokens, Temperance and Miscellaneous Medalets, and American Medals awarded by Congress. The whole work is highly creditable to both the author and the publishers.

Chambers's Encyclopædia. A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge for the People. Vol. I. Pp. 824, royal octavo, double columns. This valuable popular Encyclopædia is now published by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, printed from the plates of the Edinburgh edition. It is beautifully illustrated with numerous wood-cuts. Seven steel-plate maps, very well executed, printed in colors, are included in this volume. The whole work will be comprised in six or seven volumes. The paper and type are excellent. As to its contents, it is a model of a popular Dictionary of Knowledge, giving in the most condensed and perspicuous form the results of substantial and careful scholarship. The rate of three dollars a volume, at which it is afforded, is remarkably low; and the style in which it is got up is much superior to other works of the same class, sold at the same rate. We have no hesitation in recommending it as decidedly the best work of its kind; in the same compass, and at the same rate, there is none to take its place. As a work of reference for a family, or for district school libraries, it will answer all ordinary demands. On controverted subjects, so far as we have examined, it is impartial and candid; its general theological tone is conservative. The historical parts are brought down to the present times. Some of the articles, *e. g.* Æsthetics, Atonement, show the fruit of much study. The work will undoubtedly have, as it deserves, a wide circulation in this country.

The Odyssey of Homer, with the Hymns, Epigrams, and Battle of the Frogs and Mice. Literally Translated, with Explanatory Notes, by Theodore Alois Buckley. New York: Harpers. 1861. Pp. 432. Price 75 cents. The Pseudo Herodotean Life of Homer, in the translation of Kenneth Mackenzie, Esq., is prefixed to this volume. It also contains, besides a careful prose translation, frequent extracts from the "brilliant paraphrases of Chapman, Congreve, and Shelley." The Hymns and Minor Poems are here for the first time literally rendered into English. We cordially commend the work to all, excepting academical and college students.

Herodotus. Recensuit Josephus Williams Blakesley. 2 vols. New York. 1861. Pp. 362, 364. Price 40 cents a volume. Two new volumes of *Harpers' Greek and Latin Texts*, beautifully printed on fine paper, in lithe binding, and wonderfully cheap. The type is clear and finished.

Sinai and Zion: or, a Pilgrimage Through the Wilderness to the Land of Promise. By Benjamin Bausman. With Illustrations. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1861. Pp. 543. An unpretending and interesting narrative of travels in Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, and Syria, in the winter and spring of 1857. The volume is issued in handsome style, and is well illustrated with appropriate cuts.

The Dutch Dominie of the Catskills: or, the Times of the "Bloody Brandt." By Rev. DAVID MURDOCH, D.D. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1861. Pp. 471. This is a narrative of primitive Dutch and Indian life, illustrating scenes of historic interest in the bloody conflicts of 1778. The scenes and characters are well drawn, and the moral tone is unexceptionable.

One of Them. By CHARLES LEVER. New York: Harpers. 1861. Pp. 187, octavo, double columns. 50 cents. A new volume from the fertile pen of Mr. Lever is sure to find numerous readers among all the lovers of genuine humor and entertaining narrative.

Studies from Life. By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman," etc. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861. Pp. 290. Miss Muloch is deservedly a great favorite, for the naturalness and beauty of sentiment, the skill in delineating character, and the elevated moral tone, which pervade her works. This volume, made up of a variety of studies on general and domestic topics, is an excellent book for reading in the family circle.

The Children's Picture Fable-Book, containing One Hundred and Sixty Fables. With Sixty Illustrations by HARRISON WEIR. *The Children's Picture-Book of Quadrupeds. With Sixty-one Engravings by* W. HARVEY. *The Children's Picture-Book of Birds. Illustrated with Sixty-one Engravings by* W. HARVEY. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861. Here are three fascinating volumes for children. The descriptions are clear and simple, and the illustrations beautiful and spirited.

The Children's Bible Picture-Book. Illustrated with Eighty Engravings. New York: Harpers. 1861. Pp. 321. Another volume, admirably adapted to interest and instruct children. Many of the engravings are from designs by Steinle, Overbeck and others in the Illustrated German Bible, and from the well known Bible Pictures by Julius Schnorr.

Stories of Rainbow and Lucky. Up the River. By JACOB ABBOTT. New York: Harpers.

Peterchen and Gretchen: or, Tales of Early Childhood for Little Children from Four to Eight Years. Translated from the German, by the author of "Little Susy's Six Birthdays," etc. New York: Randolph. 1860. A very good book, and translated with fidelity and spirit; but not quite equal to the translator's own works, which are inimitable.

News of the Churches and of Missions.

ne the first week of January
ds in this country, in England,
d, Ireland, on the Continent
pe, in India, China, Western
nd Africa, were offering their
in concert for the spread of
spel throughout the world.
probably, were so many Christ-
aying, simultaneously, for the
lessings.

progress of the Gospel during
sixty years has been such as
ll incite the church to prayer
ort. During that period the
as been translated into up-
of 100 languages. There are
professing Christians in New
; 100,000 in Burmah and
112,000 Protestant Christians
a; 5000 or 6000 in Turkey;
in Africa; 40,000 in Ame-
nd 250,000 in the islands of
ific. There are Christians in
Madagascar, Mauritius, and
emote parts of the world.
re 200,000 or 300,000 Negroes
he care of Christian pastors in
st Indies. There are more
nillion and a quarter of living
ns, who but for the labors
missionaries would have all
d idolaters.

pproximate calculation has
ade of the advance of the
at different periods:

re, of Christian communicants,
irst century,.....500,000
ifth century,.....15,000,000
enth century,.....50,000,000
fteenth century,....100,000,000
ighteenth century,..200,000,000

The "Annual Survey of the Missions of the American Board" gives the following summary of its work during the last half-century: "It has sent out, in all, from the United States, more than twelve hundred male and female laborers, and has established some twenty-six missions, which are still exerting their influence for good, though not now all connected with the Board; 'in these missions, churches to the number of one hundred and sixty-two have been gathered, with a present membership of more than twenty thousand, and with a membership from the beginning of not less than fifty-five thousand, averaging more than a thousand for every year; that as many as one hundred and seventy-five thousand must have been in the mission schools since the commencement of the enterprise, while some thousands of these have enjoyed the advantages of the seminaries and boarding-schools; and the number of pages issued by mission presses from the beginning, can not fall much short of one thousand and five hundred millions, mostly in languages which had previously contained little or nothing of a truly Christian literature, several of which, indeed, were first reduced to a written form by the missionaries."

Protestantism in the Latin Race. Dr. Baird estimates the Latin race at about 116,000,000, viz. Italian, 26,000,000; French, 42,000,000 (including portions of Belgium, Switzerland,

Canada, etc.); Spanish, in the Old and New world, 40,000,000; Portugese, 8 to 10,000,000. Among these the number of Protestants does not now exceed 3,000,000. About 30,000 Italians are reckoned as Protestants.

According to statistical returns, from the different countries, the number of murders to a million of population is Naples, 174; States of the Church, 113; Sicily, 90; Tuscany, 60; Austria, 36; France, 31; Sardinia, 20; Ireland, 19; Belgium, 18; England, 4. This itself is a comment on free institutions.

Universal Israelite Alliance.—A new "Universal Israelite Alliance" has been formed in Paris, intended to embrace the whole world. Its object is to bind the Jews together, so as to promote their general emancipation and progress. This alliance will tend to foster a feeling of unity among the Jews, and may lead to important consequences. The programme of the alliance has been recently published. The alliance is intended to be a centre of universal reference for all that concerns the position of the Jews, the exceptional laws under which they suffer, the acts of oppression of which they are the victims, the efforts which they make to free themselves from a galling yoke or to lighten it, the assistance which they need, etc. It now numbers 600 members.

The Jews in France.—Dr. Gallay-ardin, of Lyons, has published a book entitled, "The Position the Jews are Occupying in Society on the Globe, but especially in France and Germany." This brochure, as the *Lien d'Israel* says, is full of highly interesting facts and observations. The little book in one of its chapters, enumerates the Jews holding distinguished offices in France; M. Bedarride, President of the Imperial Court of Aix; Messrs. L. Javal, Königswarter, members of the present Chamber of Deputies; M. Cremieux, minister of justice, and Godcheaux, minister of finance in 1848; M. Achille Fould, at present secretary of state, and minister of the imperial household; M. S. Munk, member of the "Institute;" M. F. Halevy, member of the "Institute," and perpetual Secretary of the Section of Fine Arts; M. Ad Frank, member of the "Institute," of the imperial council of public instruction, and professor at the "College de France." It was formerly generally asserted that the Jews were unfit for military service; but the statistical facts of France prove this assertion to be erroneous. Out of the 4,000 scholars, who, since 1830, were admitted in the "Ecole Polytechnique," over 100 belong to the Jewish religion. And thus, while the Jewish population forms hardly the 400th part of the French population, they are represented in the military schools in the proportion of one fortieth.

Papal Missions.—The receipts of the Roman Catholic "Association for the Propagation of the Faith," for 1859, were 5,260,595 francs, not far from $1,050,000. Of these receipts 3,067,728 francs were from France, 255,047 from the British Isles, and 354,223 from North America. There were expended on missions, in Europe, 1,334,924 francs; in Asia, 2,167,194; in Africa, 388,652 in America, 1,397,366; and in Oceanica, 477,211.

British Subjects in Spain.—The missionary chaplain of the English bishop of Gibraltar states, in a letter to the London *Times*, that there are 3,000 or 4,000 English residing in Spain, in various capacities, besides twice as many continually travelling. There was not an English clergyman in the country until 1848, and now there are only two, even the English embassy having never had a chaplain until last year. One reason for this is in the rigidity of the law which prohibits the public profession of any

on by foreigners, except the
n Catholic, and the performance
igious ceremonies at the ceme-
. The chaplain urges an ap-
rom the British to the Spanish
rnment, to obtain such a modi-
n of the law as will afford
h subjects the same religious
eges as they possess in France,
gal, and even Rome; and the
yment of numerous missiona-
as preliminary, in the large
, to the establishment of per-
nt chaplaincies.

EDEN.—The Order of Citizens,
ecent sitting, adopted an address
e Crown, praying for reform in
ational representation, and the
r of Peasants have agreed to a
r one. These documents set
that the present representative
n composed of four orders, the
s, clergy, burgesses, and pea-
, is incompatible with constitu-
l liberty and with progress. The
relative to liberty of conscience
of public worship, lately voted
e Diet, with the exception of the
r of the Clergy, have been sanc-
d by the King.

e Russian Census.—The total
lation of Russia is 79,000,000;
ower orders, serfs, petty traders,
rtisans form a total of 53,500,-
the nobles, and the higher
s of traders, about 1,000,000.
nobles still possess 20,000,000
. The population of Siberia, in-
ng the wandering tribes of Ka-
Astrakan, and Orenburg, is
),000.

E *German Missionary Conference*
held in Barmen; Dr. Wichern
nted the report. It has aided
an churches in Rotterdam and
Iague. A stipend of $75 a year
omised to German students of
ogy in America who will come
rmany and study; the Lutheran
d in Penn. also aids in this. The
ct of Prayer-Meetings was ably
ssed by Carus, Hoffmann, and
others. The Rhenish Missionary Society and the Wupperthal Tract Society also celebrated their anniversaries. Reports from the various tract societies showed that about a million of books and tracts were disseminated the last year.

THE *Gustavus Adolphus Society* celebrated its anniversary at Ulm; 10,000 to 12,000 are reported as being present. Sermons were preached by Pastor Gerock, of Stuttgart, Prof. Hagenbach, of Basle, and Dr. Temple, of Leipsic. The receipts the last year were 161,000 thalers, with which 532 Protestant churches were aided, out of 591 that made application for help; viz. 109 in Austria, 56 in Hungary, 34 in Poland, 16 in France, 4 in Switzerland, 4 in the United States, 2 in Italy, 1 in Algiers, 1 in Portugal—the rest in Germany. During the 17 years of its existence it has distributed 1,137,475 thalers.

There is a society in Berlin for sending evangelical books to the Germans in Wisconsin; about 1,000 works were sent last year. There is a similar society in Langenberg. The latter society has also published an appeal for a travelling preacher to be sent to Wisconsin.

Revival Meetings in Germany.—In some parts of Germany, prayer-meetings are held for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. At the Pastoral conference in Berlin, the matter was discussed, and some of the pastors were able to speak from personal experience of the happy results of a similar gracious dispensation in their own parishes. In one district in the Grand Duchy of Hesse, a movement has been in progress since the beginning of the year, and several individuals have been struck down at the prayer-meeting, or afterward in their own houses. In three villages, about a hundred converts have found peace in believing on Jesus, and the work is still progressing.—*News of the Churches.*

In *Silesia*, during the past year, 326 Romanists and 16 Jews embraced Protestantism; and 41 Protestants became Romanists. The population is 1,600,000. The Protestant pastors number 835.

Austria.—A discussion about the *Concordat* has been held in the *Council for the Empire*. M. Maagen, of Cronstadt described its ill effects in Transylvania. M. Schaguar, Greek Bishop of Hermanstadt, complained of its influence upon the Greek Church. After a long discussion, the Emperor was petitioned to effect a revision.

The official Wiener *Zeitung*, publishes a manifesto of the Emperor introducing a character (*diploma*) founded upon the basis of the Pragmatic sanction, to be binding on all heirs to the throne, to be drawn up for all the provinces, and to be enrolled among the federal laws. The charter announces that henceforth the legislative power will only be exercised with the coöperation of the provincial diets as well as the reichsrath. The number of members of the latter is increased to one hundred, by councillors elected to the provincial diets.

The ministers of justice, religion, and interior, as universal central authorities, are suppressed. The court of chancery is restored in Hungary, and one for Transylvania is to be established. The chancellor of the Hungarian court is to be a member of the ministry. The affairs of the other provinces are to be represented in the imperial councils by a minister of state. A special ministry is to be appointed for public instruction.

The *Methodist Mission* in Bulgaria is full of promise. It has 3 stations. The missionary report says of it: "It is now probable that by means of our eastern station at Tultscha our mission will extend its influence, if not itself into southern Russia, by the agency of the remarkable Greco-Russian sect, known to us by the name of Molakans, and among whom brother Flocken is carrying on his mission at Tultscha. We have already advised the Church that the religious spirit and practices of these interesting people were derived from English Methodism, through a family in the Russian embassy at London, say ninety years ago. Brother Flocken learns from them that they number 5,000,000, and spread from Southern European Russia into the adjacent countries in Asia and Turkey. If God began ninety years ago to prepare this people, by means of our English brethren in Mr. Wesley's days, for our missionary to work in our day, how can we be guiltless if we do not yield it a cordial support?"

Australia.—At the recent International Statistical Congress, Australia was reported as having, at the end of 1858, 1,100,000 colonists: Victoria has 504,000 of them, and here there are only 60females to 100 of the other sex. The natives in 1855 were reduced to 3,540, and have since been decreasing. In New Zealand, 1857, the natives were estimated at 56,049, of whom 31,667 were males.

The annual meeting of the "Church Society" was held in Sydney. It appears from the report, that thirty new churches have been erected in New South Wales during the past year, of which seventeen have been opened for divine worship. The whole, when completed, will accommodate 6,000 hearers, and the cost is about £30,000. The income of the Society for the past year is £8,993.

India.—The annual report of the Ahmednuggar Mission shows eleven churches, containing 369 members, of whom 64 were received in 1859. One native pastor was ordained within the year. Friends in India gave £1,500 to supply deficiencies in the appropriations made to the mission. The spiritual growth of the churches is encouraging.

The Madura Mission reports 28

hurches, 78 additions by profession, nd an aggregate of 1,012 members. . gain of 267 persons has been made the "village congregations." These ncrease in stability. There has been n advance in benevolent contribu-ons.

Romish Missions.—The *Madras Directory* gives a tabular account of ese missions, making the number bishops, 22; priests, 802; Roman atholic population, 968,656.

The number saved in India from erishing as human sacrifices by the nds of the Khonds since 1836, is pposed to be as many as 2,000. s many as 250 of them have been laced in mission schools. A con-iderable number of them have been opefully converted, and one of the oys earliest rescued is now an or-ained minister of the Gospel.

The English *Church Missionary Record*, speaking of the missions of hat Society in South India, says: "From the statements of the last ten ears, it appears, that while the num-ber of those who are classed as un-baptized adherents in our various districts averages about 11,000 each ear, the number of the baptized con-verts has increased from 15,635 to 25,788, thus giving us an average of 1,000 souls yearly added to the visi-ble Church of Christ."

The revival reported in *Tinnevelly*, and which is a phenomenon entirely new among Hindoos, appears to be a remarkable work of grace. In Chota-Nagpore there have been many con-versions. Ninety persons were bap-tized in one month. A missionary writes in an Indian journal, that in the neighborhood of Runchi, the "Gospel is spreading like fire in the jungle. As many as eight hundred villages have received the Gospel. So many Kols were pouring into the station from the jungle, that three missionaries are occupied all day in giving them instruction." The lieu-tenant-governor of Bengal visited the district in January, and was greatly astonished at what he saw. His secretary remarked to the mission-aries: "There never was seen such a sight in India as this." This re-ferred to a gathering of about *two thousand* native Christians at which he was present. From the province of Pachette, the Kabreepunthes have presented themselves to the number of forty-six, out of eleven villages, asking for instruction. They say that large bodies of this sect are ready to embrace Christianity. There are six missionaries in the Chota-Nagpore field, who are Germans, from the seminary of Pastor Gossner, at Berlin. We see it stated, that in Lucknow and the surrounding villages, eighty-nine natives have been baptized since the rebellion of 1857.

Malay School in Singapore.—Rev. B. P. Keasberry, the faithful teacher and missionary, has persevered in his labors in Singapore, for twenty years, though both the London and Amer-ican missions, established at this port when China was scarcely accessible, have been transferred to the contin-ent. The island of Singapore lies at the southern extremity of the great Malay peninsula, round which ships pass to Siam and China. From sixty to eighty vessels are daily in this port, and the island contains 90,000 Chinese, who have no missionary, besides Malays and others.

The Sandwich Islands.—The na-tional revenue considerably exceeds $300,000. More than $30,000 are raised for the schools, which contain nearly 10,000 pupils. There are also some dozen or more select schools, from the "Oahu College" downwards. Towards the endowment of this Col-lege, the Hawaiian government has given land valued at $10,000; and the foreign residents on the islands hope to found one of the professorships. The 23 churches contain 14,413 members in regular standing, and report the number received the past year at 573. The contributions by the native

Christians, for various objects, were near twenty thousand dollars.

POLYNESIA. — Mr. Turner, a missionary of the London Society, gives account in the Magazine of a visit to the islands of the New Hebrides group. The inhabitants were formerly amongst the most savage in the Pacific. In twelve of them the pioneer native Evangelists from other islands sealed their testimony with their blood. Yet others were found willing to take the places of the massacred, and Christianity has finally triumphed. Mr. Turner concludes his journal with the following statement:

"In summing up our progress in these islands now visited, where twenty years ago we had not a single missionary, or a single convert from heathenism, and at the very entrance to which John Williams then fell, we find that out of a population in the twelve islands which we now occupy of about 65,500 souls, we have 19,743 who have renounced heathenism, and are professedly Christian. Of these there are 645 church-members, and 689 candidates for admission to the Church. There are laboring among them ten European missionaries, and 231 native teachers and assistants. Three printing presses also are at work, especially devoted to the Papuan vernacular of the respective islands.

CHINA.—Mr. Woodin and Mr. Peet write from Fuhchau of a favorable change in the feelings of the people, and other hopeful indications.

New interest is felt in China in the effects of the Taiping-wang insurgent movement. With all the errors, fanaticism, and cruelties of that body of rebels, their opposition to idolatry, and the strange admixture of Christian truth with heathen superstitions, which they profess, make them an object of more than curious inquiry. While they are a terrible scourge in a land of abominable wickedness, it is also said that they desire to cultivate friendly relations with foreigners, and introduce the ideas and institutions of western civilization. The second in command has invited an English missionary to labor in places under his government, and, according to the testimony, has written a book, setting forth, as a programme of the rising dynasty, the conversion of the heathen temples into places of religious worship, according to the Bible, which is to be the book for the instruction of the people, and the general adoption of Christianity in its Protestant aspect.

SYRIA.—The executions in Damascus, by order of Fuad Pasha, for the late outrages, number 200, including Ahmed Pasha, the governor of Damascus, Othman Bey, commander in Hasbeiga, during the massacre of 1,200 Christians. About 1,200 others have been condemned to hard labor and service in the army. The French occupation, it is now said, will be for two years instead of six months. Applications for relief come daily to the Committee at Beirut from at least 30,000 persons. England has sent about $115,000, and the United States (to March 1), about $32,000; Germany nearly 70,000 thalers; France $300,000; Russia $30,000; Greece $30,000. The French and Russian contributions are devoted in part to religious propagandism. Damascus is still in an alarming state; the ravages of the Druses have not ceased. The total valuation of the losses is $864,648, for which the Government has as yet paid only $179,149.

TURKEY.—All the Protestant ambassadors in Constantinople protested against the course of the government in the case of the riot attending the burial of a native Protestant. The Porte replied, that it was simply an affair of its own; but the European ambassadors have reasserted their rights, and our American ambassador, James Williams, sent in a strong paper of remonstrance. The ruffians who plundered and murdered the

American missionaries at Jaffa, are to be imprisoned for life in Constantinople. The Porte has proceeded energetically against the mutineers in Syria. Fuad Pasha has imposed a fine of a million dollars upon the Damascans for the benefit of the expelled Christians. Dr. Hamlin is now in his country maturing the plans for a college which is to be established in Constantinople, through the liberality of some New York friends of missions. He stated at the meeting of the American Board, that the Druses in the recent outbreak spared the American mission in consequence of the past kindness of the missionaries.

The Southern Armenian mission is henceforth to be called The Mission to Central Turkey. The other stations in Turkey will constitute the two missions to Eastern and Western Turkey.

The Northern Armenian mission has 13 stations and 45 outstations, 38 ordained missionaries, and others, male and female, making the laborers for this country 72; also four native pastors, 21 native preachers, 34 native teachers, and 55 other native helpers; making the native force 114. There are 28 churches, with a membership numbering 680, of whom 119 were received the past year. Nearly 1,400 children are in the free schools; the two seminaries contain 66 scholars, and the female boarding-school 24. Nearly 12,000,000 pages were printed in different languages. Dr. Goodell is revising the Old Testament for the Armenians, who read the Turkish language with their national alphabet; and Dr. Schauffler is now devoting himself mainly to preparing this version of the Scriptures for Mohammedan readers. Other books are being prepared in Armenian and Armeno-Turkish.

The progress of the work of grace has been most signal in the Southern Armenian mission. With not half the number of stations, and not a third as many missionaries, and a comparatively recent origin, the results bear comparison remarkably with those of the Northern mission. Twelve churches, eight of them only six years old, contain almost 600 members, receiving 107 the past year. The membership has trebled in that time. The schools number more than 1,300 pupils.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *World* writes from Constantinople, Oct. 26th:

For several years there has been a strong tendency among the influential laity of the Greek church, to take the temporal affairs of the church into their own hands, and make wholesale reforms.

Since the Crimean war, the Porte has seemed to favor this movement, which would of course tend to reduce the influence of the Greek bishops. These bishops, until within a few months, have all resided in Constantinople. About a year ago, a sort of national assembly was instituted to reform the church, and afterwards to control it. This assembly, having a majority of lay members chosen by the people, commenced its session at the Phanar.

Its meetings were stormy, and but little was really accomplished, until the Porte was induced to order the bishops to return immediately to their dioceses. After their departure things went on smoothly. A plan of reformation was matured, and all seemed very favorable. But these proceedings were distasteful to Russia. The assembly was too republican in its nature; the bishops were specially under Russian influence. Moreover, Russia wished to forment difficulties in the church, to cause a separation between the Greek and Bulgarian elements.

The grand trial of strength between the two parties came off last week. A patriarch was to be chosen. The national council had so revised the code of the church, that they hoped to be able to control the election and put in a man of progressive principles, otherwise their whole plan

of reform would be thwarted. But Russian money and influence, together with episcopal intrigue, induced the Turkish government to recall the bishops to take part in the election.

According to the new *regime*, the assembly sent to the Porte some fifteen names. Several of these were rejected there, as was allowable.

From the names returned the lower house selected three; that is, a ballot was taken, and the three names receiving the greatest number of votes were sent up to the house of bishops for them to choose one from these. The favorite of the lower house and the champion of reformation was the ex-patriarch Anthimos. He received twice as many votes as any other candidate.

But it became plain that he had no chance in the synod of bishops, if all the bishops were allowed to vote. So it was proposed in the lower or communal assembly to exclude all those bishops against whom charges had been preferred by their respective dioceses, for ecclesiastical and moral delinquencies. I will quote now from the Levant *Herald*: "A regular Donnybrook tournament now began. A strong muster of *bakkals* (strong-fisted grocer-boys) from all parts of the city had been prepared, and with a promptness and energy that would have done credit to a band of New York rowdies — these gentry commenced an indiscriminate and very effective assault on their patrons' opponents. In a few minutes the fight became general—archdeacons attacked bishops—bishops archbishops—and the whole, each other and every body else, wherever there was a head to be cracked or a beard to be pulled. The bishop of Decapolis, especially, narrowly escaped strangulation by the archdeacon of Adrianople, who in his turn lost three quarters of his beard in the hands of a layman who came to the episcopal rescue. At last making himself heard above this war of blows, shouts and hisses, the patriarchal vicar in a stentorian voice declared the assembly dissolved in the name of the sultan, and rushed frantically from the room, leaving the combatants, revered and unrevered, to fight it out."

The Porte decided that all the bishops had the right to vote, and an election was held immediately. At this session the synod chose Johannikios, bishop of Cyzicus, to fill the vacant patriarchate.

His election was immediately announced to the Porte, and he has since been officially recognized, and he has made his calls upon the sultan, ministers, etc.

An indignant remonstrance, signed by many of the most influential Greeks in Turkey, was sent in to the Porte, but it found no favor there.

We can hardly calculate the results of this election. If the new patriarch succeeds in maintaining his ground, he will utterly subvert all which has been done in the way of reformation, and place the Greek community in the position it held before the war.

In this case we may reasonably expect that the Bulgarian church will declare its independence of the Greek patriarch, and force the Porte to give it a new organization. It would not be strange, either, if there should be a schism among the Greeks themselves.

The hatred between the two parties is very bitter, and the old regime is intolerable to enlightened Greeks.

It should be understood that this is a political rather than a religious movement, a seeking after civil rather than spiritual freedom, somewhat akin to the present reformation in Italy. It will undoubtedly tend to weaken and eventually destroy the Greek church spiritual, but this is no part of the programme of the reformers.

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ART. I.—SLAVERY AMONG THE ANCIENT HEBREWS: FROM BIBLICAL AND TALMUDIC SOURCES.

By Dr. M. MIELZINER, of Copenhagen.*

II.—SLAVES OF FOREIGN DESCENT.

§ 14.

a. Nations from which such Slaves were usually taken.

THE actual slaves among the Hebrews, those that could be permanently held in bondage, might, according to the Mosaic law (Levit. xxv, 44–46), be taken in part from the midst of the surrounding nations, in part from the strangers and residents in the conquered lands; but they could not be taken from the midst of the Canaanite nations, to whom the country originally belonged, since these people, sunk in immorality and idolatry, were to be utterly destroyed out of the land

* Continued from page 260.

(Deut. xx, 16–19), so as to remove all temptation from the immigrating Israelites. But as the total extirpation of these nations did not in fact take place—many still remaining within the domain of the Israelites (Judges i, 28)—it was a natural consequence, that, in later times, most of the slaves were obtained from among these very Canaanites. And this is the reason why, with the Rabbins, a *Canaanitish slave* is the usual designation for all slaves not of Hebrew origin.*

§ 15.

b. The Original Acquisition of these Slaves.

A slave of foreign descent might be obtained in a threefold way, viz.

1. By *purchase:* as when slaves, or prisoners of war, or children sold by their parents on account of poverty, were bought from these neighboring nations. This was doubtless the most common mode of obtaining them, and such slaves, in distinction from those born in the house, are frequently described in the Scriptures as '*bought for money.*'

2. By *contract:* as when individuals, among the strangers dwelling in the land, who could not maintain themselves by free labor, voluntarily sold themselves into slavery for a time or forever, in order to get rid of the necessity of self-support.

3. By *conquest in war:*† as when prisoners of war, taken

* It is also possible that the Rabbins intended by this name to designate the *actual* slave, in contrast with the Hebrew slave, who was not *really* such; so that *Canaanite* here contains an allusion to Genesis ix, 25 sq., where Canaan is accursed as "*the slave* of slaves," that is, as the lowest of slaves. (See Rashi on *Kiduschin*, 22, b.

† In the Mishna, *Kiduschin*, i, 3, a threefold mode of acquiring slaves is denoted by the words, כסף, משכון, וחזקה; which may correspond with the above three, by purchase, compact, and the fortunes of war. But the passage in the Mishna strictly refers, not to the *original* acquisition of slaves, but only to the mode in which, when property was transferred, the master's right to slaves (as to other property) was defined, viz. by *money, document*, or *actual possession* (the latter, so far as they were actually served by the slaves).

on the field, or in plundering the cities of the enemy, forfeited their freedom, and became the slaves of the victors. Among the Hebrews, however, the number of slaves, especially males, could not have been much increased in this way, since the most ancient laws of war (Deut. xx, 10–19) imposed strict limits upon sparing the lives of men taken in a just war. *Man-stealing*, by stealth or violence, which was an ordinary mode of acquiring slaves among the ancient nations, was held in such abhorrence, that, when it occurred in the case of a Hebrew, it was, like murder, punished with death (Exod. xxi, 16; Deut. xxiv, 7).

The number of slaves was largely increased by the children of bondwomen, born of slave-marriages, who, as "children of the maid-servant," or as "born in the house," belonged to the master. They were always regarded as the best and most trustworthy servants, because they had grown up in the family, and were acquainted with all its circumstances, and hence their faith and attachment could be more relied upon (Gen. xiv, 14).

§ 16.

c. Number and Value of Slaves.

From the lack of accurate data, the number of all these slaves among the Hebrews at different times cannot be definitely ascertained. Many circumstances, however, lead to the conclusion, that it was small in comparison with the huge masses of slaves* held by the Greeks and Romans. A superfluity of slaves implies an extensive slave-traffic and special slave marts. Of neither of these is there a trace among the Hebrews.†

* According to Athenæus, the number of slaves in Attica alone was 400,000, in Corinth, 460,000, in the small island of Egina, 470,000. In Rome, in the times of the emperors, many wealthy citizens had from 10,000 to 20,000 slaves.

† The Mishna speaks first of the public sale of slaves in the market; compare *Baba Kama*, viii, 1, עבד הנמכר בשוק: but this does not imply an extensive slave-traffic, in markets established for this purpose. The phrase אבד הלקח,

It is only at the time of the return from the Babylonian Captivity, that we have any data from which we can estimate the probable proportion of slaves to freemen. According to Ezra, ii, 64, 65, and Nehemiah, vii, 67, there were 7337 slaves in the train of the 42,360 returning exiles. Hence the average was, one slave to five or six free persons; or, one slave to a family, since the average number of the family was from five to six. This proportion was probably the normal one at different periods. In the more wealthy and powerful families there may, indeed, have sometimes been a larger number of slaves, for the care of herds, for husbandage, or for different domestic services; but, on the other hand, many of the poorer families often had none at all (Prov. xii, 9); and several families sometimes held one slave together, who performed service for them on different days.* In the time of the second temple, we know that no slaves were held by the Essenes, or by the Therapeutæ; for those sects rejected all slavery, as in contravention with the natural equality of men.† The Pharisees, too, were on moral grounds opposed to the holding of many slaves, and recommended instead for household service the employment of indigent Hebrews.‡

The price of a slave was naturally different at different times; it was also determined by age, sex, health, strength, as well as capacity and skill. From Exodus xxi, 32, defining the sum to be paid for a slave killed by an ox, it appears that the average price of a common slave (male or female) was thirty shekels. If, as many conjecture in respect to the valuation of persons in Levit. xxvii, 1–8, the legal price of slaves is made the basis, then this price varied, according to age and sex, from three to fifty shekels; slaves from twenty to sixty years of age bore the highest price, and female slaves were of less

which occurs in the *Siphra* to Levit. xxv, 42 (see, also, Maimonides, *Abad.* i, 5), to designate the elevation of stone, on which slaves were exposed for public sale, refers probably only to the well-known Roman custom at the sale of slaves. Compare the expression, "de lapide emtus," in Cic. in Pis. 15.

* A case frequently recognised in the Talmudic law; e. g. *Baba Kama*, 90.

† Philo, Opera, ed. Mangey, ii, 458, 482.

‡ See Mishna, *Aboth*, ii, 8, and i, 5. Compare also *Baba Mezia*, 60, b.

alue than male. In the later period of Jewish history, osephus* names 12 drachmas as the ransom of an Israelite risoner, and this was probably at that period the average rice of a slave. As the shekel in later times was worth bout four Attic drachmas (the drachma being about 18 ents),† the value would be about 30 shekels as before; but ese shekels were heavier than those of the time of Moses.

§ 17.

d. The Legal Position of Slaves.

Though the position assigned by the Mosaic law to heathen aves was essentially different from that of the Hebrew man- ervant, since the latter belonged to his master only for a fixed me, and was regarded rather as a hired servant, while the ormer was held permanently, and could be inherited (Levit. xv, 46); yet the circumstances of the foreign bondman were uch more favorable than in any other nation of antiquity. Among other nations, as is well known, the slave was held in aw as a chattel (thing) deprived of all personality, so that the aster could treat him according to his caprice, and might ven kill him ;‡ among the Hebrews, on the contrary, the ave, though the property of the master, was not regarded as thing, but as *personal* property. In fact he was held to be operty only so far as this—that the master had the entire aim to his labor and the fruits thereof; but still, as the slave uld never cease to be a *man*, he was looked upon as a *person* ith certain natural human rights, which even the master uld not impair without being punished for it.

From this point of view a clear light is cast upon the Bibli- al and Talmudic statements about the legal relations of slaves. Considered as the property of the master, he could be bought

* Josephus, Antiq. xii, 2, 3. † Josephus, Antiq. iii. 8, 2.

‡ See Heineccius, Antiq. Rom. 1 Tit. iii, ii, on Roman slaves. Non pro personis, d pro rebus, immo pro nullis habebantur, etc. Compare, too, Gaius, Instit. 1, 52: pud omnes perœque gentes animadvertere possumus, dominis in servos vitæ ecisque potestatem esse.

or inherited, given away or pledged.* As a person, on the other hand, his life, and the preservation of his body and its members, were inalienable goods, to which the power of the master did not reach. Hence, though the master might force him to obedience by chastisement, yet he could only make use of this punishment in its lighter forms. The killing of a slave outright, even when it resulted from smiting with a stick or rod, was to be avenged (Exodus xxi, 20, in the margin of the English version); i. e. according to the Rabbinic interpretation, it was to be atoned by the execution of the master. If the death did not follow at once, but after some days, so that the chastisement could not be certainly regarded as the cause of the death, the master was free from other punishment ('for he was his money,' verse 21), since he was supposed to be punished by the loss of the slave. But if the master, in punishing, used an instrument, a blow from which would plainly be fatal, his own life was forfeited, even when the death of the slave followed after some interval of time.† To smite the eye so that it perished, or to smite out the tooth, or to injure any part of the body so that it could not be restored to its integrity‡, was followed by the freedom of the slave (Exodus xxi, 26, 27).

As the slave was the property of the master, he could not acquire anything for himself. In this respect the maxim held good, that "the hand of the slave is the hand of the master;"§ or, "what the slave gains, he gains for the master."‖ The master had not only a claim to what the slave acquired by labor, what he found, or what he might receive as a gift, but must also be indemnified for any injuries which others might inflict upon him.

* But the pledging of a slave did not fully secure the creditor, as the debtor could declare the pledged slave to be free. Compare Mishna, *Gittin*, iv, 4.

† Compare Maimonides, "On Murder," ii, 14.

‡ See *Kiduschin*, 24. Twenty-four parts of the body are there enumerated, as the ears, fingers, toes, etc.

§ *Baba Mezia*, 96, *Kiduschin*, 23, b.

‖ *Pesachim*, 88, 6. The principle in the Roman law is almost literally the same: Quodcunque per servum acquiritur id domino acquiritur. Gaii Instit. 1, 52.

Considered as a person, the slave was himself responsible for his own acts. Hence if he injured other persons, the master was not legally bound to make reparation; but the slave was held legally responsible to make amends, which might be done, for example, after he had obtained his freedom.*

In relation to third persons, the slave, in the criminal jurisprudence, was put on the same basis with the free Israelite. The intentional murder of a slave was punished by the execution of the murderer, and unintentional, by banishment to one of the cities of refuge; and so, on the other hand, a murder committed by a slave was visited with the same penalties.† The wounding, smiting, and even the insulting of a slave by a third party, subjected him to the same punishment as in the case of the free Israelite.‡

§ 18.

e. Religious and Civil Condition of Slaves.

The law expressly enjoined upon the master, to allow his non-Hebrew slaves to participate in the three most important sacred observances of the people of Israel.

1. In the covenant rite of circumcision. Slaves born in the house were to be circumcised on the eighth day after their birth; and those that were purchased, when they entered into the service of a Hebrew master.§ Gen. xvii, 10–14. Exodus, xii, 44.

* Mishna, *Baba Kama*, viii, 4: comp. Mishna, *Jedaim*, iv. 7, and Maimonides "On Theft," i, 9.

† Maimonides "On Murder," ii, 10–14.

‡ Mishna *Baba Kama*, viii, 3. *Maccoth*, fol. 9, a: comp. Maimonides, *Hilch. Chobel umasik*, 4, 10. It was otherwise among the Romans, who did not allow that all affronts to a freeman were equally such in the case of a slave. Foreign slaves might even be insulted and struck without penalty; comp. Gaius, iii, 222: Si quis servo convicium fecerit, vel pugno eum percusserit, non proponitur ulla formula; nec temere petenti datur.

§ Saalschütz, Mos. Recht, p. 704, disputes the position, that the circumcision of slaves was enjoined as a general rule, and maintains that it was only a special duty, imposed upon Abraham, and was not binding under the Mosaic law. Opposed to this interpretation is the phrase, "every man in your generation," in

2. In the observance of the Sabbath. Neither male nor female slaves could do work on the Sabbath any more than the master, but they were to enjoy the rest of that day. Exod. xx, 10; xxiii, 12. Deut. v, 14.

3. In the sacrifice of the passover, and in the celebration of the other sacrificial festivals. Exod. xii, 44. Deut. xii, 12, 18; xvi, 11, 14.

By participation in these three sacred observances, the slave was drawn away from heathenism, and considered in some degree as having a part in the faith.* But he could not be regarded as a complete participant in the religious and national covenant,† for in that case he ceased to be a real slave. And besides, the *freest self-determination* was demanded of a stranger entering into this covenant, which could not be presupposed in the case of a slave.

The Mosaic law does not expressly enjoin any other religious duties upon the slave. The Rabbins, however, suppose that he must also conform to those religious prescriptions, which were binding upon females as much as upon men.‡ For, as the slave was to renounce idolatry and all idolatrous usages, the performance of such duties was a means of meeting his religious necessities. But that the Rabbins did not countenance any thing like coercion of conscience is evident from their declaration, that a purchased slave could not be forced to submit even to the circumcision enjoined by the law. In

Gen. xvii, 12; and in verse 13, this is said to be "an everlasting covenant in your flesh." Nor is it surprising, that the Mosaic law speaks only incidentally of the circumcision of slaves (Exod. xii, 44), since it presupposes the continuance of the obligation imposed upon Abraham and his posterity "for all times;" and even the circumcision of Israelites is only incidentally enforced in the Mosaic code, in Levit. xii, 3. According to the Rabbins, baptism must also be administered to the slave at his circumcision. The purchased female slave must also be baptized at the beginning of her service, and thus she was brought into the same religious relations with the man-servant. Comp. *Jebamoth*, 46, Maimonides, *Issure biah*, xiii, 11.

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‡ *Chagiga*, 41. *Nasir*, 611. *Kerithoth*, 7.

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The testimony of a slave before a judicial tribunal was invalid. This was doubtless in consequence of the unfavorable opinion generally entertained about the morality of slaves.‡ The Rabbins, however, regard this exclusion as only a consequence of the position in the Mosaic and Talmudic laws, that the female sex could not testify in court; for slaves ought not to be put higher than females, who were included in the national and sacred covenant.§

Neither the male nor female slave could contract a religious and civil marriage.‖ If the master allowed the man-servant to live with a female slave, this had not the character of marriage either in a legal or in a religious sense. The master might therefore allow the same female to live with another slave.¶ The better class of masters, however, never did this, but committed her solely to the slave to whom she had been at first assigned.**

Children born of the disreputable connexion of a freeman with a female slave were considered as slaves, and belonged to the owner of the mother; but, on the other hand, children born from the connexion of a man-servant with a free woman

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The testimony of a slave before a judicial tribunal was invalid. This was doubtless in consequence of the unfavorable opinion generally entertained about the morality of slaves.‡ The Rabbins, however, regard this exclusion as only a consequence of the position in the Mosaic and Talmudic laws, that the female sex could not testify in court; for slaves ought not to be put higher than females, who were included in the national and sacred covenant.§

Neither the male nor female slave could contract a religious and civil marriage.‖ If the master allowed the man-servant to live with a female slave, this had not the character of marriage either in a legal or in a religious sense. The master might therefore allow the same female to live with another slave.¶ The better class of masters, however, never did this, but committed her solely to the slave to whom she had been at first assigned.**

Children born of the disreputable connexion of a freeman with a female slave were considered as slaves, and belonged to the owner of the mother; but, on the other hand, children born from the connexion of a man-servant with a free woman

* *Jebamoth*, 48, b. † *Gittin*, 43, b. Maimonides, *Abadim*, viii, 1.
‡ *Aboth*, ii, 7. *Kethuboth*, 11. *Pesachim*, 91.
§ *Baba Kama*, 88: comp. Maimonides, "On Testimony," ix. 4.
‖ *Jebamoth*, 45, a. *Kiduschin*, 68. ¶ Maimonides, *Issure biah*, xiv, 19.
** Comp. *Nidda*, 47.

were considered as ignoble, but yet as free born, for the child in such cases always followed the condition of the mother.*

The seduction of a maiden† betrothed to another man, and not yet redeemed, was punished, according to the Mosaic law, with scourging, but not with death, as was the case with a betrothed free maiden. The seducer must also atone for his sin by bringing a trespass offering: Leviticus xix, 20–22.

f. Domestic Condition of the Slaves.

§ 19.

1. *The Occupations of the Slaves.*

The occupations of the slaves varied with their strength and capacities, and with the necessities of their owners. The men-servants were for the most part employed in field work and the care of the flocks and herds, the two chief occupations of the nation. In the house, they did the drudgery,‡ waited on the master at table, dressed and undressed him, washed and anointed him. When the master went to the bath, a slave usually followed him, bearing his garments. The slaves ordinarily began their service with some such personal attendance on the masters.§ They seem to have been less employed in handicraft, as such work was held by the Hebrews in high honor, and chiefly done by freemen. However, the Rabbins speak of slaves employed by their masters in industrial pursuits and handicraft—as overseers of the public baths, barbers, bakers, and the like.§

Apt and trustworthy slaves not only sometimes had the oversight of slaves, and were stewards of the house (Genes.

* Maimonides, *Abad.* ix, 1–3; *Issure biah*, xv, 3, 4. The principle of the Roman law was similar: Qui nascitur sine legitimo matrimonio, matrem sequitur: comp. Gaius, 1, 82.

† On the different interpretations of this enactment, see the Talmud, *Kerith*, 11, a.

‡ Comp. *Kiduschin*, 22, 6.

§ Comp. *Mechiltha* on Exodus xxi, 2, and *Sephra* on Levit. xxv, 39; here it is said, that the Hebrew men-servants must not be employed in such labors, which belonged to the proper slaves.

,2; xxiv, 2. 2 Sam. ix, 10), but seem also to have had the rge of the sons of the house (Proverbs, xvii, 2).
he female slaves, who were under the special control of wife, performed the same services for her that the men-ants did for the master. Besides this, they attended to work of the house appropriate to females, such as baking, king, grinding, washing, spinning.* They were likewise loyed as nurses, and to take care of the children.† The arest labor imposed upon them was the grinding of the in in hand-mills (Job xxxi, 10. Isaiah, xlvii, 2; comp. dus xi, 5. Ecclesiast. xii, 3). The humblest position was t of the female slaves who had to serve the men-servants Sam. xxv, 41), and who were assigned to cohabit with m. Outside of the house the female servants seem to have n employed only in the harvest to bind up the sheaves mp. Ruth, ii, 8, 9, 23).

§ 20.

2. *Treatment of the Slaves.*

The provision of the law, that men-servants and maid-ser-nts should have a day of rest in every week, in which they re to be free from all hard labor, would of itself insure them inst excessive exertions. That law, too, which demands t even the strength of beasts be spared, and forbids plowing h a span of animals of unequal strength (the ox and the , Deut. xxii), contains an implicit demand that there should still greater consideration in the case of the labor of slaves. t, above all things else, the ever living memory of the hard l of the Hebrews in their Egyptian bondage, from which divine compassion delivered them, taking vengeance on ir oppressors, and the injunctions to spare and pity all angers and helpless ones, contained in God's law, and fre-ently recalled in connection with these tribulations, must ve had a most important influence upon their own treat-nt of those they held in bondage. We may then assume

* Compare Mishna, *Kethuboth*, v, 5. † Mishna, *Kethuboth*, v, 5.

with certainty, that the lot of slaves among the Hebrews was in general much more endurable and favorable than is any other people of ancient times. Some expressions made use of in the Proverbs of Solomon (xxix, 19, 21), and in Sirach (xxxiii, 25–29), warning against a too tender treatment particularly of the younger slaves, favor the supposition, that there was often bitter experience of the consequences of too great mildness and indulgence. Disobedient and slothful slaves were indeed sometimes punished by flogging or scourging, and were even put in fetters (Sirach xxxiii, 29) in cases of unusual obstinacy; but the strict laws above adduced against killing or grievously injuring a slave, would naturally restrain the hand of a hard master from the infliction of cruel punishments. There is no trace among the Hebrews of those inhuman punishments, often inflicted by the Romans for slight transgressions.*

This mild treatment which the slaves generally experienced also explains the fact, that no instance can be found among the Hebrews of an insurrection of slaves, though this was of frequent occurrence among the Greeks and Romans. Even the case of a slave running away from his master seems to have been very infrequent; at least, there is only a single instance of the kind mentioned in the Bible,† that of two slaves of the wrathful Shimei (1 Kings, ii, 39).

While the general treatment of the slaves was thus mild and humane, the nobler masters were here preëminent. Job, in attestation of his righteous walk, could say, that he did not despise the cause of his man-servant, or of his maid-servant, and that he had never forgotten that the slave had the same human worth with himself (Job, xxxi, 13–15). The rich Boaz, a man of high station, comes to a group of his laboring servants with a truly paternal friendliness, and greets them with the words, "The Lord be with you" (Ruth, ii, 4). The Talmud reports several times of men in high station in later periods, that they gave their slaves of every dish which they themselves enjoyed,

* Comp. Becker's Gallus, i, 129 sq.

† In the Talmud period some such cases are noted; in *Gittin*, 45.

and had them served with food before they themselves sat down to meat;* that they spoke the same words of consolation at the death of a true servant as at the death of a near relation; that they addressed their aged servants in honor as "Father N." and "Mother N."† A Rabbi of note even wished to introduce it as a general custom, at the burial of a virtuous slave, to sing in public the customary elegy—"Alas! the good, the true man, useful was his life!"‡

In their treatment, too, of foreign slaves, the duties and claims of humanity were generally regarded. To vilify a servant before his master was reckoned a sin worthy of a curse, which God would not leave unpunished (Proverbs, xxx, 10). He who was mild and merciful to others must be just as conscientious in this respect to his slave.§ As it was the duty of every one to ransom a freeman who was a prisoner, the same duty held in respect to a captive slave.‖

Faithful servants not unfrequently received their freedom as a reward of their fidelity, especially upon the death of the master; and they also usually had a portion of the inheritance (Prov. xvii, 2). In ancient days, in case there were no male heirs, in order to keep the property together, the highest of the slaves, or the steward, was sometimes adopted in the place of a child, and made the general heir (Gen. xv, 3), or married to the master's daughter (1 Chron. ii, 34). The last case, too, probably sometimes occurred, when the daughters of the family could not obtain in marriage any free-born men; at least, a Jerusalem proverb in relation to it runs thus: "Is thy daughter fit for a man, release thy slave, and give him to her as a husband."¶ Female slaves, on the other hand, were set at full liberty, only when some one chose them to wife; as in other cases their freedom might be no benefit, only leaving them wholly defenseless. So that when a female servant was to be rewarded for her faithfulness, it was often thought more fitting only to raise her above her lower condition and give her light labors in the household.**

* *Kethub* 61, and Jerusalem Talmud, *Baba Kama*, 6.
† *Berachoth*, 16, b. ‡ *Berachoth*, 16, b. § Comp. *Gittin*, xii, a.
‖ Comp. *Gittin*, 37, b. ¶ *Pesachim*, 113, a. ** *Gittin*, 40, a.

§ 21.

g. The Manumission of the Slaves.

Besides the case of serious injuries inflicted upon the s by the master (Exodus, xxi, 26, 27), the Mosaic law has ordinance about the manumission of slaves from foreign tions. But it is plain, from Leviticus xix, 20, that it supp they can be released in other instances. These cases, and form of manumission, are determined by the Rabbins in following manner:

1. *Freedom by paying Ransom.* Since the slave such, could not hold property, release by purchase practicable only when a third person paid to the ma the value of the slave, in order to give him his freed He became free just as soon as the master accepted offered sum, without need of any written document.*

2. *By a Deed of Manumission*, when the master in presence of witnesses gave it to the slave directly, or it given by a third person, witnesses subscribing thei The form of words for such a deed might be varie e. g. "Thou art a free man;" or, "Henceforth thou longest to thyself;" or any words of the like import, which the master clearly renounced his claim to the sl retaining no right over him.†

3. *By Testament*; as when the master in his last declared the slave to be free, or enjoined his release u his heirs.‡

4. In fine, the *implied Manumission.*§ As soon as master gave it to be understood in any way, that he longer regarded the slave as a slave, as e. g. by mak him heir of his whole property;‖ or by giving him a f

* Maimonides, *Abad.* v. 2.

† Maimonides, *Abad.* v, 3; vii, 1. Some full formulas of deeds of manum from later times are contained in *Kinsath hagdola*, on *Jore dea*, cap. 267.

‡ *Maimonides, loc. cit.* vi, 4, and *Sechija umathana*, ix, 11.

§ Like the Roman *manumissio per mensam;* as the two preceding modes spond with the Roman *manumissio per epistolam*, and, *per testamentum.*

‖ Mishna, *Peah*, iii, 8.

born woman to wife; or by having him take part in a religious act with ten free Hebrews; or by letting him perform any act which only a free Hebrew could perform.* In all these cases the slave at once obtained his freedom; but in order to give it full validity, a deed of manumission was also required, which the master could be forced to execute.†

The master among the Hebrews had no remaining rights, as patron, over the released slaves, as had the Romans and Greeks; still less could he bring them back into slavery, if he repented of their manumission.‡ After freedom had been obtained, the slave in open day before three Hebrews must receive the baptism which Judaism enjoined at the reception of proselytes,§ and he was then looked upon as having in all respects a full part in the national and religious covenant of the people of Israel.‖

§ 22.

Influence of the Mosaic Legislation upon the Condition of Slaves in the Neighboring Nations.

The example of the mild treatment of slaves among the Hebrews would of itself have an ennobling influence upon the condition of slavery in the neighboring nations; and as a matter of fact, we find that their lot among these people was not as sad, as it was in the midst of Greek and Roman civilization. But one of the Mosaic laws, given for the benefit of slaves held in foreign nations, must have been of special efficacy in this direction. According to Deuteronomy xxiii, 16, 17, a slave that had run away from his master, and taken refuge in the land of Israel, could not under any circumstances be given up, nor yet be held in bondage. And what was more than this, he could freely elect his place of abode, wherever he pleased, and had claim to all the civil rights, which the law granted to strangers that were free born. If the slaves

* *Gittin*, fol. 39, 40.
† Maimonides, *Abad.* viii. 17.
‡ Maimonides, *Abad.* viii. 17.
§ *Jebamoth*, fol. 47; *Issure biah*, xiii, 12.
‖ Maimonides, *Issure biah*, xii, 17.

of neighboring people could in this way safely escape from harsh treatment, and even from bondage, their masters would naturally be solicitous to attach them to themselves by mildness and kindness, so that they might not be tempted to seek their freedom and their human rights in a land, where these blessings were ensured by a holy law.

Art. II.—POWELL ON THE EVIDENCES.

By Daniel R. Goodwin, D.D., Provost of the University of Pennsylvania.

On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity. By Baden Powell, M.A., in "*Essays and Reviews*," pp. 106–163.

The volume of "Essays and Reviews" has produced in England an unusual sensation; not because of its originality, for it consists chiefly of a re-hash of exploded German neology; nor because of any marked ability in reasoning or beauty of style by which it is characterized, for its argument is generally feeble, and it is strikingly verbose and circuitous in expression; but simply because of the reckless audacity of its writers. It has attained a "bad eminence." All its writers may not indeed be equally chargeable with antichristian tendencies, but, under the circumstances, each is in a large degree responsible for the faults of all the others. We do not propose to enter into strictures upon the whole volume,—as that has already been done in our last number,—but to confine our animadversions to the particular Essay we have specified above. Our object is to present such a discussion of the Evidences of Christianity, and of the present state of the argument, as is prompted by this Essay of Mr. Baden Powell.

In stating this occasion of our present writing, we do not mean that we had not before meditated earnestly on the points of difficulty involved in this discussion, nor that we had not al-

ready noticed with pain a growing tendency of thought in the direction taken by Mr. Powell and his compeers; but we had not expected to see that tendency carried boldly out to its ultimate skeptical and infidel results—we use these words in no spirit of denunciation, but calmly, considerately, sorrowfully—by men professing to be Christians, and retaining their position and emoluments in the Christian Church. It is true the tendency referred to, the tendency to disparage the use of the External Evidences of Religion, has had some show of excuse as a natural protest and healthy reäction against the too prevalent opposite tendency to an exaggerated estimate of their value, and an abusive application of them as a theme of early and popular instruction. The External Evidences cannot be safely made to exclude or supersede all other Evidences. "Treatises on the External Evidences simplified for the use of children" are among the surest means of educating a generation of skeptics and infidels. In the protest against such extravagances we heartily sympathize. But when this protest is carried so far as altogether to deny the truth and validity of the External Evidences of Religion,—and that professedly in the interest of religion itself,—we are startled, we demur, we resist, we feel compelled to throw ourselves into the gap, in defence of divine Revelation and its proffered credentials.

We know that it has often been objected to writers on the Evidences,—and the objection has been repeated and urged by Mr. Powell, that they handle the subject as professed advocates, and not as judges; with the adroitness, tact, and craft of the special pleader, and not with the impartiality of feeling and openness of mind which characterize the genuine seeker after truth. That these writers have performed the part of advocates rather than judges, in this sense, viz., that they have sought arguments and evidence to establish an assumed conclusion, instead of speculating as to what conclusion should be drawn from given premises,—may be freely admitted. They are not investigating; they are proving. But if for this they are to be condemned as untrustworthy, Euclid must be brought under the same condemnation; for this is precisely the process pursued by him; his conclusions were given; his

business was to seek media of proof; he first proposes his theorem, and then gives its demonstration. That these writers have been advocates in another sense, in which Euclid probably was not,—that they have stood forth as defenders and apologists, that they have reasoned against an opponent and aimed to repel an assailant,—is also true. But this certainly does not invalidate their arguments, nor even of itself discredit them. They may have been zealous, for their cause was weighty. But this does not prove that they have been intemperate in their zeal, or that they have been unfair, or disingenuous, or trickish in their argument. It is true that such is too often the case with advocates; and hence the odiousness of this charge. Surely it is not fair to indulge thus sweepingly in an invidious allegation, without specifying and establishing a single instance of perversion, or concealment, or exaggeration, to support it. Mr. Powell has not specified and established such an instance. And even if not only one such instance, but many such instances, had been established, but little would have been accomplished against the argument of these writers; unless it had been also fairly and openly shown, and not merely covertly insinuated, that these instances were of such a nature as to vitiate and invalidate their whole course of reasoning.

Meantime Mr. Baden Powell and his associates have little claim to assume the air and authority of impartial judges in this controversy. They are really and thoroughly partisans. They plausibly present themselves as mediators only because they are more cool and adroit, less violent, intemperate and reckless, than the extreme men on the same side. That they assail and impugn, or, at least, would undermine, what has generally been designated as Christianity, as revealed religion, must be manifest to any intelligent reader. And that they should then quietly assume the credit of impartial judges, and coolly set down their Christian opponents as "advocates and special-pleaders," may be regarded not only as itself one of the highest strokes of the art of special-pleading, but as a most remarkable trait of downright effrontery. There are some cases when a good man can hardly help being an advocate,—

hen fundamental truth, when the principles of morality, ren his God or his country's rights are attacked. Is a man's gument to be discredited unless he is perfectly indifferent ether there be or be not any distinction between truth d falsehood, or between right and wrong, perfectly in- ferent whether there be or be not a God, whether his coun- r's cause is just or unjust? At least it must be admitted to as creditable to a man's head and heart, and to detract as tle from the weight of his argument, to be an advocate for e just, the good, the true, for that which is holy, Christian, rine, as to be their open or secret assailant. When the really partial and adequately intelligent judge of such a controversy n be found, let him ascend his tribunal, hold aloft his scales, d pronounce his sentence. But for our part we cannot con- ive that God himself,—if there be a God with moral attri- tes,—that even He who is the infinite fountain and omni- ent judge of all truth, should regard the opposite sides of sh questions with perfect indifference. And if God should veal his judgment in such a case to the human mind, toge- er with an intelligible reason for it, would that judgment d that reason be justly subject to the disparagement of one- led advocacy and disingenuous special-pleading?

Many writers of late years, who have, for some reason or ier, retained a fancy for the name of Christian, while rusting Christianity under the fifth rib, have been accus- ned to complain of the bigoted denunciations of those who gmatize the assailants of the received Christianity as infidels. r. Powell, from a very natural sympathy and presentiment, iews this complaint. He especially reproves the writers on e Evidences for their denunciatory spirit. We think the arge is unfounded. Meantime, with the delightful self- mplacency that characterizes his school, he talks largely of he more enlightened notions of the better informed class," "highly cultivated minds and duly advanced intellects,"— ietly consigning the advocates and defenders of the Evi- nces of Christianity to the class of the uninstructed vulgar, well-meaning but weak and bigoted zealots. Mr. Powell d his associates might as well consider that if one who at-

tacks Christianity does not like to be called an infidel, those who defend it may not like to be called fools. Under certain circumstances, it may be as great a breach of charity and good breeding to say "thou fool," as to say "thou infidel."

It is quite amusing to see how certain men appropriate to themselves all science, knowledge, and intelligence, all breadth and depth of view, all impartiality and love of truth. According to Mr. Powell no man who believes with all his soul, and earnestly sets forth and urges the reasons of his belief, can possibly be a lover of the truth; he only is a lover of the truth who rejects it, who doubts and denies and disparages, who professes always to seek the truth, but refuses ever to see or recognize or embrace or defend it.

Mr. Powell renews the stale attempt to bring discredit on the Holy Scriptures, as a positive, external, divine revelation, by alleging discrepancies between their declarations and the discoveries of modern science. He professes indeed to save Christianity by declaring that, "as a real religion, it must be viewed apart from connection with physical things." He then proceeds to say:

"The first dissociation of the spiritual from the physical was rendered necessary by the palpable contradictions disclosed by astronomical discovery with the letter of Scripture. Another still wider and more material step has been affected by the discoveries of geology. More recently, the antiquity of the human race and the development of species, and the rejection of the idea of "Creation," have caused new advances in the same direction." "In all these cases there is a direct discrepancy between what had been taken for revealed truth and certain undeniable existing monuments to the contrary."

To establish these points he perverts the authority of Owen and Faraday, relies on Lamarck and the "Vestiges," and canonizes Darwin.

Now we boldly challenge any man to show a discrepancy between the Scriptures and astronomy or any ascertained facts in geology or any other science. It is passing strange, after all that has been said and written, that an intelligent man should coolly repeat these oft-refuted charges as if they were incontrovertible and admitted facts. Shall we ascribe it

to ignorance or prejudice, or narrow-mindedness, or bigotry? or does it proceed from a pure love of the truth? The Scriptures do not profess to teach science or deal in scientific formulas. They state and describe phenomena in the received idioms of the language of the times, in the common speech of common men; and thus they state and describe them truthfully. And if the point is made of the discrepancy between science and the "letter of Scripture," we answer that, if, for example, there is a discrepancy between the science of astronomy and the "letter of Scripture," there is also a discrepancy between the science of astronomy and the *letter of astronomy* itself; for the astronomer still talks of the sun's rising and setting, and declining towards one and the other side of the equator. As to Lamarck and the "Vestiges," the admitted discrepancies between them and the almost unanimous opinions of "the first physiologists of the day," are quite as great as any discrepancies between them and the dicta of the Holy Scriptures. The premature apotheosis of Darwin is perfectly characteristic of this school of writers. They seem to have a natural affinity for any theory that apparently contradicts the Scriptures, and to believe it for this very reason, accepting this fact instead of all other tests and evidences of its truth. But whatever may be the course or result of future investigations,—and at all events, Mr. Powell has no right to anticipate and assume any particular result before it is ascertained,—so much is clear, the crude, disjointed, narrow-based, extravagant speculations and suggestions of Darwin are not yet to be reasoned from as the established discoveries of modern science, before which the Holy Scriptures must stand corrected.

We cannot refrain from remarking the marvellous self-delusion—it may not be called hypocrisy—of Mr. Powell, in claiming not only to be acting the part of an impartial arbiter in this controversy, but to be writing throughout in no controversial but in a purely contemplative and theoretic spirit. He even intimates that he accepts Christianity *ex animo*, and only objects to certain untenable *evidences*. And in this connexion he falls into what is to our understanding the

most egregious confusion. He talks of "grounds of belief" other than evidence, to be understood without any exercise of intellect, and judged of by some other faculty than rational judgment;—of *proofs* addressed to the internal sense, in distinction from evidence addressed to the understanding or reason; of *discussion* conducted without evidence or argument or appeal to the intellect, but solely upon the ground of "spiritual impression and religious feeling;" while yet he declares that the belief which rests on such grounds may be fairly charged with being "dictated by other considerations than the love of truth." The upshot of all which seems to us to be about this; Christianity may be believed for anything Mr. Powell has to say to the contrary, provided it be admitted that there is no intelligible evidence for it, no rational ground whatever for believing it. But what kind of belief that is which rests on no evidence, and involves no intelligent act, it surpasses our metaphysics to comprehend. And we are curious to know what sort of Christianity that is, what those dogmas and doctrines are, which are thus believed without evidence. *Without evidence*, we say, because it cannot consistently be contended that they are *self-evident*, the apprehension of self-evidence itself being an act of the reason, an intelligent act. Do Mr. Powell and his school mean, by Christianity, certain moral precepts and spiritual truths accepted because they agree with *their* moral sense and spiritual impressions? To believe that "Thou shalt not steal," and "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," are good precepts, and that men are sinful, needing forgiveness and spiritual renovation, not because these things are taught on external divine authority but simply because they commend themselves to *their* moral sense and spiritual impressions,—is this what they call believing Christianity? But, let us ask, do they believe that Jesus of Nazareth was the Christ—the Son of the living God? If they do not believe this, can they be Christians? If they do believe this, can they deny the possibility of miracles? Do they believe in the Christianity of St. John, who testifies of what he had seen and heard and handled of the word of life, and declares that whosoever confesseth not that Jesus Christ is

come in the flesh is anti-Christ? How can they believe in such Christianity, and yet insist upon an entire severance of the spiritual from the external and physical? Do they believe in the Christianity of St. Paul who asserts that Jesus Christ was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, but declared to be the Son of God with power according to the spirit of holiness? Mr. Powell is constrained to admit that St. Paul reasons, but denies that he reasons *logically;* which in fact is as much as saying that he does not reason at all; for it cannot be meant merely to say that he does not reason in logical or syllogistic form; nobody of common sense reasons in that form for ordinary purposes; Mr. Powell himself does not. He must mean either that St. Paul assumes false premises or reasons inconclusively,—which is really no reasoning at all, but only a semblance of it. He seems to assume, however, that St. Paul's reasoning might be valid and conclusive as addressed to one party, to the Jews, for example; and inconclusive and nugatory for another party,—for our enlightened and philosophical age.

This brings us to one of the leading points in the effort to disparage the Evidences of Christianity. It consists in sophistically urging the essentially *subjective* character of any *evidential* argument. The evidence, it is said, must depend for its force upon the state of mind of the party addressed.

"The scope and character of the various discussions raised on 'the evidences of religion' have varied much in different ages; following, of course, both the view adopted of Revelation itself, the nature of the objections which for the time seemed most prominent, or most necessary to be combated, and stamped with the peculiar intellectual character and reasoning tone of the age to which they belonged."

"All moral evidences must essentially have respect to the parties to be convinced. 'Signs' might be adapted peculiarly to the state of moral or intellectual progress of one age, or one class of persons, and not be suited to that of others. . . . And it is to the entire difference in the ideas, prepossessions, modes, and grounds of belief in those times, that we may trace the reason why miracles, which would be incredible *now*, were not so in the age and under the circumstances in which they are stated to have occurred."*

* The caution of this expression is remarkable,—"in which *they are stated* to have occurred."

"The force and function of all moral evidence is nullified and destroyed, if we seek to apply that *kind* of argument which does not find a response in the previous views or impressions of the individual addressed. All evidential reasoning is essentially an adaptation to the conditions of mind and thought of the parties addressed, or it fails of its object. An evidential appeal, which in a long-past age was convincing as made to the state of knowledge of that age, might have not only no effect, but even an injurious tendency, if urged in the present, and referring to what is at variance with existing scientific conceptions; just as the arguments of the present age would have been unintelligible to a former."

Thus we are referred to the different style in which the "Evidences" have been treated by the early Christian apologists, by the Mediæval Church, by Romanists, by early and later Protestantism; and, in later times, to the diversity of the form and tone of argumentation in Jackson and Stillingfleet, in Clarke and Grotius, in Leslie, Lardner, and Paley. We are told of the Irving miracles as parallel with the Christian, and yet so difficult of credence in these modern times; of the Persians, to whose credulity miracles were so cheap that they proved nothing; of the Jewish Rabbis, who easily admitted the miracles of Christ, but ascribed them to magic; of the Tractarians, who hold that it is the essence of Christian faith to be without any evidence at all; and of Coleridge, who expressed his strong impatience at the too great and constant stress which seemed to him to be laid upon the external evidences.

All this and much more of the same sort is alleged with the apparent design of invalidating the argument from the Christian evidences. But is this its fair logical effect? Will it not prove too much? Has there been at different periods any greater diversity of views and treatment in relation to the subject of the "evidences," than in relation to moral and philosophical subjects generally? And has all moral and philosophical truth, therefore, only a subjective validity? Are we to infer that there is no real, objective distinction between truth and falsehood? That all truth is a mere temporary, transient seeming? That what is true to-day may be false to-morrow? That what was true at the Christian era has grown false since? That what was a good, sound logical proof then, is no proof at all now? If truth is constituted and determined by the opinion

dgment of each individual, how can Mr. Powell charge
ly whatever with *error?* What does he mean by his
d "love of the truth"? What is a man seeking when
s the truth? Why should a man change his opinion?
at intent does Mr. Powell conduct an argument? Does
an that, in an argument, a man need not consider the
of what he alleges, but only its availability with the
addressed? So it seems. We confess ourselves shocked
a looseness of moral principle. We no longer wonder
en with such notions should take latitudinarian views of
ligations involved in subscription to the Articles of the
h of England.

re are really two questions in the case, by confounding
mmingling which Mr. Powell has juggled himself, and
ted to juggle his readers, into what seems to us grave
ngerous error. The first question is, "Were the alleged
an miracles actually wrought, and were they really
es?" If they were not, no honest man can justify their
; been used—at least with a knowledge of their false-
-as proofs and evidences; however available they might
that purpose in the primitive times. *If they were actual-
ught*, the second question is, "Are they then valid proofs
istianity?" If the alleged miracles are admitted as such,
itate not to say that they are valid evidence, and will be
vidence to the end of time, Mohammedans and Jewish
s to the contrary notwithstanding. In confirmation of
sertion we appeal to common sense, to the universal un-
ticated judgment of mankind. We might appeal to Mr.
l himself, to say whether, provided the truth of the mira-
honestly and fully admitted, they are not valid evidence?
t admission, is there any thing in "the scientific con-
ns" or "advancement of intellect" of the present day to
t from that validity? If the alleged miracles were
ie miracles, then they were never a good argument; if
rere true, they are always a good argument. There is
btedly a subjective side to an evidential argument; and
man will not leave it out of account in his reasoning.
g true arguments he will select for use those which will

have most weight with the party addressed; but if he is an honest man, he will never employ those which are false, however effective they might be. And in regard to the evidence from the Christian miracles, we freely admit that men may be so imbruted in savage degradation, or so prejudiced by superstition, or so materialized by exclusive converse with the natural sciences and the laws of physical causation, or so spiritualized by transcendental speculation, that this evidence may have little force upon their minds. And though this is their fault and not the fault of the evidence, though in denying the force of the evidence they judge wrong and "greatly err," still it would of course be of comparatively little use to urge such evidence with them in an argument. We say, *they err;* it may be thought presumption in us to say so; but we do not know that it is any more presumption in us to say that they err, than in them to say that the apostles and early Christians erred in *their* judgment. One or the other party must be adjudged in error, unless we adopt Mr. Powell's subjective theory in its grossest form, and hold that two contradictory judgments may both be true. But after all, it is clear Mr. Powell does not really hold this view, for he manifestly thinks that the judgment which is in accordance with the "scientific conceptions" and "advanced intellect" of these modern times is *right* and *true*, rather than the judgment of earlier and less enlightened ages. He clearly implies that the apostles and primitive Christians were in error, so far as they believed in miracles. Their judgment after all did not make the argument from miracles good. It convinced them, only because they knew no better. But we have changed all that, by the help of modern illumination and German metaphysics.

The grand *assumption* which underlies this whole argument against the evidences of Christianity is, *the absolute inconceivableness and impossibility of miracles.* This is the discovery of modern science which requires the argument from those evidences to be abandoned or remodelled. Following the lead of some of the physical philosophers, and of Strauss, Baur, and others among the German theologians, Mr. Powell adopts this assumption. It is implied as the real substratum of difficulty

hroughout his whole discussion. It is often betrayed. It is ccasionally quite distinctly avowed. When the defender of he credibility of miracles appeals to the *ignorance* of the dog- natic objector, he replies:

"Such are the arguments of those who have failed to grasp the positive ientific idea of the power of the inductive philosophy, or the *order of nature*. he boundaries of nature exist only where our present knowledge places em: the discoveries of to-morrow will alter and enlarge them. The inevi- ble progress of research must, within a longer or shorter period, unravel that seems most marvellous; and what is at present least understood ll become as familiarly known to the science of the future, as those points nich a few centuries ago were involved in equal obscurity, but are now roughly understood."

Surely the belief in the omnipotence and ultimate omni- ience of science was never more confidently announced. ut he proceeds:

"The enlarged critical and inductive study of the natural world cannot t tend powerfully to evince the inconceivableness of imagined interrup- ons of natural order or supposed suspensions of the laws of matter, and of at vast series of dependent causation which constitutes the legitimate field r the investigation of science, whose constancy is the sole warrant for its neralizations, while it forms the substantial basis for the grand conclusions f natural theology."*

"In an age of physical research like the present, all highly cultivated inds and duly advanced intellects have imbibed, more or less, the lessons the inductive philosophy, and have, at least in some measure, learned to preciate the grand foundation conception of universal law; to recognize e impossibility even of *any two material atoms* subsisting together with- t a determinate relation; of any action of the one on the other, whether equilibrium or of motion, without reference to a physical cause; of any odification whatsoever in the existing condition of material agents, unless rough the invariable operation of a series of eternally impressed conse- uences, following in some necessary chain of orderly connexion, however perfectly known to us. So clear and indisputable, indeed, has this great

* It is curious to observe that Mr. Powell, for the sake of decrying the evidences Christianity, is here for the moment willing even to admit the weight of the argu- nt for Natural Theology. Yet he elsewhere adopts Darwin's theory of Species, l predicts that it will produce an entire revolution in the scientific world. But rwin's theory, excluding the idea of definite *design* from all the works of nature, uals the whole argument of Natural Theology at a stroke, and one can hardly ppose that Mr. Powell could fail to be aware of that fact.

truth become, so deeply seated has it been now admitted to be in the essential nature of sensible things and of the external world, that not only do all philosophical inquirers adopt it as a primary principle and guiding maxim in all their researches, but, what is most worthy of remark, minds of a less comprehensive capacity, accustomed to reason on topics of another character, and on more contracted views, have at the present day been constrained to evince some concession to this grand principle even when seeming to oppose it."

"The case, indeed, of the *antecedent* argument of miracles is very clear, however little some are inclined to perceive it. In nature and from nature, by science and by reason, we neither have nor can possibly have any evidence of a *Deity working miracles:* for that, we must go out of nature and beyond reason."

"To conclude: an alleged miracle can only be regarded in one of two ways,—either (1) abstractedly as a physical event, and therefore to be investigated by reason and physical evidence, and referred to physical causes, possibly to *known* causes; but, at all events, to some higher cause or law, if at present unknown: it then ceases to be supernatural, yet still might be appealed to in support of religious truth, especially as referring to the state of knowledge and apprehensions of the parties addressed in past ages.* Or (2) as connected with religious doctrine, regarded in a sacred light, asserted on the authority of inspiration. In this case, it ceases to be capable of investigation by reason, or to own its dominion. It is accepted on religious grounds, and can appeal only to the principle and influence of faith."

Hume's famous proposition, that "the improbability of a miracle is greater than the improbability of the falsehood of any amount of human testimony," has been abundantly refuted, (1) by a direct appeal to the common sense and judgment of mankind; (2) by exposing its two logical vices, in assuming, in the first place, that a miracle is contrary to *all* experience—which was the very point in question—and, in the second place, that because some testimony is false, *all* testimony may be false, which is contrary to fact; and (3) by Babbage's demonstration based on the strict mathematical doctrine of probabilities. Mr. Powell adopts Hume's proposition; but he goes beyond it without seeming to be himself aware of the fact. He maintains the absolute impossibility of

* Surely the blessed apostles would have indignantly repudiated such an ethical sentiment as that. See Rom. 3: 5–8. "If the truth of God hath more abounded through my lie unto his glory; —— whose damnation is just."

miracles, and does not know the difference between that and their improbability. He confounds contingent with necessary truth. To show the absurdity of the dictum of the Scottish School, "that on a certain amount of testimony, we might believe any statement however improbable," he exclaims, "so that, if a number of respectable witnesses were to concur in seriously asseverating that, on a certain occasion, they had seen two and two make five, we should be bound to believe them!" An essential inconceivability, an absolute impossibility, which must rest on self-evidence if it has any evidence to rest upon, he naïvely traces to the gradually strengthened impression of accumulated experience. That the alleged impossibility of miracles is not a self-evident truth, seems clear from the fact that miracles have been believed by so many reasonable men—men of no mean note too even in physical philosophy—as Bacon and Newton for example, who may be supposed to belong to the class of "highly-cultivated minds and duly advanced intellects." And as to the impossibility which he alleges of our having any *evidence* for miracles, his argumentation is in Hume's best skeptical vain, and would equally prove that we can have no evidence of matter or mind, of material or spiritual substance, or of God, or of any cause whatever: for these are no more given (to the senses or to the consciousness) in experience, than is a miracle.

In perfect consistency with his main assumption, Mr. Powell treats the idea of "creation" as exploded, scouts at any appeal to the "Divine Omnipotence," and rejects as absurd, i. e. as rationally inconceivable and impossible, any Revelation, in the received sense of that word; and of course, its *received* sense is its *proper* sense.

Such are the legitimate results which this style of philosophizing, whether in science or theology, must ultimately reach, and to which it must finally be driven. And as to the alternative, in viewing an alleged miracle, which he allows us in the last paragraph cited above; it amounts to this: we may (1) either regard the miracle as false, and yet urge the falsehood as a proof of religion; or (2) we may believe what we, at the same time, know to be inconceivable and impossible, on the

authority of inspiration; i. e. on no evidence at all, for inspiration, in its proper sense, in the sense in which, as an honest man, he must have used the word here, is a miracle, and therefore, is inconceivable and impossible; and he himself has very pertinently asked the question before, which we beg leave to repeat, "How is the inspiration to be ascertained apart from the miracles?" He would have us, therefore, as reasonable men, believe, on evidence which our reason teaches us we cannot possibly have, in that which our reason teaches us cannot possibly be true! And this, he would persuade us, is the true character and office of Christian faith, in its highest and purest form!

He treats with contempt Paley's position, "once believe in a God, and all is easy;" and then goes on to quote the "theistic" reasonings against the possibility of miracles of such "devout believers" as Mr. Emerson, Prof. F. W. Newman, Wegscheider and Theodore Parker! It is true he professes to dissent from their arguments and principles, and declares that "all such theistic reasonings are but one-sided, and, if pushed farther, must lead to a denial of all active operation of the Deity whatever as inconsistent with unchangeable, infinite perfection." We are unable to see how his own reasonings can fail to lead to the same denial. Indeed the dogma of the impossibility or incredibility of miracles is essentially pantheistic: it rests upon pantheistic premises, and is combined on all sides with pantheistic or atheistic associations. If man be a free moral agent, and the acts of his will are not involved in and determined by the "eternally impressed laws of the concatenation of physical causes," and if there be a living, personal God, with a will and a character, acting through all things for moral ends; then is there no more absurdity or incredibility in the course of nature being controlled, directed, modified in extraordinary ways, by the immediate divine agency, than by human interference; and to affirm the contrary is to presume that we are intimately cognizant of all the possible moral plans and purposes of the eternal and infinite mind. No wonder that, from Mr. Powell's point of view, while patronizingly approving of Dean Trench's statement

that "we continually behold lower laws held in restraint by higher—mechanic by dynamic, chemical by vital, physical by moral," he should have added, "the meaning of 'moral laws controlling physical' is not clear." So, indeed, it must have seemed to him; and yet there lies concealed a pregnant truth, the germ for a confutation of Mr. Powell's whole argument.

In brief, the argument from the external evidences of Christianity stands thus: (1) The existence of a personal God, with moral attributes, is assumed, and hence the *possibility* of miracles is inferred; (2) The antecedent credibility and probability of a revelation, from such a Creator to such creatures as men, is established, and hence the *general probability* of miracles under such circumstances is inferred;* (3) Certain extraordinary *facts* are proved by testimony, facts of such a nature that they must be *miraculous*, and hence the alleged revelation, which has these miracles for its attestation, is concluded to be from God.

* Mr. Powell objects that miracles are as necessary, and would therefore be as probable, now in preaching the Gospel among the heathen, as they were in connection with its first promulgation. "When were miracles more needed," he asks, "than at the present day to indicate truth amid manifold error, or to propagate the faith?" We answer, that, when abundant light has been given, errorists, even heretics and infidels, must bear their own trial and their own judgment; and that judgment is not likely to be worse than if they should add to all their other sins the sin against the Holy Ghost. And as for the heathen, we have no doubt that, without miracles, the Church has an abundance of external means, as well as an assurance of a sufficiency of spiritual power and of Divine aid and grace, for the speedy conversion of the pagan nations, if she would but bestir herself with half the zeal and energy of the apostolic age. It is but about fifty years since Protestant Christendom began fairly to wake up to a sense of the Church's Missionary duty. And yet, if we may trust the statistics we have seen, it would appear that, while in the first fifty years of the preaching of Christianity, not more, probably, than 500,000 were converted, in the last fifty years there have been nearly three times that number converted from heathendom by Christian missions. We will not vouch for the precision of these figures, but we know that vastly more than this might have been accomplished by the Church without calling for the aid of miracles. May we not fairly say that, instead of the external guarantee of present miracles, the Church has now, for external vouchers and recommendations of the truth she proclaims, the purity of morals, the high civilization, the magnificent results of culture, science and art, which characterize and distinguish the Christian nations of modern times? Whence, then, the need of miraculous powers?

In developing this argument, the first clause of the third division has been made the principal battle-field; and the second clause—"that the alleged facts must, from their very nature, have been miraculous, if true"—has, for the most part, been overlooked. It has been overlooked, because it was thought that if the truth of the facts were established, their miraculous character would be admitted of course.

We still think this view is correct. We still think that, whatever may be said of the absurdity or of the antecedent improbability of miracles, nevertheless, *provided* the sensible facts, the phenomena, which have been commonly regarded as the miracles of the New Testament, *are fully admitted* to be free from imposture and collusion, honestly stated, and sufficiently attested *as facts*, every fair and unprejudiced mind will find itself compelled to accept them as *miraculous*. Take, for example, the raising of the widow's son near Nain, the raising of Lazarus, and the resurrection of Christ himself, together with his repeated predictions of that event; set aside all idea of imposture or collusion, remember that such wonderful works were not *tentative*, were connected with *no failures;* admit that the history is trustworthy, that the sensible facts actually took place as there stated; and no suggestion of swoon or catalepsy or apparent death or anything else of the sort, can be admitted for a moment as furnishing any satisfactory explanation of any one of these cases taken by itself, still less of them all taken together, and least of all when these are taken in connection with all the other facts of a similar extraordinary kind, and with the whole story of Christ and of the Christian religion. Indeed these naturalistic interpretations have long since been abandoned on all sides, as utterly untenable. Mr. Powell himself hesitatingly suggests the necessity of some kind of *mythic* explanation. But this is clearly shifting back the question, and denying the truth of the history, of the sensible facts as such. And thus, after all, the truth of the *facts* is the pith of the argument.

The main object of Butler, Paley, Whately, and others, in their writings on this subject, was *to establish the truth of the alleged facts*, notwithstanding any antecedent improbability

posed to arise from their extraordinary or inexplicable racter. The truth of the facts *as such* being established, y were willing to leave the question whether they were *culous* or not to take care of itself. But Mr. Powell, ming that their object was to prove, not that the alleged s were *true*, but that they were *miraculous*, makes himself y merry over their suicidal reasoning in the way of illus- ion and analogies, over "the far-famed Historic Doubts," "those delightful parodies on Scripture, the Chronicles of arf,"—charging them with reasoning from analogy for t is contrary to analogy,—he says "contrary to *all* anal- ; but that is simply a begging of the question. This t he elaborates and pursues through several pages with t apparent satisfaction, but he is only laughing at his own der without knowing it. He only shows that the cases of miraculous events which the defenders of miracles have d as parallel (in point of extraordinariness) with miracles, nevertheless, no miracles at all! Sage discovery! They e not proving that the alleged facts were miracles, but , however extraordinary and inexplicable, they were not edible, *as facts*. Afterwards, undoubtedly, the most na- l explanation to be given of the facts, on the simple hypo- is of the existence and agency of a personal God, is, that y were miraculous. Just as we say, that, although we ght admit that all the varied and harmonious arrangements the universe, presenting but one among the infinity of pos- e combinations and being equally possible with any one of others, might conceivably be the result of chance, yet the nitely more probable solution, to any rational mind, is, t this system is the work of intelligent design. A miracle elated, in point of extraordinariness, to the whole sphere of ure, as any other extraordinary event is related to its own cial sphere of natural laws.

t has been the fashion of late to decry Paley's argument bsolescent, especially in the school to which Mr. Powell ngs. But we find nothing alleged in this essay of his, ich would require any considerable modification or enlarge- nt of that argument; nothing except the mere dogmatic

assertion of the impossibility, the absolute incredibility, of miracles. This is the only point which these modern objectors, if honest, should pretend to urge. If this point is established, we freely admit that, not only the external evidences of Christianity, but Christianity itself is gone, of course. On the other hand, if this point is not made good, not only Christianity but its evidences remain intact.

The question lies, then, in a narrow compass. Let the discussion be honestly and fairly confined to its proper sphere. If the impossibility of miracles can be proved, let the proof be presented. Neither Mr. Powell nor any of his school, in all their long and labored refutations of the Christian Evidences, have presented the slightest semblance of such proof. If the alleged impossibility is self-evident, no proof is needed, all argument is a *hors-d'œuvre;* let the point be stated, then let it rest; it is to be presumed that the common sense of mankind will speedily recognize it, and it will be an easy task, then, for any man to follow out its consequences. But Mr. Powell and his friends quietly assume it, take for granted the very point in question, that point upon which the whole debate hinges and turns; and then march on from conquest to conquest, erasing every vestige of Christian evidence and demolishing the whole system of revealed religion *de fond en comble.* They gain easy victories; and wreathe their brows with cheap laurels. It requires no extraordinary prowess or remarkable military skill to overrun and conquer a whole country, in imagination; provided only it be assumed beforehand that all its fortresses and forces, its armies and navies, and all its means of defense whatsoever, have been once for all utterly destroyed and annihilated.

We have only to add, that it is one thing to urge other evidences of Christianity as stronger and more satisfactory than that from miracles; it is another thing to reject all miracles as incredible and absurd. He who takes the former course may show an eminently Christian spirit, and, for ourselves, we cordially sympathize with his position; but he who takes the latter course, if not an infidel himself, is certainly playing into the hands of infidels and atheists.

Art. III.—THE SPECIFIC UNITY AND COMMON ORIGIN OF THE HUMAN RACE.

By Rev. J. G. Wilson, Terre Haute, Ind.

In a previous article of this Review (see Vol. II. pp. 618–633) we have considered, I. The means by which the varieties of the human race may have been produced. II. The means by which the race may have been distributed over the earth; and III., the objection to the hypothesis of a multiple origin. We now proceed to show,

IV. That the arguments in favor of the specific unity and common origin of the human race are numerous, cumulative, and irrefragable.

(1.) Man is a cosmopolite, living almost indifferently in all parts of the earth; passing with comparative immunity over lines of latitude and longitude; and sometimes improved in condition by removing from one country to another; nor is there the slightest evidence, historical or otherwise, of the favorite dogma of Agassiz, "that each of the coïncident floral and faunal circles has its own species man."

Man has the power of adaptation to varieties of external condition, climatic and social, so as to be to a great extent independent of them, or at least, so as to avail himself of their subserviency and support. The anthropoid races are not adapted to distribution over the surface of the earth. They can not be acclimated, and perish very soon, even in temperate climates.

(2.) Another physical characteristic of man, of no little significance, is his erect attitude. He is the upright animal, the looker upwards, "ἀνθρώπος παρά τὸ ἄνω ἀθρεῖν," according to Plato. The same fact is noticed by the Latin poet:

> "Pronaque cum spectent animalia cætera terram
> Os homini sublime dedit, cœlumque tueri
> Jussit,—et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus."

Man is the sole representative of a distinct order of mammalia, *bimana*. Intermediate links between the bimana and the quadrumana are lacking altogether. Sir Charles Bell says that we ought to define the hand as belonging exclusively to man. The hands of the chimpanzee hang to the level of the knees, and of the orang even to the ankles. They have no proper feet, and are rightly named by Cuvier and other zoologists, *quadrumanuals*. Professor Owen, and other naturalists have pointed out the wide difference between man and the anthropoid races. The average facial angle of the European is 80°, of the negro 70°, while that of the orang and chimpanzee is only 30° to 35°. According to the testimony of Dr. Goode, the orang and the pongo have fewer vertebræ than man, and a peculiarity of the larnyx, rendering them more incapable of articulate sounds than most other animals. According to Plato, in his Protagoras, man was not entirely superior to the beasts until he had learned to articulate sounds and words, and had received the gifts of modesty and justice from Hermes the agent of Jupiter. The human voice only is adapted to articulation. The brute cannot divide its voice as man does, whence the ancient Homeric epithet of "*voice-dividing man.*" Whether therefore we take attitude, countenance, or voice, the ending of the brute idea is absolute—the beginning of the human entirely new.

(3.) The differences between men and races, though great, are incidental and variable, dependent upon condition, relations and culture. Hero-worship is the expression of the multitude of their estimate of the world's great minds. Of Newton, a celebrated French mathematician is reported to have said: "Does he eat and drink and sleep like other people? I represent him to myself as a celestial genius, entirely disengaged from matter." Whether we adopt the classification of five races, as Blumenbach, or of seven as Prichard, we fail to discover any sharply defined or well established principle of division. The extremes are widely separated and strongly marked, but the intervening space is occupied by every variety of form and color, and intellectual character and æsthetic culture; and the process of transition is so grad-

ual, and the lines of distinction between the different degrees so delicately drawn, that we are unable to distinguish them. The summit and the shaft of the great column of humanity are supported by a common base.

In Africa we find endless variations and gradational blendings between the widest extremes; of color, from that of the European to the polished ebony; of physiognomy, from the elegant Grecian outline to the exaggerated monstrosity of the Guinea coast negro; and of hair, from the grade of the soft Asiatic, and even auburn of some Egyptians, to the crisp curls of the Nubian, and the woolly head growth of the Fellahs. The American Indians, admitted by all to have sprung from one stock, exhibit every shade of color, from the almost black Charruas of the Rio De la Plata, to the fair Mandans of the Upper Mississippi, represented by Catlin as being almost white. From these intermediate gradations of the tint of the skin, the form of the skull, and from the analogies derived from history of varieties in animals, Baron Humboldt, in the *Cosmos*, vol. ii. p. 351, argues in favor of the specific unity of the human race, and "repels the cheerless assumption of superior and inferior races of men." Prichard in the Natural History of Man, p. 473, says: "All the diversities which exist are *variable*, and pass into each other by insensible gradations, and here is moreover scarcely any instance in which the actual transition cannot be proved to have taken place."

(4.) The unity of the human race may be argued from the correspondence between the several varieties, as to the average duration of life, the maximum longevity, the rate of mortality, the period of puberty, the duration of pregnancy, the epoch of the first menstruation, the frequency of its periodical recurrence, and the epoch of life to which it extends. Man, considered physically and physiologically, is every where the same. His organic structure, his muscular and nervous system, his respiration, his arterial and venous circulation, his functional activity, the number and offices of the senses, and the diseases common to the several varieties, sporadic, endemic and epidemic, prove that they are members of one species;

for though the exemption from local diseases acquired by acclimation becomes constitutional and hereditary, the apparent exception serves to confirm and establish the rule.

The most important physiological test of unity or diversity in the animal as well as in the vegetable kingdom is that furnished by the generative process. While variation among the same species increases the powers of reproduction, hybrid races are incapable of self-perpetuation.

"As to transmutation of species, Geology has shown that it has never taken place, and physiology demonstrates that species are permanent and can not be transmuted." The application of this law settles at once and forever the question as to the unity of the race. All the varieties mingle freely together, and the mixed race is often superior to the original varieties, constituting in many countries a new variety, and the dormant political and social power proving that the several varieties of the human family are forms of one species, not of different species; since in the latter case their hybrid descendants would remain unfruitful.

Professor Müller, of Berlin, says: "From a physiological point of view we may speak of *varieties* of men, no longer of races. Man is a species created once, and divided into none of its varieties by specific distinctions." Professor Draper, of New-York, says: "I do not therefore contemplate the human race as consisting of distinct species, but rather as offering numberless representations of the different forms which an *ideal type* can be made to assume, under exposure to different conditions."

(5.) The languages of the world indicate a unity not only of blood and form, but of thought, civilization and religion. They are the records of art, science, literature, government, and sacred traditions of primeval thought, crystallized forms of ancient mind and speech, whose feature and form tell of their former connection and common origin. This is more especially true of the most ancient languages, by which we are enabled to trace the connection of all the families of the earth, as brethren not only by descent, but by inheritance;

the depository of heaven-descended truth, fragments of hich are preserved across the track of centuries, and amid e wreck of ten thousand storms.

Herder, Schlegel, Humboldt, Prichard, Latham, Müller, psius, and the philologists of the world generally, have ced all human dialects to some parent stock; thus indicating ommon language and a common origin of the race. All more eminent philologists adhere to the original unity of guage, though they are not so well agreed as to the antiquity man, longer time being required to effect the necessary anges than is allowed by the commonly received chronology. e English, the Dutch, and the German languages were all eso-Gothic at the dawn of the medieval era. At the same e of change, they may have been not far from Egyptian or skrit two thousand years before Christ.

The affinities of language may be indicated, by conformity primary words, by verbal resemblances, by grammatical structions and modes, and by the relation of words in sen-ces, indicative of community of intercourse or of origin at ne remote period.

In the language of a people we often find its history, its aracteristic features, and even the marks of its wars and nquests. The language and the laws of the British Isles sent marked evidences of the conquest by the Norman nch, and of an earlier conquest by the Romans a thousand ars before. The grammatical structure of the languages of ages evinces that they are the decaying fragments of nobler mations. The speech of the Bushman has been ascertained be a degraded dialect of the Hottentot language, as that is a pravation of the Cafre tongue. The picture-writing of ina affords proof of great antiquity, of a fixed character, l of the very slight influence of conquering or of commer-l nations.

The uniformity of languages in Africa, is greater, according Dr. Latham, than it is in either Asia or Europe.

The semi-barbarous populations of the North with Mongo-n features, speak languages which have been grouped as anian, languages graduating on one side into Esquimaux

and American Indian, and on the other, according to Müller and Latham, connected with the Semitic and Japhetic tongues.

The aborigines of America have been traced by the aid of philology to N. E. Asia. The daring Ledyard, as he stood in Siberia, and compared the Mongolians with the Indians who had been his schoolmates at Dartmouth, wrote deliberately: "That universally and circumstantially, they resemble the aborigines of America." On the Connecticut and on the Obey he saw but one race. The Asiatic origin of the American tribes, and the unity of the families, have been proved by an analysis of the several dialects, discovering an affinity in not less than one hundred and seventy words; though the application of the principles of the mathematical calculus, would give millions of chances to one, against such a concurrence. "That the Tschukchi of N. E. Asia and the Esquimaux of America, are of the same origin is proved by the affinity of their languages, thus establishing a connection between the continents previous to the discovery of America by Europeans." (*Bancroft.*)

Words being arbitrary signs of thought, their prevalence in different languages is proof of affinity and community of origin or of intercourse. There is no near relationship between the American and the Turian languages, but the affinity of races is established by the Esquimaux—a transition or connecting link, Mongolian in conformation, but American in words: as when a word borrowed from the French, takes the English sign of the possessive case, a word marked by the peculiarities of two languages, and proving a mingling of the races.

The Malayan language has extended east across the Pacific, from Sumatra as the centre, one hundred and fifty degrees, west over the Indian ocean fifty degrees, more than half the circumference of the globe; and from the Sandwich Islands 23° 33′ N. to New Zealand 45° south, covering seventy degrees, the two clusters of islands being nearly five thousand miles apart. (*Rev. William Ellis.*)

Baron Wilhelm von Humboldt, in his analysis of the Kawi language, a work the researches of which, says Bunsen, belong to the Calculus Sublimis of linguistic theory, and place his

in universal comparative ethnologic philology, by the
f that of Leibnitz, found one hundred and thirty-four
, the synonyms of which he traced through nine lan-
, four of which were Polynesian dialects. On this ground,
richard, we infer without doubt the common origin of
lynesian Islanders, of the Greeks, of the Germans, and
Arian race of Hindostan. Says Baron Alexander
umboldt, "the comparative study of languages, shows
t races now separated by vast tracts of land, are allied
er, and have migrated from one common primitive seat."
Dr. Max Müller, "The evidence of language is irrefra-
and it is the only evidence worth listening to with regard
-historical periods. The hoary documents of language
a common descent, and a legitimate relationship between
o, Greek, and Teuton. The terms for God, horse, father,
r, son, daughter, dog, cow, heart, tears, axe, and tree,
al in nearly all the European idioms, are like watch-
of soldiers. We challenge the seeming stranger, and
er he answers with the lips of a Greek, a German, or an
, we recognise him as one of ourselves. The Indo-
an languages furnish the following illustrative ex-
s:

Zend.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*Gothic.*	*Slave.*	*Erse.*
		FATHER.			
Patar.	πάτηρ.	Pater.	Fader.	——	Athair.
		MOTHER.			
Mâtar.	μήτηρ.	Mater.	——	Mate.	Mathair.
		DAUGHTER.			
Dughdhar.	θυγάτηρ.	——	Daubtar.	Dupte.	Dear.

ie affinity of words, in different languages, is known by
y of letters, and identity of signification; or by letters
same origin, and a signification deducible from the
sense. Consonants are convertible into their cognates."
ler.)

English word *bear* represents the Latin *fero* and *pario*,
o is the Greek φέρω. Respecting the identity of the fol-
; list of words there can be no doubt:

English.	*Saxon.*	*Dutch.*	*German.*	*Swedish.*	*Latin.*	*Greek.*
draw, drag,	dragan,	trekken,	tragen,	draga,	traho,	——
give,	gifan,	geeven,	geben,	gifva,	——	——
foot, feet,	fat, fet,	voet,	fuss.	fot,	pes,	πους.
have,	habban,	hebben,	haben,	hafva,	habeo,	——
seek,	secan,	zoeken,	suchen,	sôkia,	sequor,	——
will,	willan,	willen,	wollen,	willja,	volo, velle,	——
					Danish.	
who,	hwa,	wie,	wer,	ho,	huo,	——
bean,	bean,	boon,	bohne,	böna,	bönne,	——
	Gothic.	*Sanscrit.*			*Latin.*	*Hebrew.*
earth,	airtha,	ahora,	erde,	jord,	terra,	aretz.
				Danish.		אֶרֶץ
				iord,		

The Hebrew word, בָּרָא, *bara*, to create, finds its correspondence, in the Greek *βαρα*, *φέρω*, Latin paro, Spanish parar, French parer, Amoric para, Russian uberayu, Persian paridan, and the Welsh par, parad.

Similar resemblances have been traced by philologists among a multitude of radical words, throughout the several leading languages of the world.

Lepsius shows the deeply rooted radical analogy which the ancient roots of the language of Egypt bear on one side to the Indo-Germanic family, and on the other to the Semitic.

Bunsen says that the Egyptian roots found on monuments, not more ancient than the time of Moses, and in great part anterior to him by a thousand years and more, prove an affinity, not only with the Hebrew and Sanscrit, but also with the languages of the family of Japhet, the Greeks, Romans, Indians, Persians, and the Germanic and Celtic tribes. He concludes his able report by saying, that "all the nations which from the dawn of history to our days have been leaders of civilization, in Asia, Europe, and Africa, must consequently have had one beginning. This is the chief lesson which the knowledge of the Egyptian language teaches;" a lesson in support of the hypothesis of the "original unity of mankind, and of a common origin of all the languages of the world."

(6) The progress of art, literature and science, and the varying

rtunes of nations, dependent upon culture and favoring cir-
mstances, rather than upon any inherent difference of struc-
re or organization, prove the existence of several *varieties* of
e species. Few persons perhaps are aware how much the
orld is indebted to the decaying and almost obsolete civiliza-
on, pervading the stationary and imagined inferior races of
e old world.

The dial and the clock were invented at the east, silk came
om China, steel from Damascus, coffee from Arabia, sugar
om India, its very name, *sachara canda*, is Sanskrit, tea from
hina, and leavened bread from the borders of the Ganges.
e cherry, the peach and the plum came from Persia. Coffee
d alcohol are Arabic words. The game of chess is from
sia. Chemistry was brought into Europe by the Mohamme-
ns. The system of arithmetic and notation which we call
rabic, was borrowed from India. For the algebraic analysis
e are indebted to the Moors. Gunpowder, the mariner's
ompass, and various optical instruments, were introduced by
he Arabs into Europe from Asia. The globular figure of the
arth, and the obliquity of the ecliptic, were known in Asia
ong before they were in Europe. European monotheism was
doctrine of the Hebrews, an Asiatic race. Our most refined
otions of honor and right contain nothing more than is to be
ound in the ten commandments. The disciples' daily prayer
as enunciated by the Saviour on a mountain of Syria. The
lements of our civilization are from Rome, from Greece, from
yria, and from Egypt, which for thirty centuries before our
ra, was governed by a dynasty of kings in regular succession.

The power and the successes of Ghengis Khan, and of
Tamerlane, prove that they were men of wonderful capacity,
olding as they did nearly all Asia in their iron grasp. Such
esults imply the most extraordinary powers of intellect and of
ill. The great law-givers of the world are of Asia—Zoroaster,
Confucius, Mohammed, Moses, Melchizedec, to say nothing of
he mighty rulers of Nineveh and of Babylon. Three hundred
illions of people enjoy peace and the fruits of their industry
nder the government of the Emperor of China; nearly as
any are followers of Mohammed; while the worshippers of

Brahma and Budha are estimated by hundreds of millions. The Italian church was formed by Asiatic missionaries, and consolidated through centuries by a long line of sacerdotal kings, making the most powerful ecclesiastical establishment in the world. In its form and principles of government it is essentially Oriental. The mind of the people of Asia is eminently synthetic, prompting to the construction of immense cities, temples, aqueducts, canals, Chinese walls, and systems of theology, philosophy, and government—a definite, social state, seeking repose and forbidding change.

The European mind is analytic—proposing questions, making experiments and changes, committing the treasures of the past and the interests of the present to the uncertain issue of revolutions, and of course tending to social and political freedom. The results are various, and of unequal interest and value—doubts, protests, empiricism and change, the explosion of old systems, and the adoption of new ones, with rapid progress in the arts and practical sciences, but without stability and repose, for the perfect crystallization of sentiments and principles, into forms of order and proportion. The moral qualities of the European mind are not equal to the intellectual. The combination of the synthetic and of the analytic element, by the spirit of the cross, is an indispensable prerequisite to the introduction of the golden age of prophecy and of song.

(7.) The traditions of Central Asia, the cradle of the race, diffused among the nations of the earth, indicate the common origin of the human family. We find in the histories of civilized nations, and in the mythologies and religious ceremonies of barbarous tribes, traditions of chaos, the creation, light, the Sabbath, the garden, the trees of Paradise, the fall, the flood, the olive branch and the dove, and of Messiah; traditions uniform and striking, such as could not have been invented; household memories yet lingering among the scattered members of the human race, all pointing back, and converging to a common centre and a common home.

The traditions of separate and independent nations, says Wilhelm Von Humboldt, "concur in assigning the generations of men to the union of a single pair." Even the alphabet from

Phenicia has been transmitted to us through the same race, that gave us the fundamental principles of our religious faith. And it is worthy of notice that picture-writing and picture-worship are closely connected. Abstraction is anti-idolatrous. The recognition of the distinction between the IDEAL and the REAL is manifested in the invention of an alphabet, as well as in the adoption of a pure theism.

(8.) The unity of the human race is established by the exact counterpart between the respective powers of the several varieties. The map of the human faculties is identical. The grammar of one language is substantially the grammar of all. Three and seven are charmed or sacred numbers; and by the influence of some curious law pervading human nature, all or nearly all nations begin to repeat in counting at ten. The remembrance of the departed and the sacredness of the tomb, are cherished sentiments even among the most savage tribes. The difference between the dangerous classes of our large cities, and the most brutalized savages is very slight. They have the same affections, the same intellectual and moral qualities, though darkened by superstition and impaired by abuse. They are governed by the same, or similar aims and feelings; the elements and the instincts of man's intellectual and moral nature, even in its depravation, are the same.

It is this *psychical* conformity in regard to the essential elements of man's nature, that constitutes the moral brotherhood of the race, in comparison with which, the question of physical relation by common descent is of little importance. In this respect there is no impassable barrier between the several tribes of men; and even Agassiz protests strongly against any inference from his hypothesis as to a multiple origin, to the prejudice of the interests and rights of men, founded upon the moral unity of the race. The consciousness of moral union is conclusive evidence of the unity of the several families of mankind. The conviction is spontaneous, irresistible, and universal, of the reciprocal relation between the several varieties, as one great commonwealth of mankind, peoples and nations, of many climes and colors, and diverse customs; component parts of one whole, as springs and wheels mutually adapted and re-

lated, awaiting the day and the hour of adjustment and consolidation.

(9.) The powers of reason and of free-will, so as to determine the course of thought and of action, are distinctive characteristics of mankind in every clime and condition. The rational and moral nature of man is everywhere the same—his intellectual and spiritual faculties and susceptibilities, his instincts and sympathies, his hopes and fears, his susceptibility to religious impressions and culture, his innate conviction of the brotherhood of the race, his spiritual aspirations and reverent looking to the great First Cause, and adumbration of a future heritage; these are the voices of God respecting the nature of man—reflections from the broad mirror of humanity of the light of heaven, records of the divine will, engraven upon, incorporated with, and pervading man's whole being.

(10.) An argument for the unity of the race, is found in the capacity for improvement to an indefinite extent, among all the varieties of mankind. The same fact is seen also in the susceptibility to degradation and barbarism, when the means of culture and the appliances of civilization are removed. The history of the rise and decline of empires is indicative of the similarity or identity of mental character of all nations throughout the several ages. Members of all the leading varieties of the human species have been found at the summit, as well as at the base of the social pyramid. The civilized ruling nations of to-day were the pagans and serfs of a few centuries ago. In the revolutions of the wheel of fortune they have changed places with their masters. From the antiquities now in process of disentombment, it is manifest that the aborigines of America are the degenerate children of a people once civilized, refined, and powerful. The relative decline of the Asiatic nations and the advance of the European, are facts which need no illustration for their enforcement. The capacity of the mind for knowledge, and its susceptibility of culture, have no definite limits. Large attainments become the occasions and the means of new acquisitions. There is a broad and impassable line between man and the irrational creation, common to all the varieties of the race. Animals, as dogs, horses, elephants,

id monkeys, may be taught a few arts, and subjected to a utine of service, but the ultimate limit is soon reached. eir capacity for improvement is confined to a narrow range, id the members of the succeeding generation cannot be ele- ted to a higher grade than the former. They have neither nscience, nor speech, nor reason; their vocal utterances e natural sounds, expressive of joy or pain, as the inter- ctions of human speech—the language of the sensations and elings of animal nature—not arbitrary signs of thought, in- cative of reflection, and high resolve, and heroic purposes. f all the animal creation, man alone had a spiritual nature peradded, making him to be the image and likeness of his aker.

(11.) The great weight of authorities, whether we consider mbers or character, is on the side of the specific unity and mmon origin of the race.

"All ancient civilization must have sprung from a common centre."—*rke.*

"The different races of mankind are not different species of a genus, but rms of one sole species"!—*Alexander Humboldt.*

"The human species appears to be single."—*Cuvier.*

"We are entitled, from all the facts and observations which have been tablished, to draw confidently the conclusion that all human races are of e species, and one family."—*Prichard.*

"Science has determined that all the various tribes of men are but forms f a single species."—*Hugh Miller.*

"Deeply rooted in the innermost nature of man, and enjoined upon him y his highest tendencies, the recognition of the bond of humanity is one of e noblest leading principles in the history of mankind."—*Wilhelm von umboldt.*

"Each member of the race is in will, affection, and intellect, consubstan- al with every other. The reciprocal relation between God and humanity nstitutes the UNITY of the race."—*Bancroft.*

Such, in a word, is the conclusion of our highest scientific thorities. The number of testimonies might be multiplied definitely, but it is not necessary.

(12.) The authority of the divine word on the subject is with e Christian decisive and final.

The Bible knows but one species of man. We do not read that they were created after their species, as we do of plants and animals. The record is unambiguous and emphatic. Amid the songs of morning stars, and the chorus of angelic choirs, "God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him, male and female created he them, and gave them dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth. And God blessed them, and said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it, and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth."

"And the whole earth was of one language and of one speech. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth, and they left off to build the city. Therefore is the name of it called Babel, because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth, and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth."

"For God hath made of *one blood* all the nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation."

V. The recognition of the bond of humanity in the reciprocal relation of the several varieties of the race as consubstantial members of the great commonwealth of mankind, is the initial step, in every series of measures wisely conceived and rightly directed, for social progress and political regeneration.

(1.) Liberty, civilization, and religion are consequent and dependent upon the practical acknowledgment of the substantial unity of the several varieties of the human family. The mission of the scholar, the triumphs of science, and the conservative influence of civilization and of law, are destined to be commensurate with the wide extension of the race.

Wherever man exists, there may be heard a brother's voice, pleading for a brother's rights, and protesting against personal, social and political violence and wrong. Wars, oppressions,

nd military conquests, which would have a *seeming reason*, if ne nation might arrogate to itself a higher or more excellent rigin than another, are prohibited by the fundamental organic w of human nature.

(2.) The popular infidelity of the day, superficial and flip- ant, is accustomed to assail the Bible, and to sneer at its pre- nsions to divine authority, on the ground of its teachings ncerning the unity and origin of mankind. It flatters the lf-complacency of the Anglo-Saxon to imagine that he be- ngs to a superior as well as to a conquering race. It seems justify, or at least to palliate violence and wrong, to believe at there are *inferior* races, made like the brutes to be in sub- ction and to serve. And it obviates the necessity of self- nying missionary efforts to suppose that certain races are not nprovable, that they are hopelessly degraded, and destined remain permanently in a savage state, or to disappear before he march of the conquering races.

(3.) The specific unity and common origin of the race is a ubject of practical interest and of momentous import; for it s connected inseparably with the doctrine of salvation. It is question of vast importance whether the nature which fell in Eden is that which we inherit, and whether the humanity which we wear was embraced in the work of redemption.

The specific diversity of the races is a hypothesis at war with the comprehensive unity of Redemption, as well as with its universal applicability to the varieties of mankind. The fall precedes redemption, and redemption implies the unity of the race; for He who shed his blood for us was made subject to law in human form, that he might redeem us who were under the law, and purify us from all unrighteousness. The Gospel is adapted to all classes and conditions of men, even the most degraded and hopeless of the so-called inferior races. It knows no degrees of latitude or longitude. It has made conquests among all nations and tribes, thus illustrating its power; and it is destined to universal supremacy. It recog- nizes in the great commission the unity of the race; and the ommand is, "Go ye into all the earth and preach the Gospel to

every creature, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world."

(4.) The moral effects of the doctrine of the unity of mankind, upon the peace and welfare of nations, cannot be too highly estimated nor too dearly prized.

Who can calculate the effects of such a conviction—WE ARE ALL BRETHREN—the influence it would exert on the well-being of states and empires, extending the spirit of love and of life to all classes of men—freemen, claiming their rights and privileges in the common inheritance, as children of the universal Father—a spectacle to the world and to the angels, than which none is more sublime or pleasing to God; a generation of the world's population taking up the confession of unity, fraternity, and equality, uttering it boldly, and proclaiming it from nation to nation, and around the globe; inaugurating the era of a congress of nations, and giving assurance of the peace of the world.

ART. IV.—CRITICAL THOUGHTS ON NEW TESTAMENT TEXTS.

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1. Perhaps the most perplexing and most discussed passage in the New Testament is that found in Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, chap. ix, verses 16 and 17.

In our English version the words run thus; "*For where a testament is, there must also of necessity be the death of the testator. For a testament is of force after men are dead: otherwise it is of no strength at all while the testator liveth.*" In the Greek the passage has this form; "Οπου γὰρ διαθήκη, θάνατον ἀνάγκη φέρεσθαι τοῦ διαθεμένου. Διαθήκη γὰρ ἐπὶ νεκροῖς βεβαία. ἐπεὶ μήποτε ἰσχύει ὅτε ζῇ ὁ διαθέμενος. The difficulty is not in the words as they stand in these verses by themselves, but in

heir meaning as related to the context. Considered apart om the connection, the passage presents a statement just in elf, and fully supported in both vocabulary and syntax by he Greek. The statement affirms that the death of a testator s necessary before a will or testament can have an efficient rce. This is sufficiently clear in itself, but it is difficult to pply the figure to Christ. A testator's death gives efficiency his will, simply by taking him out of the way, thus allowing e benefits of property, which terminated in *him*, while he as alive, to flow on to the heirs for *their* enjoyment. The ath causes a transfer of the property. Such is the *characristic* of a testator's death as regards his testament. But ere is nothing analogous to this in Christ's death. His death a purchase of property for us, a property which by the very ature of the case he never did and never could himself enjoy. hat property is our salvation.

But besides this inapplicability of the figure to Christ, it is napplicable to the preceding and succeeding verses. The preeding verses treat of Christ as the sacrifice for sin, thus; "if he blood of bulls and goats ——— sanctifieth, etc., how nuch more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conience?" (ver. 13, 14). The 15th verse speaks again of his leath as a means of redemption, whereby the promise of an ternal inheritance may be received by the called. This use f the word "inheritance" is the only thing which agrees with the idea of a testament and a testator. For the word wice translated "testament" in the 15th verse cannot refer o a testament, because a *mediator* of the testament is menioned, and how can there be a mediator to a man's last will? And, again, the *Mosaic dispensation* is called "the first testament," in which there is acknowledged to be no likeness whatever to a will. The Greek word διαθήκη (the word used in hese passages) means both "covenant" and "testament." It ccurs in the New Testament thirty-three times, and is transated in our version by "testament" thirteen times and by covenant" twenty times. It occurs seventeen times in this pistle to the Hebrews, and is translated of these six times as

"testament" and eleven times as "covenants." Moreover, the phrase "mediator of a covenant" is found in chap. viii, 6, and in chap. xii, 24, where its correctness is evident; and the Mosaic dispensation is called a "covenant" most properly in chap. viii, 9. Hence we see conclusively that the word twice translated "testament" in verse 15 of the chapter before us should be rendered "covenant" in both cases.

A covenant, made good by the sacrifice of Christ, is therefore the leading thought in the context immediately preceding our passage.

The succeeding verses (18–22) show, that the *blood of sacrifices* had to be used in all the Mosaic service. And then verse 23 points us to Christ's blood, as used in the same manner in our spiritual service. As the argument proceeds, this blood of Christ is again mentioned as the basis of a covenant (chap. x, 16–19). *A covenant, made good by the sacrifice of Christ*, is therefore the leading thought in the context immediately succeeding our passage. Now, are we to suppose that two short verses, comprising our passage (and using the same important word with the context), are thrust in between two parts of a regular discussion of Christ's sacrifice, with a meaning totally different? The contexts refer, as we have seen, to *a covenant made good by the sacrifice of Christ*, but this passage inserted is alleged to refer to *a testament, put into force by the demis of Christ.*

The manifold interpreters of this disputed passage may be classed under three heads. First are those who take the English version as it is, and say, that the apostle intended to mingle the two notions of covenant and testament, and that he turns on the word "inheritance" (in ver. 15.) from the former to the latter. The reply to these commentators is that such a transference of meaning is *unnecessary* and *harsh*, and hence the interpretation is contrary to the received rules of exegesis. It is unnecessary, because by preserving the notions of covenant and sacrifice, we can make a meaning equally good upon the whole with theirs. It is harsh, because the beautiful argument regarding the sacrifice is abruptly suspended, and then as abruptly resumed.

The second and larger class of interpreters, especially the ter ones, acknowledge the translation of *διαθήκη* in all this apter to be "covenant," and then read the disputed passage us; "*for where a covenant is, there must also of necessity be the ath of the victim; for a covenant is of force over dead victims; herwise it is of no strength at all while the victim liveth.*" This ads smoothly enough in English and satisfies the context. at there are several objections to this use of the Greek. nly one however seems really unanswerable. It is this. The rd translated "victim" never has that meaning, and by all alogy cannot have it. It occurs in the New Testament five nes (besides this passage), and is uniformly referred to the ker of the covenant. In the classical writers it occurs in e same invariable sense, as the maker of the covenant or ll. Scholefield acknowledges this difficulty, and yet boldly lls it here an *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*, and rides over it. Yet no one n read his four pages upon this matter, without perceiving at he feels very uneasy in his bold riding.

The third class of interpreters, like the first, take the Engh version as correct, but would have *διαθήκη* rendered "tesment" everywhere. This class show such a blind disregard r propriety in rhetoric that we shall consider it enough to ention them.

If the second interpretation could avoid the difficulty with e word *διαθέμενος*, which its advocates translate "victim" or mediating sacrifice," it would probably be received by all od critics. We propose to remove that difficulty by a transtion which preserves to *διαθέμενος* its well-acknowledged eaning, while the general signification of the passage reains in accordance with the second interpretation. We reat the Greek and under it our suggested rendering.

Ὅπου γὰρ διαθήκη, θάνατον ἀνάγκη φέρεσθαι τοῦ διαθεμένου. αθήκη γὰρ ἐπὶ νεκροῖς βεβαία, ἐπεὶ μήποτε ἰσχύει ὅτε ζῇ ὁ διαθέ-νος. For where there is a covenant, it is necessary for a death be brought by the covenant-maker; for a covenant is firm er dead victims, since never has the covenant-maker power ile the victims live. In the former clause, *τοῦ διαθεμένου* is garded as equivalent to *ἀπὸ τοῦ διαθεμένου*, the omission being

familiar to every scholar. The only harshness is in giving, in the latter clauses, *ἰσχύει* a nominative (*ὁ διαθέμενος*), which seems naturally to belong to *ζῇ*. This can be explained by supposing the writer to have finished his sentence before he wrote the last word, (*ὁ διαθέμενος*), having the covenant-maker in his mind as the nominative to *ἰσχύει*, from the necessity of the argument, thus: "the covenant-maker must introduce a death, since the covenant-maker has no power without a death." But feeling that the interposed sentence (*διαθήκη γὰρ ἐπὶ νεκροῖς βεβαία*) might prevent the reader from supposing the right nominative to *ἰσχύει*, he adds *ὁ διαθέμενος* at the end of the whole, the *ζῇ* naturally being associated with the *νεκροῖς*.

2. *There remaineth therefore a rest for the people of God, for he that is entered into his rest, he also hath ceased from his own works as God did from his.* Heb. iv, 9, 10.

Ἄρα ἀπολείπεται σαββατισμὸς τῷ λαῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ γὰρ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς κατέπαυσεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ὁ θεός. The trouble in this passage is to account for the "for" (*γὰρ*). We should have expected "and" (*καὶ*), as it only introduces an *additional fact* and not a *reason*. There remains a rest for God's people—that is one fact. Moreover, this rest is like God's rest—that is another fact. A careful translation will bring out the force of the "for," and correct our English *non sequitur*. The writer has just shown that the rest promised by God (through David) to his people could not be the rest which Joshua found for Israel in Canaan. This rest which God promises, the writer constantly calls *κατάπαυσιν*. The conclusion in the 9th verse would thus naturally be "there remaineth, therefore, a *κατάπαυσις* to the people of God." Instead of that the Apostle writes "there remaineth, therefore, a *σαββατισμὸς* to the people of God." The objection would promptly arise—why a *σαββατισμὸς* and not a *κατάπαυσις*? The answer is in the 10th verse "*for* he that is entered into his *κατάπαυσις* hath ceased from his own works, as God did from his." The 10th verse is thus a *reason* for using *σαββατισμὸς* in the 9th verse. The English might, therefore, read thus: "*There remaineth, therefore, a Sabbath-rest to the people of God, for he that is entered into his rest hath likewise rested*

rom his own works as God did from his," and thus his rest is a Sabbath-rest. By our received text the meaning of the 10th erse is entirely lost, the word "Sabbath-rest" (*σαββατισμὸς*), n which its whole meaning hinges, being unseen.

8. *And from the days of John the Baptist until now, the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force.* Matt. xi. 12. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπιστοῦ ἕως ἄρτι ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν βιάζεται, καὶ βιασταὶ ἁρπάζουσιν αὐτήν. The usual interpretation of this passage regards the "violent" nd the "violence" as referring to the earnest seekers for the ruth and their earnestness. People rush with impetuosity into he refuge of Christ's Church, with such impetuosity as characerizes the storming of a city by zealous troops. But Schoettgen nd some others prefer to take the text in a more literal sigification, and read it thus: "The kingdom of heaven is vioently attacked by its enemies, and those who wish to get the dmission to it must fight their way in." But why is not Schoettgen consistent, and having referred *βιάζεται* to the vioent attacks of the enemies of the Church, why does he not efer *βιασταὶ* to the same? His double reference seems to be xceedingly arbitrary. Another class of interpreters, who old to the common interpretation of *βιάζεται*, imitate Schoettgen's inconsistency by making *βιασταὶ* refer to the meaner portion of the people, whom the Pharisees regarded as usurpers and invaders in embracing the Gospel! Whatever be our rendering of the Greek, it certainly seems evident that *βιάζεται* and *βιασταὶ* must receive a similar treatment with each other. And why should not that rendering have reference to the enemies of the Church? The spirit of the context is a complaint against unbelief. With all John's excellence, the Jews rejected him; and when Christ came, they basely assaulted *him*. So Jesus and John are compared to children sitting in the markets and saying to their fellows, "We have piped unto you and ye have not danced; we have mourned unto you and ye have not lamented;" and then the evangelist adds, "for John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say he hath a devil. The Son of Man came eating and drinking, and they say, 'Behold a man gluttonous and a wine-bibber.'"

Keeping this contextual force in view, the most natural paraphrase of the text would be this: "John was very great, but the kingdom of heaven has greater glory than even John's preaching (ver. 11); yet great as is the kingdom of heaven, it is basely assaulted and its assailants plunder it." The English phrase "take it by force" is not the only rendering for ἁρπάζουσιν αὐτὴν. We prefer "plunder it." In this way Demosthenes frequently uses the word ἁρπάζειν; as for example, τὴν δὲ Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἐφεξῆς οὑτωσὶ Φίλιππος ἁρπάζων οὐ λίπει; The Church was never *taken* by its enemies, but has often been *plundered.*

The corresponding passage in Luke xvi, 16, reads thus in our English Bible: "Since that time the kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it." The Greek of the latter clause, which is all that concerns our question, is, πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν βιάζεται. Here is βιάζεται again. Instead of "every man presseth into it," we propose "every man (i. e. a multitude) assaults it." To support this reading of βιάζεται with εἰς, we quote *Demosthenes de Halonneso, chap. 7,* κατακαύσας τὴν χώραν καὶ εἰς τὰς πόλεις βιασάμενος, "having laid waste the country with fire, and having assaulted the cities."

Art. V.—RENAN ON JOB AND CANTICLES.

Le Livre de Job, *traduit de l'Hébreu, avec une étude sur l'âge et le caractère du poëme.* Par Ernest Renan. Deuxième édition. Paris. 1860.

Le Cantique des Cantiques, *traduit de l'Hébreu, avec une étude sur le plan, l'âge et le caractère du poëme.* Par Ernest Renan. Paris. 1860. 8vo, pp. xiv, 210.

The author of these treatises is not quite forty years of age, but he ranks already as one of the ablest and most eloquent of French scholars. Having given early indications of great talent, he was educated for the church, and entered upon the

tudy of theology in a Roman Catholic seminary at Paris. But his free spirit and active curiosity could not endure the rammels of a traditional faith; he quitted the seminary, cut oose from ecclesiastical associations, and, earning his bread by private instruction, devoted himself to study. He pursued with great assiduity the oriental languages, and in 1847 gained he Volney prize by an essay which was the basis of an extended work published in 1855, under the title, *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques.* In 1850 he eceived an appointment as attaché of the manuscript department of the national library—a position, which leaves him free o follow his scholarly tastes. He is a prolific writer, and has ontributed a number of articles to the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, *Le Journal de l'Instruction Publique*, etc., which are ll marked by boldness of thought and eloquence of style. Within the last three years, he has begun to write on the Hebrew Scriptures, and the two works mentioned at the head of this article are the product of his activity in this direction.

The work on Job consists of two parts: a translation of the text, and an essay on the literary history and character of the book. The translation is carefully made and displays Renan's skill in the use of words, but it appeals chiefly to the French public; the essay may invite the attention of all who are interested in the study of the Old Testament. Renan's position and influence entitle his opinions to notice, if not to criticism.

In regard to the date of the book of Job, Renan agrees with the great majority of living scholars, who have receded from the opinion of Le Clerc and others, that it was not written until the captivity. Renan is inclined to assign it to the eighth century, the age of the prophets Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah.

"It is at this period, midway in the history of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel—a period when the ancient nomadic spirit was far from being extinct, and when the important reforms of the time of Josiah had not yet given that powerful impulse to the nation, which predestined it to so extraordinary a career, that I prefer to place the composition of the book of Job."

Several parts of the book of Job have been held by some critics to be not the work of the original author, but added by a later hand. In discussing the genuineness of these portions,

Renan is comparatively conservative. He confesses freely that upon the first perusal many circumstances seem to favor the idea of interpolation; but he remarks, that the Hebrews and oriental authors in general held ideas respecting composition very different from our own. Their conceptions of logical consecutiveness, of dramatic unity, and even of rhythmical effect, were much less definite than those of the Greeks and Romans, and we must be careful not to see interpolations or retouches, wherever the want of connection surprises us. Thus he does not consider as additional the prologue and epilogue, without which the poem would be unintelligible.

The reasons for denying the authenticity of the second part of chap. xxvii seem to him even less decisive. The opinion also of Ewald, who looks upon the descriptions of Behemoth and Leviathan as interpolated, rests upon no better foundation. The style of this fragment appears to M. Renan to be that of the finest portions of the poem. In no part do we find greater strength or more sonorous parallelism; every thing indicates that this singular portion is from the same hand (though wrought from different materials) as the rest of Jehovah's discourse.

It is only, according to M. Renan, against the discourse of Elihu that decisive and insuperable objections may be raised. It disturbs the arrangement of the poem; its language differs from that of the remainder of the work; and considerations of taste also condemn this fragment. For these reasons M. Renan admits that the discourse of Elihu was interpolated at a later age than that in which the book of Job had assumed the form in which we find it. But it is impossible to say whether this insertion immediately followed the completion of the poem, or whether a long interval separated the two. Who knows, asks M. Renan, if the author himself, taking up his work after a long interval, at an epoch when he had lost his inspiration and his style, did not think that he might perfect his poem by the addition of this fragment, which in reality injures it?

Concerning the spirit and character of the book, we shall leave M. Renan to speak for himself.

"Not for a moment," he says, "in this strange book, do we cease to feel vibrating those fine and delicate touches, which make the grand poetical creations of Greece and Judah so perfect an imitation of nature. Entire phases of the human soul are indeed wanting, and a sort of grand inflexibility gives to the poem an aspect of hardness and brazen terror; but the position of man in this world, his mysterious struggle against an opposing but unseen power, his equally justified alternations of submission and revolt, have never inspired so eloquent a lament. The greatness of human nature consists in a contradiction, by which all wise men have been impressed, and which is the prolific mother of all high thought and noble philosophy; on one side, conscience endorsing right and moral obligation as the highest realities; on the other, the experience of every day inexplicably belying these profound aspirations; whence has risen a sublime lamentation, which, beginning at the creation of the world, will till the end of time bear toward heaven the solemn protest of man's moral nature. The poem of Job is the most sublime expression of this cry of the soul. In it blasphemy encroaches upon adoration, or rather it is itself a hymn of praise, since it is but an appeal to God against the voids which conscience finds in the work of God. The pride of the nomad, his cold, severe religion, far removed from any thing like devotion, his haughty self-assertion, alone explain this singular combination of lofty faith and audacious stubbornness."

After having proved the absence in Hebrew writing of the method, or scientific exactitude, which we find in the literature of Greece, M. Renan justifies the fact in these terms:

"If the point in question were a problem accessible to the human mind, it would be shocking to find the rules of scientific investigation so grossly violated. But the question which the author proposes to himself is precisely that with which every thinker struggles without being able to solve it; his perplexities, his solicitude, this manner of turning over in all directions the fatal name without finding its import, involve much more philosophy than the positive scholasticism, which pretends to silence the doubts of reason by responses apparently indisputable. Contradiction in such matters is the sign of truth, for the little which is revealed to man of the plan of the universe is reduced to a few curves and a few veins, of which the fundamental law is but vaguely seen, and which aspires to attach itself to the greatness of infinity. To maintain at one and the same time the eternal necessities of the heart, the affirmations of the moral sense, the protestations of conscience and the testimony of fact, this is wisdom. The predominant thought of the book of Job is thus one of perfect truth. It is the grandest lesson ever given to intemperate dogmatism; and to the pretensions of the shallow mind meddling with theology; it is in one sense the highest result of all philosophy, for it declares that man can only veil his face before the infinite problem which the government of the world presents to his contemplation."

The book of Job is the expression of the incurable trouble, which engrossed the conscience at the epoch when the old patriarchal theory, founded only on the promises of a terrestrial life, became insufficient. The author sees the feebleness of this theory; he revolts with good reason against the crying injustice which a superficial interpretation of the decrees of Providence brings with it; but he finds no outlet in the closed circle from which man can escape only by a daring appeal to the future.

"Three thousand years have passed over the problem agitated by the wise men of Idumea, and in spite of the progress of philosophic method it cannot be said that it has made one step toward a solution. Looked at with reference to the rewards and punishments of the individual, this world will be an object of eternal dispute, and God will always forcibly give the lie to the clumsy apologists who seek to defend Providence on this desperate ground. The scandal which the Psalmist experienced in *beholding the peace of the wicked*, and the wrath of God against the prosperity of the ungodly, are sentiments which have been justified throughout all time. But that which neither the Psalmist nor the author of the book of Job could comprehend, that which a succession of schools, the intermixture of races, a prolonged education of the moral sense could alone reveal, we have learned. Beyond the chimerical justice which the superficial good sense of all ages has sought to find in the government of the universe, we perceive far higher laws and a more exalted purpose, without the knowledge of which human affairs must seem but a tissue of iniquities. The future of the individual man has become no clearer, and perhaps it is well that an eternal veil should cover truths which are worthless except when they are the offspring of a pure heart; but a word, which neither Job nor his friends pronounce, has acquired a sublime meaning and an inestimable value: *duty*, with its incalculable philosophic consequences, in being laid upon all, resolves all doubts, reconciles all oppositions, and becomes a foundation on which to reconstruct all that reason destroys or abandons. Thanks to this revelation without ambiguity or doubt, we are able to declare that he who has chosen the right is the truly wise man. Such an one will be immortal; *for his works shall live in the eventual triumph of justice, an epitome of the divine work which mankind is accomplishing.*"

Such is the fallacious morality, which aims at solving the profoundest problems without recognizing the idea of God or of individual immortality. Out of all Kant's philosophy only the categorical imperative has been retained, which is a thorough absurdity, a tree without roots as it is without fruit,

from the moment when it no longer holds fast, as its indispensable sanction, to faith in God and in a future life. It is simply, with a more finished style, the gross *positivism* of Auguste Comte and his school. It believes only in the world of matter and of the senses, or at most in the laws of celestial mechanism; and it thinks itself greatly in advance of Job and his friends in reducing all the hopes of humanity to this derisive prospect:

"The wicked man, whether foolish or frivolous, shall perish forever, in the sense, that he has contributed nothing to the general result of the labor of his race; but the votary of things beautiful and good will partake of *the immortality of that which he has loved.* The works of the man of genius and the good man alone escape the universal decadence, for they only are counted among things surely attained, and their fruits go on increasing even when an ungrateful humanity has utterly forgotten them."

In the above notice of Renan's work on Job, we have been occupied chiefly with the speculative and religious position of the author, so that in sketching his volume on Canticles we may confine our attention to his critical results. Renan regards the Song of Solomon as dramatic, though it does not present the progressive plot, nor maintain the unities of time and place, which belong to the fully developed drama. It was perhaps designed to be recited or acted in some rude way at a marriage entertainment. This theory of the character of the poem is by no means new. It was originally propounded by a certain Jacobi near the end of the last century, and has since been advocated by Herder, Umbreit, Ewald and other eminent Biblical scholars. These writers, though differing widely in details, all make the book consist in the dramatic evolution of the incidents of a simple story. The design of the story is to glorify a virtuous affection, and "to display the victory of humble and constant love over the temptations of wealth and royalty." The heroine is a maiden of the village of Shulem in the tribe of Issachar, who is carried off by the attendants of King Solomon, while they are scouring Northern Palestine in search of candidates for his harem. Transported to the splendor of Solomon's court, she resists its enticements and remains faithful in her attachment to a young shepherd of

her native village. The king is compelled to abandon his suit, the maiden is recovered by her lover, and the two renew their vows. This, according to Renan, is the simple story of the poem. The story is brought out in the form of dialogue, in which we find the expression of feelings proper to the several characters of the piece, but without the clear progression and verisimilitude of the Greek and Roman drama. It was perhaps performed at wedding festivals, but not with the machinery of the modern stage. The actors were probably all present during the representation, the maiden, the peasant, and Solomon, as principal actors, standing in the front, the court ladies, chorus, etc., a little behind them. In the imperfection of scenic display and dramatic structure, the Canticles may be compared with the sacred dramas of the middle ages.

As to date of the poem, Renan rejects the view of those who place its composition in the last times of the Hebrew literature. The currency of this view Renan ascribes to the imperfect method of the school of Gesenius, which sought to fix the age of Hebrew books by reference to linguistic peculiarities, with little regard to historical and literary considerations. The Chaldaic coloring of the Canticles always tinged the dialects of the North, and perhaps also the popular language of the South. There is no phrase or word (except the word *paradise*) which may not be explained by the probable locality or purpose of the writer. This word, it is true, seems to have entered the Hebrew, as it entered the Greek language, at a late period. But it may have been added by a copyist or redactor; and, at any rate, ought not to outweigh strong opposing reasons. The title, on the other hand, ascribes the book to Solomon; but this has no more authority than the inscriptions of the Psalms and cannot overcome internal evidence. The prevailing tone of the piece Renan thinks to be inconsistent with a Solomonic authorship. The manners of Solomon's court are not presented in a favorable light. The republican simplicity of ancient Israel is still dear to the writer, and he is not inclined to commend the king who did more to destroy it than any other monarch. For the same reason, the writer could not have lived in a late period. Time gathered a

halo of glory around the name of Solomon, and in the books of Kings and Chronicles he is magnified in every way. There is, also, one particular which, in the view of M. Renan, carries the book almost to the age of Solomon. In vi, 4, the heroine is compared to the beauty of Tirzah and of Jerusalem. The poet seems to place Tirzah in the same rank with Jerusalem. Tirzah was the capital of the kingdom of Israel from the reign of Jeroboam to that of Omri, i. e. from 975 to 924. In 923 Omri built Samaria, which became henceforth the capital of the northern kingdom. From that time, Tirzah disappeared from history, and its fall was so complete that its situation is wholly unknown. It is improbable that a writer in the last days of the kingdom would have placed it in such striking contrast with Jerusalem.

The plan of the Canticles, as determined by M. Renan, excludes from the book any religious or mystical meaning. He remarks that the only plausible argument for the allegorical interpretation is derived from the existence of an erotic form of mystical poetry in the Indian and Persian literature. But this poetry is of recent origin, the product of a degenerate age, when genuine poetical feeling had died out and a fondness for artificiality and fanciful conceits had taken its place. In India, at least, it would seem that the allegorizing taste and exegesis preceded the allegorical poems and occasioned their composition. Much of the poetry, which has been reckoned in this class, had in the intention of its authors no religious import. Thus the hidden meaning of the poems of the Persian Hafiz exists only in the fancy of the commentators. Moreover the refinements of mysticism were utterly foreign to the simple and vigorous spirit of the old Hebrew. An erotic poem with a hidden religious meaning among the Hebrews of the tenth century before Christ would have been the strangest of anachronisms. The allegorical interpretation, which has prevailed both among Jews and Christians, sprang up with the formation of the Canon. The Song of Songs, rescued from destruction amid the general shipwreck of the old Hebrew literature, became in the Persian period an object of reverence, and, as the religious spirit grew more intense, an object of religious

reverence. This sought its justification in a spiritual sense, until at length the allegorical interpretation gained general currency, shortly before the Christian era. It has ever since continued the interpretation of the church, yet it is wholly baseless and must disappear before sound criticism. But though the Song of Songs is a love poem, it is nevertheless, says Renan, worthy of a place in the sacred book. It exalts above mere sensual passion the power of a virtuous affection.

"Let us place it boldly in the ark where holy things are kept; let us allow the theologian to believe that to save the honor of the old Canticles it is necessary to travesty it; and for those who would defend that obsolete interpretation by reasons of expediency, let us recall the answer of Niebuhr to a young clergyman who was troubled by the necessity of admitting a love-song into the Biblical Canon: 'For myself,' promptly replied that eminent critic, 'I should think that the Bible lacked something, if there was found in it no expression for what is deepest and strongest in the feelings of human nature.'"

Our object in the above sketch has not been criticism; we have thought merely to illustrate Renan's method of handling the Hebrew Scriptures. His influence is not inconsiderable, and every student of the Bible will be interested in knowing something of the tone and teaching of his works.

ART. VI.—FISHER'S SERMONS AND ADDRESSES.

Occasional Sermons and Addresses. By SAMUEL W. FISHER, D.D., President of Hamilton College. New-York: Mason Brothers. 1861.

THIS volume is made up of detached treatises on distinct, yet for the most part related, themes. Each one is complete in itself and independent of the others in its discussion. They were prepared, each for its occasion and for its individual end, and manifestly without any reference to their future collection in a volume. But there is a harmony between the various parts, which could hardly have been better secured had the

ıer, from the preparation of the first to that of the last, de-
ed eventually to combine them.
his coincidence, manifestly undesigned, is evidence of such
tal excellence as highly commends Dr. Fisher for the im-
ant position which he holds as President of Hamilton Col-
. There are few situations where harmony of mental ope-
ns is more effective for good, and where frequent discre-
cy of sentiment is more potential for evil, than in that of a
her of youth.
he one type of mind secures influence at once, in that it
ishes evidence that its opinions have not been lightly
pted, but gravely weighed and put, each one in its proper
e, compared with and adjusted to all the others. Dr.
fin used familiarly to say, that he had a pigeon-hole in his
d for every principle which he had carefully considered
settled, and that there he kept it for the comparison and
sion of other questions.
ut the other style of mind which has no fixed principles,
ch adopts an opinion to-day and discards it for a contrary
to-morrow, is unsafe in its teachings, unreliable in its de-
ns, and impotent in its influence over other minds. As a
ain learned Professor—who shall be nameless—in one of
literary institutions, would at one time before his class
ement ly advocate a certain theory in ethics, or a certain
ıion in exegesis, or a certain doctrine in theology, and a
days afterwards, perhaps, assume and maintain an entirely
rary position, thus paralysing all his influence as a teacher.
he mind of Dr. Fisher, as developed in this volume, shows
f possessed of a symmetry of proportion, a harmony of
ement, combined with standard principles, that must,
n perceived and appreciated, give him magnetic power
r youth.
ut we proceed to specify more in detail the contents of the
ıme. It consists of "Educational Discourses," "Literary
lresses," "Historical Discourses and Essays," and "Occa-
al Sermons;" four of each class.
he Discourses on Education will naturally, from the au-
's position, attract most attention. These will be regard-

ed as an index of his views on the great subject of education. Though some of his opinions may be somewhat novel, and perhaps not very generally received—we refer especially to what he says on making the Bible a text-book in colleges—yet we think they will bear to be canvassed. And his views generally on the subject of education will not, we think, be considered by the public as unworthy the head of an important collegiate institution.

The importance of a "sound mind in a sound body" is happily illustrated in the following extract:

"There is indeed a much more intimate connection between the highest efforts of mind and a sound constitution, than we are ordinarily ready to admit. We discourse of the superiority of the soul to the body, until we half persuade ourselves the one is almost complete without the other.

"We call up instances of men, who, like Calvin, with a feeble frame, have undergone prodigious intellectual labor; but we forget how these very men have generally died before their time: we forget how many minds have been crippled and rendered useless by ill health: we mark the exceptions and lose sight of the rule. The steam is useless unless your boiler be staunch; your mental culture will never qualify you for protracted and high-wrought thought, unless you have physical stamina to sustain you in the effort. There is nothing that so tasks the power of endurance as the incessant mental toil required of most of our professional and educated men; and he, who comes forth to his work with a hale constitution, has an advantage inestimable above his feeble and broken compeer. It was due largely to his high health and strong constitution, established by early toil, that Washington bore up the burden of so immense a responsibility, for so many years of public life.

"It was his early drill in the army that imparted to him, whose illustrious name this institution bears, the vital force that sustained him in his gigantic labors, which, while they won the gratitude of a nation, gave him the highest seat among the great intellects of the Revolution."

There is great force in the above statements. It needs no demonstration to prove that a feeble body, *cæteris paribus*, will not enable its possessor to achieve those intellectual conquests to which it is equal when the body is active and strong. Daniel Webster, for example, with his stalwart frame, put forth at times efforts of mind, without any sensible effect upon him, which would have prostrated almost any man of feeble constitution. It is related of him that he was at a social party,

on the evening of his first day's reply to Col. Hayne, fresh and in good spirits, after speaking under great excitement four or five hours. During the evening, he fell in with Col. Hayne, and the following *jeu d' esprit* passed between them. Mr. Webster said: "Good evening, Colonel, how do you do?" The latter playfully replied: "I am but just alive from your unmerciful handling of me to-day. I hope you will spare me to-morrow." Mr. Webster pleasantly answered: "Ah! no, no, Colonel, I have not done with you yet. Gird yourself up like a man. To-morrow shall be as this day, and much more abundant."

Great intellectual efforts of one, two, or three days' continuance, often bring down men of delicate frame with nervous exhaustion, or some other form of suffering. But it has never come to our knowledge that Mr. Webster was thus affected. Now, with Mr. Webster compare Rufus Choate in this respect. Mr. Choate, after one of his great efforts at the bar, would often have to keep his room for one, two, or three days. We know very well that Choate and Webster were very different men in their emotional, as well as in their physical natures. But we think if Mr. Choate had possessed the physical frame of Mr. Webster, his intellectual efforts would have exhausted him less, and he would have lived to a much greater age than he did. As it was, the working of his mind in his comparatively slender body, resembled the movement of the heaviest machinery in a frame-work of slight and frail construction. But we cannot pursue this topic further, either in the way of theory or illustration. Let it suffice to say, that it is one of superlative importance, and that, if a man would accomplish the most for God and his race, he must see to it that his physical powers are in strong and healthy action. And that instructor of youth, whether he be President of a college or laboring in a much more humble way, who either ignores, or gives no attention to, this branch of education fails in the discharge of a part of his duty.

But we proceed to consider a more important topic, which Dr. Fisher discusses at length in this Address. This topic is *Religious Education*. Of such education he proposes that the

Bible shall be made not only the *basis*, but the *text-book*. He discusses the subject with great earnestness and force; and his views are eminently just and worthy an educator of the youth of a Christian people.

We have not room for extended extracts, but make one, which will give an idea of his general views.

"In point of fact, how is it that *science* is most successfully taught in this stage of education? Is it not by a direct study of facts, of laws, of problems?

"Why is it not sufficient for the teacher to lecture on the beauties of Tacitus or Æschylus, on mental and moral philosophy, on mathematics and chemistry? Because these young minds must first be made intimately acquainted with the language of Tacitus and Æschylus, with the facts on which mental and moral science is based, and the nature of the truths that constitute mathematical science, before you can advance with them to a demonstration of that which is pure science. The lecturer on chemistry, and geology, and botany, takes the facts first, and familiarises the mind with them by a series of actual experiments; and then there is a foundation on which to build up a regular system of organic law. Now this method of education, which must be pursued whenever thorough scientific education is effected, is just that which ought to be pursued in the department of Christian science. Instead of leaving the Bible, the grand embodiment of all the facts of the Christian system, on the shelf for four long years, during the most fruitful period of life, at the very time when the principles and facts that bear the finest fruit in our after-career, take root, we must take it down; we must make it the book which our youth shall study, study from Genesis to Revelation, study in its history, its laws, its prophecy, its poetry, its philosophy, its theology, its Christology. We teach science by a thorough examination of those works which constitute its clearest exposition; we take the finest classic writers to teach language, the ablest mathematical works to teach mathematics; we gather up the most striking facts of natural science wherewith to experiment; we analyse the works of the ablest reasoners to obtain a mastery of logic, and of the most eloquent orators to enter into the science of rhetoric; and when God has given us the finest product of his wisdom, pregnant with the grandest forms of thought, rich in the most remarkable history, full of those facts, which running through more than 4000 years, culminate at last in the most wonderful creation of humanity, in the most amazing exhibition of divinity, and the full development of a system of truth vital to the redemption of the soul; shall we, having charge of youth in the very years when they are most impressible, shall we not induct them thoroughly into these thoughts, these facts, this grand system? Shall we deem our duty done when we have read a daily chapter, and preached a weekly sermon, and lectured a few times on

some of the evidences of its inspiration? Shall we be wiser for time than we are for eternity, and train up youth richer in Pagan than in Christian lore? The Bible is the heart, the sun, of a truly Christian education; and how shall we educate men as Christians, how shall we ground them effectually in that which constitutes Christianity, unless we do for them what Cicero would have done for educated Roman youth, in respect to the twelve tables—make it the *carmen necessarium* of an educated American? If he could say, that the 'twelve tables were worth more than all the libraries of the philosopher,' and therefore should be studied more constantly and profoundly, may we not, with equal truth, affirm that the Bible is worth more than all philosophy, all natural science, all other forms of thought, and therefore it should be of all books the most profoundly studied, the most constantly present through the whole process of education?"

No one who loves and venerates the "oracles of God" can doubt that a chord is here struck which must, sooner or later, vibrate to the very heart of all those who regard the Bible as the "book of books." For among all books the Bible stands alone. There is no other book like it; some of its parts are so simple as to be comprehensible by a child, while some are so sublime as to serve for the proper study of angels. Parts of it instruct us as to the cradling of creation, and parts of it give us apocalyptic visions of a period when this creation shall be no more. The Bible, again, is a perfect mirror of the human race, furnishing the best portraits of man any where to be found, daguerreotyping his heart with the precision of science, where nothing is extenuated nor aught set down in malice. Its history is the record of truth, without any admixture of error, and a perfect model for all historians. Its poetry is more sublime than that of Homer, and more tender than that of Virgil; by the diligent study of which divine model for twenty years, Milton, the prince of uninspired poets, was equipped for the production of the *Paradise Lost*, that masterpiece of secular poesy.

But the crowning glory of the Bible is its proclamation of redemption. This must invest it in the eye of fallen man with a sublimity of interest. In the Bible alone are to be found the revelation and the record of the plan which Infinite Wisdom devised for the salvation of a perishing world. This involved the stupendous fact of the humiliation and death of

the Son of God—a transaction to which we search in vain for a parallel. To this agree the words of Robert Hall: "It is safe to say that nothing so remarkable as the death of Christ has ever been transacted on the theatre of the universe. It must stand forever as a miracle in the divine administration."

Now, a book having such characteristics, and revealing such a divine economy, may well claim the earnest attention of the youth of a Christian land while in a course of liberal education. And shall such a claim be still, to a great degree, ignored or disregarded by Christian educators? We trust not. The wonder is that institutions of learning, planted frequently by Christian men, and consecrated (in many cases) Deo et ecclesiæ, should so long have slumbered over this matter.

President Fisher, in his Inaugural, modestly yet cogently pleads the cause before the bar of public opinion, and suggests the following method of accomplishing the object:

"Then I would secure the constant study of the Bible by making proficiency in the knowledge of it enter into the final estimate of the character and standing of the scholar. In this respect it should occupy the same position in the college curriculum as any other study.

"Instead of being left to the caprice of the student, to be engaged in or not as he may choose, it should be enforced precisely as is the study of the classics or mathematics. If each recitation enters into, and constitutes the standing of the scholar, so would I have the recitation on this book, and the attainments made in this noble study, go towards determining the sum total of his entire acquisitions. If to this it be objected that religion is an affair of the heart—a voluntary matter, I answer, that if religion belongs to the heart, its great vital truths belong to the head, and are to be investigated by the same intellectual processes we employ in any other science. If attention to it is voluntary, so is all education voluntary; you cannot compel men, young or old, to think; but you can place the young in such circumstances, and surround them with such influences, as will contribute powerfully to awaken thought in any desirable direction."

This method is altogether practicable, and, we doubt not, will operate with great power upon a certain class of minds which it is very desirable to reach.

But we would suggest another method by way of supplement to this. Every student knows that the manner in which a study or science is taught usually does more than the text-book itself to secure interest in and profit from that study.

o one, in our judgment, is competent to occupy the chair of
struction in the department under consideration, unless he
a man profoundly versed in the history, the literature, the
ctrines, and the original languages of the Bible. To give
ie efficiency to this system we would have in every college,
here it was possible, a professorship of the Bible. It should
fully endowed. The incumbent should be a man of as
uch weight of character, as much wealth of learning, as
uch love and knowledge of the Bible as could be found. He
ould be a man of enthusiasm in his department. He should
ive his recitations fixed and definite in the course of college
udy; and it should be his aim to make them as clear and as
pressive as possible. He should cherish the utmost freedom
inquiry on the part of his class, encouraging them to bring
rward all their objections, all their "strong reasons" against
e Bible; and he should be prepared to meet them and show
eir fallacy. Such a process of teaching the Bible two or
ree times a week through the year, would do more, in our
dgment, to exterminate infidelity from the precincts of a
llege than any other human agency. It would be the spear
Ithuriel to much of the scepticism that is so rife in many
our colleges. It is related of Dr. Dwight, that at a certain
eriod in the history of Yale College, when French infidelity
as very prevalent, he invited his class, and any of the other
asses that wished, to meet and discuss with him the subject.
e suggested to them that they should prepare themselves,
id support their cause with their strongest reasons. At the
t time he met them, and gave to all who wished an opportu-
ity to discuss the subject; and when all such had spoken, and
id made an argument, which some thought even "the Doc-
r" could not overthrow, he took up the subject, examined
ch argument, showing its fallacy, and made of every one of
eir positions a "ruinous heap." From that time for many
ears there was very little of open scepticism in Yale College.
Now, if in our leading colleges such a professorship were to
e established as we have proposed; and if it were to be filled
y such a man as has been described; and if, further, the
anding of each member of the class were to be graduated by

his proficiency in this as in every other class study, a new era would be inaugurated in the history of education to which might be applied the glowing prediction of the Latin poet: *Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.*

As to the practicability of the foregoing plan there can be little question. Benevolent men are not wanting who would rejoice to endow liberally professorships in most, if not all our colleges, for so noble a purpose; and men of the requisite competency might easily be found to fill such professorships. Much more might be said on this subject, but our limits do not permit.

We have in this article confined our remarks, in a great measure, to this one address on the subject of Collegiate Education. There are several of the others to which we should be happy to draw attention, but this on Collegiate Education claims the preference, both from Dr. Fisher's official position and for other reasons.

The Institution over which he presides has before it, we fondly trust, a brilliant future. It has advantages which can hardly fail to secure to it, sooner or later, a high degree of prosperity. But still it needs the filial devotion of its alumni, the fostering care of that beautiful region in which it is situated, and the liberal legislative policy of the Empire-State, of which it is one of the gems. It bears the name of a man who was once the pride of New-York, than whom no man, perhaps, ever had sounder views of the nature of the government which this nation required. His knowledge of the democracies of ancient and modern times satisfied him of the necessity of strengthening the executive arm of the government. And it is not too much, perhaps, to say, that had his views been more thoroughly incorporated with the frame-work of our Constitution, we should never have witnessed the state of things which now exists, filling every benevolent heart with unutterable sadness.

ART. VII. — *Codex Alexandrinus.* H KAINH ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. *Novum Testamentum Græce ex antiquissimo codice Alexandrino a* C. G. WOIDE *olim descriptum: ad fidem ipsius codicis denuo accuratius edidit* B. H. COWPER. Londini; David Nutt, et Williams & Norgate; Edinburgæ: Williams & Norgate. MDCCCLX.*

WE were once talking with the late president of Magdalen College, Dr. Routh, about the manuscripts of the Greek Testament, when he made the following remark: "You see, sir, it is possible that a manuscript may yet be found as old as any that we now have, perhaps even older." The words of the venerable theologian have proved to be almost a prophecy. The remarkable discovery by Professor Tischendorf of the "Codex Sinaiticus" bids fair, if the professor be right in his estimate, exactly to fulfil Dr. Routh's anticipation. In a recent number† we drew attention to the interesting "Notitia," with which Professor Tischendorf has favored the Christian world, as the first instalment of his most valuable contribution to the documentary evidence for the Greek text of the Old and New Testaments. The seasonable appearance of a reprint from Woide's noble but expensive facsimile edition of the "Codex Alexandrinus," invites us now to devote a short space to the consideration of our own national treasure.

The "Codex Alexandrinus" (denoted by the letter "A" in the critical editions of the New Testament) was brought by Sir Thomas Roe, on his return to London from an embassy to the Porte in 1628, as a present to Charles I. from Cyril Lucar, patriarch, first of Alexandria, then of Constantinople. The

* This Article is from the *Christian Remembrancer* (London), April, 1861.

† See *Christian Remembrancer*, January, 1861. The selected readings given in the *Notitia* have been printed in a size uniform with that of Tischendorf's *editio octava* of the Greek Testament; the half sheet is supplied (we believe gratuitously) to all purchasers of that edition.

same patriarch gave to Archbishop Laud the Arabic Pentateuch now in the Bodleian library.* He was strangled 27th of June, 1638, by order of the Sultan.

The MS. had been brought from Alexandria by Cyril Lucar; and a note in the MS. itself informs us that it was given in the year 1098, "cubiculo patriarchali Alexandriæ;" that is (probably) to the library of the patriarch of Alexandria, where it seems to have remained until it was taken by Cyril Lucar to Constantinople. This is perhaps the origin of its name. Another account states that the MS. was found at Mount Athos. It was given by King George II. in 1753 to the British Museum, where it now is.

The MS. was first examined by Patrick Young (or Junius), the royal librarian; then by Alexander Huissius, whose collation is inserted in Walton's "Polyglot." Bishops Fell and Pearson had the MS. sent to Dr. Thomas Smith, fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, with a view of having an edition made; but their death seems to have cut the work short. The name of Fell, however, appears among the collators; to which may be added the names of Mill, Grabe, Wetstein. In 1786 Woide published a facsimile edition of the New Testament with copious prolegomena; he also appended notes embodying the labors of former collators, and a comparison of the readings in the MS. with those in Kuster's edition of Mill's Greek Testament. A facsimile edition of the LXX. was published by H. H. Baber; the first volume in 1816, the second volume in 1819, the third volume in 1821; the prolegomena and notes in 1828. This edition is said to be inferior to that of Woide;† but it is certainly a very handsome work; and we are not at present concerned with it, except so far as it helps to illustrate that portion of the MS. to which the New Testament belongs.

The MS. consists of four volumes. The three first contain the LXX. version. The fourth contains the canonical books

* Numbered "Laud 258."

† "Quam parum vero editor Veteris Testamenti Henr. Herv. Baber susceptæ rei satisfecerit, exposui in Prolegomenis editionis meæ Veteris Testamenti Græci." —*Tisch. Prol. N. T. p.* cxxxvi, *note.*

ıe New Testament, the 1st epistle of S. Clement to the nthians, and part of the 2d Epistle attributed to S. Clement. propose at present to speak merely of the part containing New Testament. The leaves have been unhappily lost, S. Matthew i, 1 to S. Matthew xxv, 7, where the New ament portion commences with the words *εξερχεσθε εις τησιν αυτου*. Two leaves have been lost out of S. John's ›el; here the MS. breaks off at the word *καταβαινων*, vi, 50; recommences viii, 52 with *γεις i. e.* part of *λεγεις*. Three ɜ leaves are wanting in 2 Cor. Here the MS. breaks off r, 13, at *γεγραμμε i. e.* part of *γεγραμμενον*; and recomces in xii, 7 with *ηυπερβολη i. e.* part of *και τη υπερβολη*.

›r a description of the form and appearance of the MS. we borrow a short passage from Mr. Cowper's introduction.

he portion containing the New Testament is a volume measuring some- more than ten inches wide and fourteen inches high. The material is fine, and very beautiful vellum, often discolored at the edges, which been injured by time, but more by the ignorance or carelessness of the rn binder, who has not always spared the text, especially at the upper margin. The manuscript is written in a light and elegant hand in l letters. These letters at the end of a line are often very small, and of the writing is very pale and faint. Each page contains two columns ct. In the margins to the left hand, the Eusebian canons are noted ghout the four Gospels, as well as the larger sections into which these ı were anciently divided. Some of the numeral letters, and the com- ment of the separate books throughout have been written in red ink, as re some of the ornamental portions, which are due to the fancy of the ı. These letters are sometimes diversified with other colors."—*Intro- on*, pp. iii, iv.

ıe number of leaves now in the volume (including the tles of S. Clement) is, according to Mr. Cowper, 143. p. vi, *note*.

ıe MS. is written in uncial characters; there is no division ords except at the end of one and the beginning of another graph. There are no accents or breathings. Of interpunc- there is but little trace, and what there is seems some- s very arbitrary. The point most in use is the Greek ɑ (·); the point (—) also occurs. But it often happens that ›oint falls "between words grammatically connected, and

even in the middle of a word."—(Intr. p. viii.) It does not appear that any great use can be made of these points for critical purposes. The system of paragraphs approaches more nearly to a definite division of the text; these are very numerous; and there is a considerable space between the end of one paragraph and the beginning of another. This beginning is marked by a larger initial letter, with the following curious modification: when the new paragraph commences in the middle of a line, the larger initial letter is reserved for the first letter at the commencement of the line following, even though that first letter may happen to be in the middle of a word.* At the end of a line, the letters are sometimes written smaller, in order to get in an extra word or two. There is no ι subscript or adscript. A difference in the ink, parchment, formation of letters, etc., seems to indicate that the original MS. was written by more than one scribe; these differences Woide describes. Throughout the MS. there are erasures, alterations, additions. "Corrections properly so called are frequent, and it is not always possible to decide whether they are by the first, second, or third hand." (Intr. p. v.) The inscriptions and subscriptions to each book are ancient but not always from the first hand. The MS. has the Alexandrine forms *λημψονται*, *ανειλαν*, etc.; also the usual itacisms *αι* for *ε*, *ε* for *αι*, etc.

In the Gospels are the Ammonian sections accompanied by the Eusebian canons. A list of numbered *τίτλοι* or larger sections is prefixed to each gospel, and these are again written in their respective places at the top of the page, their exact place in the text being designated by a mark at the left margin, ϗ in S. Matthew and S. Mark, by + or × in S. Luke and S. John. In the Acts, Catholic Epistles, Pauline Epistles there are no Euthalian sections, though there are paragraphs and periods marked by larger initial letters. There are no Andrean sections in the Apocalypse. There are the usual short methods of writing ΘC KC ΑΝΟC ΟΥΝΟC ΔΑΔ, etc.

The Epistle to the Hebrews comes between 2 Thessalonians

* *E. g.* ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΤΕΗΓΕΡΘΗCΑΠΠΑ
CΑΙΑΙΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΙ *κ. τ. λ.*

1 Timothy. A similar arrangement is found in the Codex iticus, and in the Codex Vaticanus; in this latter, however, umeral letters at the margin show that in the MS. from h it was copied, the Epistle to the Hebrews came between Epistle to the Galatians and the Epistle to the Ephesians. serted in the first volume is a note in Arabic, and another in the handwriting of Cyril Lucar, stating a tradition that MS. both of the Old and New Testaments was written by la, an Egyptian lady, shortly after the Council of Nice.* ixed to the Psalms are the Epistle to Marcellinus, ascribed thanasius; Eusebii in Psalmos Hypotheses; περιοχαι εις ψαλμους, and a table containing the κανονες ημερινοι ψαλand the κανονες νυκτερινοι των ψαλμων. The Magnificat other hymns from the Old and New Testaments are nded to the Psalms, the former being entitled προσευχη ις της θεοτοκου. Among the hymns is the υμνος εωθινος.

the first volume is also a list of the books of the Old and Testaments, the latter being given as follows:†

Η ΚΑΙΝΗΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ (in red ink)

ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΑ $\overline{\Delta}$

ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΤΘ|$\overline{\text{ΑΙ}}$|ΟΝ

ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΡΚΟ|$\overline{\text{Ν}}$|

ΚΑΤΑ ΛΟΥΚΑ|$\overline{\text{Ν}}$|

ΚΑΤΑ ΙΩΑΝΝ|$\overline{\text{Η}}$|Ν

ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΑΠΟΣ|$\overline{\text{Τ}}$|ΟΛΩΝ

ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΑΙ $\overline{\text{Ζ}}$

Tischendorf conjectures that the MS. may have come "ex celebri S. Theclæ bio Seleucensi, quod jam Gregorii Nazianzeni tempore florebat."—*Prol. N. T.* xxvi, note. Facsimiles of the two notes are given in Baber, vol. I.

The list (part of which appeared in the last number of the *Christian Remembrancer*) is taken from Baber's facsimile, the bracketed letters in the text denoting letters which are entirely missing in Baber. The portions bracketed as now ble in Mr. Cowper's list (Int. pp. xiii, xvi.) are somewhat different. Woide gets none.

ΕΠΙCΤΟΛΑΙ ΠΑ|ΤΛ|ΟΥ ΙΔ

ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙ|C ΙΩΑ|ΝΝΟΥ

Κ|Α|ΗΜΕΝΤΟC |ΕΠΙCΤΟ|ΛΗΑ

|ΚΑΗΜ|ΕΝΤΟC Ε|ΠΙCΤΟΛΗ| Β

|ΟΜ|ΟΥΒΙΒΛΙΑ (erasure)

ΨΑΛΜ|Ο|Ι CΟΛΟΜ|Ω|ΝΤΟC

ΙΗ*

On the list written in this order Woide has the following remarks: "Ex hoc ordine palam est, Epistolas Clementis non tantum adscribi calci librorum N. T. uti Libri Apocryphi adduntur, *sed etiam, quod majus est,* adnumerari libris Canonicis Scripturæ N. T. quorum summa ΚΘ, 29, olim addita fuit ad lineam *ομου βιβλια*, sed nunc deperdita est. . . . Idem fecerat librarius in initio catalogi V. T. ubi cum libros 5 Mosis et librum Josuæ, Judicum et Ruth recensuisset addit hoc modo *ομου βιβλια. η̃.*"

Such is an outline of the principal facts connected with this famous MS. The important questions, When was the MS. written? and Where? do not fall within our present purpose to discuss. It will be sufficient simply to observe that, whatever may be thought of the tradition which assigns the writing of the MS. to Thecla, the tradition certainly points to Egypt as the country where it was written. With this agree the shape of the letters, the spelling of the words, the state of the text; to which may be added a curious circumstance, first (as we believe) remarked by Mr. Cowper, which shall be described in his own words (Int. p. xxii.):

"The MS. has been ornamented, more especially at the close of each book, by some one, and in all probability by the original scribe. The ornaments are some of them very peculiar, and the question naturally occurs whether they furnish any clue to the country of the Codex. Many of them bear a striking resemblance to similar ornaments in some of the very ancient Syriac MSS.

* These numerals are given once only in Baber, twice in Woide and Mr. Cowper.

ch are now in our National Museum, all of which have been brought
ı Egypt, and many of them are known to have been written there. There
ıe, however, of especial interest, and this, in an unexpected manner, con-
s the opinion that Codex A. was written in Egypt. At the end of the
ıolic epistles, two baskets of fruit are depicted in colored inks. These
ɛets are of a peculiar form and texture, being narrower at the bottom
ı at the top, and apparently of fancy wicker work. Each of them is
d with fruit, and this fruit is piled up in a pyramidal form above the
ɛet, in regularly decreasing tiers, or courses. Happening to visit the
ptian gallery of the British Museum, we observed upon one of the walls,
ments of an Egyptian painting, representing, among other things, bas-
ı of fruit. The resemblance of these to those in Codex A. is so striking,
; we mentally uttered a εὑρηκα as we looked at them."

t is certainly not a little extraordinary, that the Egyptian llery in the British Museum should have furnished so remark- e an illustration of the venerable MS. its next door neigh- . Mr. Cowper remarks, "that the figures given by Woide, his edition, are nothing like the originals." (Int. pp. xxii. ii.) We may add, that in Baber, vol. iii. p. 531, may be n a beautiful facsimile of a fruit-basket, answering to Mr. vper's description. With regard to the date of the MS. ıide, after a careful survey of the data furnished by the MS. lf, places it "intra medium et finem seculi quarti." Tisch- orf places it later—"medio fere sæculo quinto." With ı agree Dr. Tregelles and Mr. Cowper.

he edition of Woide professes to represent the MS. in fac- ile. Mr. Cowper's edition is the first attempt at reducing MS. into the ordinary cursive characters, the words being arated, marked with breathings and accents, and punc- ted. The volume is portable and neatly printed. In the face is much useful matter, from which we have just given interesting extract; but those who wish to have a full ement and discussion of the merits of the MS. must have ourse to the prolegomena of Woide. We regret to find, in preface, some misprints in the accentuation at p. xxv. In ə 1, κανόνες is printed without an accent. The numerical ters of the Psalms in the κανόνες ἡμερινοί, are printed ἡ. κθ῾., ., instead of ἡ. κθ΄., etc. A similar error pervades all the merical letters both for the hours and the psalms in the

κανόνες νυκτερινοί. Nor is this blemish confined to the preface. In Matt. xxvi, 16, we have ἀργύρα for ἀργυρᾶ; xxvi, 36, ἀν for ἄν; xxvi, 48, ἔἀν for ἐὰν; xxvii, 35, βάλοντες for βαλόντες; xxvii, 52, μνημάτα for μνήματα. Mk. i, 39, συναγώγας for συναγωγὰς.* The punctuation, too, seems deficient in certain instances—*e. g.* Mt. xxvi, 65, ὅτι ἐβλασφήμησεν τί ἔτι χρείαν ἔχομεν μαρτύρων; there is no stop after ἐβλασφήμησεν. Again, in the same verse—Ἴδε, νῦν ἠκούσατε τὴν βλασφημείαν αὐτοῦ τί ὑμῖν δοκεῖ; there is no stop after αὐτοῦ.

But a very serious variation from the text of Woide, and we may add from the MS. itself, remains to be pointed out. In Mt. xxvi, 3, Mr. Cowper's text exhibits, Τότε συνήχθησαν οἱ ἀχειρεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ, etc. In a note we read "αχιερεις sic Codex." But our readers will be surprised when they are informed that the words και οι γραμματεις are not in Woide at all. Besides on the testimony of former collators—Young, Walton, Fell, Mill, Wetstein—it is, in Woide's notes, expressly said of these words, "*Desunt.*" We have ascertained that the words και οι γραμματεις are not in the MS.; and that αχιερεις is an error of Woide's, the MS. reading αρχιερεις. Yet Mr. Cowper says "αχιερεις, sic Codex." (!)

Again, Mk. vii, 36. Mr. Cowper's text exhibits ὅσον δὲ αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς διεστέλλετο, etc. But the word αυτος is not in Woide; and again, on the testimony of Young, Walton, Fell, Mill, Wetstein, it is said of the word, "*Deest.*" This departure from Woide's text requires explanation. Mr. Cowper has no note, and his table of errata is silent on the point.

We come now to what may, perhaps, be considered the most valuable part in Mr. Cowper's edition, viz. his correction of the errors in Woide. It may be well to cite, in the first instance, how his edition was prepared, according to his own statement. (Int. p. xxxi.):

"The work of Woide has been taken as a basis, inasmuch as it was impracticable, and indeed unnecessary, to make an entirely new transcript of

* Mark v, 20, ἀκῆλθεν; v, 23, παρακάλει for παρακαλεῖ; vi, 23, ἐάν for ἐὰν. In Woide, the marginal sections, νη, ξ, ξγ, in S. Mark belong respectively, to vi, 15, vi, 19, vi, 32. Mr. Cowper has mispluced them at vi, 16, vi, 21, vi, 34, respectively. Mk. ix, 28, ἐκβάλειν. x, 7, γυναικι. 24, τέκνια. xi, 3, ἀποστελλει.

the original manuscript. Woide's facsimile has, therefore, been reduced to modern characters, with the addition of accents, aspirates, iota subscript, and pointing. In this process, the facsimile was religiously adhered to. All the missing portions have been supplied from Kuster's edition of Mill, and so inserted in brackets that they may easily be known. . . . Having so far prepared the text, the next step was to compare the text of Woide and collation with the other collations, and to make notes of all omissions and discrepancies. This process required great care, and was repeated in various forms. The list of passages was found to be large, and the uncertain readings thus brought to light were, some of them, of real importance. It appeared that several hundred readings had to be attested. Access to the manuscript was therefore solicited, and at once conceded in the most liberal spirit. Throughout the volume constant reference has been made to the original, and, in this way, not only were doubtful readings verified, but a good many actual errors in Woide's text have been brought to light and corrected."

We gather, then, from this, that Woide's facsimile was not compared line by line, word by word, letter by letter, with the MS., but that reference was only made to the MS. *pro re nata*. Further, we cannot understand how the errors pointed out above are consistent with the assertion that "the work of Woide has been taken as a basis," and that, "in this process, the facsimile was religiously adhered to." Had it not been for Mr. Cowper's statement, we should have concluded that some other edition was taken as the basis; and that this was corrected, first by Woide, then by the MS. where it was thought necessary.

The corrections of Woide which Mr. Cowper has given are recorded in foot notes at the bottom of the page where the word or passage occurs.

Mr. Cowper has not, however, always specified among his corrections, those words which Woide had himself corrected, either in the preface or in the notes: *e. g.*, the very first correction which he gives of Woide's facsimile, occurs Mat. xxvii, 13, καταμαρτυρουσιν, on which Mr. Cowper's note is "Sic Codex: Woide habet καταμαρτυρουσι, sed male." Now in Woide's notes the reading is as Mr. Cowper gives it (no doubt correctly) in his text, καταμαρτυρουσιν. But as he is altogether silent about the discrepancy between Woide's text and Woide's

notes, in respect to this word, he has (we think) in this one instance lost sight of the excellent rule which he had laid down for himself, viz., "Having so far prepared the text, the next step was to compare the text of Woide, *and collation*, with the other collations, and to make notes of all omissions and discrepancies." Now surely if Woide's error in the text was noticed, then in common fairness, Woide's right reading in the notes should have been noticed too. Again, John v, 3, την του υδατος κινησιν. Woide omits του in the text, but supplies it in the preface. Mr. Cowper very properly restores the του in his text. But in his note he says "του ante υδατος omisit Woide," without one word about Woide's correction given in the preface. There are, we think, seven instances of corrections made by Woide at the end of his preface, unacknowledged by Mr. Cowper.

Take another instance, *e converso*, James ii, 2. Woide reads εισηλθη. This reading we ourselves had verified, and we found it to be εισελθη. And εισελθη is (very properly) the reading in Mr. Cowper's text. But he has no note about the discrepancy between himself and Woide as to this reading.

We have attempted to make, in a rough way, a classification of Mr. Cowper's corrections of Woide's text, but cannot, without a much longer examination, pledge ourselves to perfect accuracy. In by far the greater number of instances, the correction consists in the substitution of long for short vowels, or *vice versâ*; *e. g.*:

Mark vi, 8. W. ζονην. C. ζωνην.

Luke ix, 36, W. ευρηθη. C. ευρεθη. These two we had ourselves verified.

Of these corrections (including the words corrected by Woide himself, and the passage in S. James, mentioned above) there are forty-two.

There are seven instances of aspirate put for smooth consonants, *e. g.*:

Eph. iv, 1. W. εκληθηθε. C. εκληθητε.

W. πραοθητος. C. πραοτητος.

These two we had verified.

Rev. xii, 3. W. δραχων. C. δρακων

There are two omissions of a final *ν*, *e. g.*:

Heb. x, 1. W. *εχω*. C. *εχων*.

Luke xi, 14. W. *εκβαλλω*. C. *εκβαλλων*.

There are twelve instances where Woide has edited one letter for another, or has omitted or has repeated a word or syllable; *e. g.*:

Rom. v, 17. W. *διλ*. C. *δια*.

Luke ii, 10. W. *αγγελ*. C. *αγγελος*.

Rev. ii, 8. W. *λεγεγει*. C. *λεγει*.

The corrections of grammatical or doctrinal importance are as follows:

Mark xv, 21. Woide edits *το σταυρον*.
C. *το*[*ν*] *σταυρον*, with this note: "Woide legit *το*; aderat forte *ν*, sed abscissum est."

Luke xxii, 8. W. *ηλθεν δε ημερα των αζυμων*.
C. adds *η* before *ημερα*.

2 Pet. i, 21. W. *ου γαρ θεληματι ανθρωπου ηνεχθη ποτε η προφητεια*. C. omits *η*.

Jude i. W. *τοις εν τω πατρι ηγαπημενοις*.
C. for *τω* reads Θεω.

5. W. *εκ της αιγυπτου*.
C. for *της* reads *γης*.

Rom. vi, 1. W. *επιμενωμεν εν τη αμαρτια*.
C. omits *εν*.

Rom. xiv, 23. W. *παν δε ο ουκ ο εκ πιστεως*.
C. omits the second *ο*.

Heb. iii, 8. W. *μη σκληρυνετε*.
C. *μη σκληρυνητε*.

Mr. Cowper, in pp. x, xi, of his introduction, gives a useful list of the peculiarities in the orthography of A—*e. g.* the very common itacism of *αι* for *ε*, *καινον* for *κεμον*, *μαι* for *με*, or, again, of *ι* for *ει*, as *ιμι* for *ειμι*; or the neglect of assimilation, as *ανγελος* for *αγγελος*.

Some of these are mentioned in Woide: a longer list is given in Baber.

These peculiarities Mr. Cowper has retained in his text; the reader must not, therefore, be surprised at reading *ινὶ* for *ἐνὶ*, Matt. xxv, 45, *μαι* for *με*, Matt. xxvi, 35, *δίγνυσιν* for *δείκνυσιν*, John v, 20. It may be questioned whether such a religious

adherence to the provincialisms of the scribe was necessary: when the MS. has had the words divided, accented, and punctuated for the convenience of the reader, a further departure from its actual letter seems to be justifiable; nor does there seem any sufficient reason for exhibiting in the text words which had no existence in the Greek language; still less reason is there for endorsing those words with accents. It may be urged that, at least, such an arrangement has the merit of not departing from the original document; yet it must have required a large amount of editorial courage to print in the sacred text, *with accents*, such monstrosities as ἀπῆλθθν, Mark iii, 13; ἔχοντθς, Rev. v, 8; ἐχρῶν, Luke i, 74; πάρκτορι, Luke xii, 58; κεκληκόντι, Luke xiv, 12; μετοξὺ, Acts xiii, 42; οὐχεται, John v, 42. Surely, an editor who could be trusted to accentuate and point, might be allowed to emend, in his text, the mere blunders of the scribe, and to relegate the blunders themselves to the notes. Mr. Cowper has chosen the opposite course: it has, indeed, the merit of being faithful to the letter of the Codex; but why does he endorse with accents and breathings a collection of letters which, as a word, is a nonentity in the Greek language?

We have pointed out, with all frankness, what appear to us to be the defects in Mr. Cowper's edition of A. That it cannot be depended on as a perfectly accurate representation of the MS. has been shown in at least two instances. But we are well aware how extremely difficult it is to make a reprint which shall contain no errors; and it would be unfair not to admit the merits of the work. Mr. Cowper's edition is cheap, portable, readable; his notes are easily referred to, being numbered and placed at the bottom of the page; and they have the great merit of not being too long. To the generality of readers the text of A. has hitherto been accessible only through the medium of the Variæ lectiones given in critical editions of the New Testament: and every student is aware how difficult it is to gather the general character of the text from such disjointed evidence. By the help of Mr. Cowper's edition, a whole chapter, or an entire book, of the New Testament, as it stands in one of our oldest MSS., can now be read continuous-

', and the general spirit of the document can be caught
efore it has evaporated in the Lachmanian or Tischendorfian
ucible. If Mr. Cowper's edition is not so accurate as it
ight be, it nevertheless enables the student to approximate
etty nearly to the truth; and the very things which are blem-
hes in the eyes of a scholar help to exhibit the character of
e document where they occur.

The Readings in the Codex Alexandrinus are so well known,
at we need not specify them in detail here. Our readers are,
course, aware that the MS. contains Mark xvi, 9–20 and
ohn v, 4. The leaves where John viii, 1–11 occurs have been
st; yet it has been ascertained, from counting the number of
nes, that the passage from vii, 53 to viii, 11 was *not* in the
S. Acts viii, 37 is wanting. In Acts xx, 28, we read *την
κλησιαν του κυριου*. 1 John v, 7 is, of course, wanting.

In conclusion, we may perhaps be allowed to say a few
ords on 1 Tim. iii, 16. Mr. Cowper here puts Θεὸς in the
xt. His note is as follows:

"Nunc legitur $\overline{\Theta_{\varsigma}}$ sed m. recens lineam supra $\overline{\Theta_{\varsigma}}$ crassavit. Quid olim
lde obscurum: nobis tenebræ sunt. Locum sæpe inspeximus, sed fugit
iem veritas."

In his introduction, he says (p. xvii.):

"The Θ consists of a circle tolerably well defined, and by the original
ribe; but the transverse is only what may be called a mere shadow, as if
pen almost dry had touched it, and that recently."

Now, the transverse line that first meets the eye is a short,
lack, thick stroke, evidently by a later hand. Of this, Mr.
owper makes no definite mention. The real question is,
hether there was a transverse line by the first hand, underly-
g this thicker stroke (Professor Ellicott calls it "a rude dot")
y the second hand. The examination by professor Ellicott,
escribed in a note appended to his edition of 1 Tim. (p. 100)
rtainly did appear to us to have set the question at rest.
We quote his words below.*

* "The results of my examination of the Codex Alexandrinus may be thus
iefly stated. On inspecting the disputed word, there appeared (*a*) a coarse line
er, and a rude dot within, the O, in *black* ink; (*b*) a faint line across O in ink of

The following is the result of our own inspection: The mark of contraction over the $\overline{\text{OC}}$ is clearly by a later hand; so also is a small black line put in the middle of the Θ, not running diametrically across. In the very same column, thirteen lines lower, may be seen the sacred name (nominative case) in the contracted form, by the first hand; and in this instance, the transverse line runs diametrically across—ΘC. At the back of the O, in 1 Tim. iii, 16, is the first letter in the word ЄΥCЄBЄIAN. When the leaf is held up to the light, and looked at from the OC side, the transverse line, or sagitta, of the reversed Ɔ is distinctly seen running across the O; and it was certainly our impression, after looking for some time, that there was no other line running transversely across the O. We concluded that what might have been thought to be the original transverse line, and which distinguishes the Θ from the O, was simply the mark from the Є on the other side.

There is a peculiarity to be remarked in the sagitta of the Є: it ends in a slightly upturned bulb. This little upturned bulb is distinctly visible on its own side, and is, as we have been told, also visible on the obverse side with a strong light. The morning, however, was not light enough for us to verify this. But if it can be made out that the faint line running across

the *same color* as the adjacent letters. It was clear that (*a*) had no claim on attention, except as being possibly a rude retouching of (*b*); the latter demanded careful examination. After inspection with a strong lens, it seemed more than probable that Wetstein's opinion (Prolegom. vol. i, p. 22) was correct. Careful measurements showed that the first ε of εὐσέβεια, ch. vi, 3, on the other side of the page, was exactly opposite, the circular portion of the two letters nearly exactly coinciding, and the thickened extremity of the sagitta of ε being behind what had seemed a ragged portion of the left-hand inner edge of O. It remained only to *prove* the identity of this sagitta with the seeming line across O. This, with the kind assistance of Mr. Hamilton, of the British Museum, was thus effected. While one of us held up the page to the light, and viewed the O through the lens, the other brought the point of an instrument (without, of course, touching the MS.) so near to the extremity of the sagitta of the ε as to make a point of shade visible to the observer on the other side. When the point of the instrument was drawn over the sagitta of ε, the point of shade was seen *to exactly trace out the suspected diameter of the* O. It would thus seem certain that (*b*) is no part of O, and that the reading of A. is certainly ὃς."—*Ellicott, Past. Epistles*, p. 100.

he O is a ⌣, not a —, then clearly it must be the sagitta of he ϵ on the obverse side.*

An instance of an epsilon sagitta, turning what was meant o be an O into an apparent θ, may be found in this very MS., Mark iii, 13 (Section $\frac{K\Theta}{B}$). Here the first hand wrote ΑΠΗΛΘϵΝ. The second hand completed the circle of the Ɛ, meaning to correct the word into ΑΠΗΛΘΟΝ. But the agitta of the ϵ remaining, the text exhibits ΑΠΗΛΘΘΝ.

Further, let it be considered that in that one column where he disputed reading occurs, there are five other instances where the sacred name is found, written (as usual) in the abbreviated form. Some more instances occur in the other three columns which make up the two open pages. We ask, Is there, in any one of these instances, a doubt that the transverse line in the Θ, and the superwritten line of the $\overline{\Theta C}$, were by the *prima manus*? In each case, in that very column, the θ is perfectly clear.† If, then, in the disputed passage, the *prima manus* had written θ, why should not that have remained as clear as the other instances in the same column are to this hour? Why should the second hand have retouched the θ in this case, and in this case only? Is it at all likely that ΘC would have been altered into OC? Is it not much more likely that OC should be altered into ΘC, especially if the faint shadow mark from the obverse Ɔ gave an idea that the O was meant for θ? That the OC was likely to be altered into $\overline{\Theta C}$ does not rest on mere conjecture. In the Ephraem rescript, the probability is that the first hand wrote OC. At all events, it is certain that the present transverse line, which makes the O into a θ, was put in by the third hand, whose country was Constantinople, whose date is the ninth century.

* That letters are faintly traceable on the obverse side, through the parchment, may be seen in a beautiful photograph of a few lines of the Vatican MS. belonging to the Rev. J. W. Burgon, Fellow of Oriel College, and most kindly lent us by him on more than one occasion. Our readers will, of course, remember his interesting letters in the *Guardian* newspaper. In this specimen we have traced (reading of course from right to left) in John xxi, 18, ΝΑΤΟ ϽƆΛƆΘ: in 19, ΟΤΥΟΤ: and ΩΤΑΝΑΘΩΙΟΠ.

† In the disputed passage Woide prints Θ: in the other instances Θ.

Again, in the Codex Sinaiticus, the first hand wrote OC, on which reading Professor Tischendorf notes:

"Corrector aliquis, qui omnium ultimus textum attigit sæculi fere duodecimi, reposuit Θεος, sed hoc tam caute fecit, ut antiquissimam scripturam intactam relinqueret."

We have therefore fair ground for inferring that the Codex Alexandrinus fared like its brethren, the Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Ephraemi rescriptus. The original reading was OC. Later correctors, sensible of the difficulty of the reading, removed the difficulty by altering the word.

With regard to the general character of the text, it may suffice, on the present occasion, to say, that, in the Gospels, Scholz considers the text of A. to agree mainly with the Alexandrine family of MSS. In the rest of the New Testament he calls it κορυφαῖος. Dr. Tregelles thinks that A. "in many respects, holds a middle place" between the Alexandrine and the Constantinopolitan families in the Gospels.

As reference has been made to the ancient divisions of the books of the New Testament, we subjoin a short account of them.

Ammonius of Alexandria divided each Gospel into consecutive sections, with a view of enabling the reader to refer to parallel passages: of these there are in Mt. 355, Mk. 233, L. 342, J. 232.

This division was made towards the end of the third century.

In the early part of the fourth century, *Eusebius* (d. 340), Bishop of Cæsarea, classified these sections in ten tables, called the "Canons of Eusebius."

These sections were generally adopted by the MSS. from about the middle of the fourth century, being (sometimes with the canons sometimes without) placed at the margin.

At a later period (postero tempore, Scholz), the Gospels were divided into longer sections, called κεφάλαια or τίτλοι. Of these there are in Mt. 68, Mk. 48, L. 83, J. 18. In A. they are prefixed to the Gospels, and are also given at the top of the page.*

* A list of them is appended to the second part (recently issued) of Dr. Tregelles' edition of the New Testament.

It is uncertain who was the author of the division of the Pauline epistles: of these there are in Rom. 19, 1 C. 9, 2 C. 11, G. 12, E. 10, P. 7, C. 10, 1 Th. 7, 2 Th. 6, H. 21, 1 T. 18, 2 T. 9, Tit. 6, Philem. 2.

These sections are, however, known by the name of *Euthalian*, as Euthalius, deacon of Alexandria, afterwards Bishop of Sulca, seems to be the first who published them (A.D. 458). And he afterwards (about A.D. 490) put forth a divided edition for the Acts and Cath. Epp. Of these there are in Acts 40, Jam. 6, 1 P. 8, 2 P. 4, 1 Jo. 7, 2 Jo. 1, 3 Jo. 1, Jude 4.

These divisions seem to have existed before; the division of Acts being attributed to Pamphilus Martyr.

The Apocalypse was divided into twenty-four λόγοι and into seventy-two κεφάλαια; the work is attributed to *Andreas* of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, "seculo quinto ad finem vugente." The λόγοι answered to the Euthalian divisions.

It does not seem quite clearly ascertained when the practice of larger initial letters commenced: they are not in the Codex Vaticanus, the Codex Sinaiticus, or the fragments of the Octateuch at Paris, Leyden, and S. Petersburgh: but they may be seen in a fragment of Dioscorides at Vienna, to which the date assigned in Silvestre is A.D. 375. They are found in the Codex Alexandrinus and in the Ephraem rescript. In A. the Psalms, the fourteen appended hymns, the books of Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song, the Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach, are written stichometrically. A similar arrangement is found in the Codex Sinaiticus, with regard to these which have been called the βιβλοι στιχηρεῖς.

Art. VIII.—THE ANTE-NICENE TRINITARIANISM.

By Prof. Roswell D. Hitchcock.

The Church of the First Three Centuries: or, Notices of the Lives and Opinions of some of the Early Fathers, with Special Reference to the Doctrine of the Trinity; illustrating its late Origin and gradual Formation. By Alvan Lamson, D.D. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co., 245 Washington street. 1860. 8vo. Pp. 352.

[*Continued from page* 177.]

In a previous article we undertook to show, in the first place, that the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, as developed during the first three centuries, could not have been derived from any Pagan philosophy; and, in the second place, that there was a recognised and legitimate basis for this development in the Scriptures.

III. It now remains for us to show that the Ante-Nicene Fathers, in general, were essentially Trinitarians; entertaining opinions, the only complete and logically consistent development of which was the Nicene Creed.

First in order, of course, are the Apostolic Fathers, passed in silence by Dr. Lamson, but of the greatest importance as witnesses, whether regard be had to the character of the men themselves, or to the place they hold in history. As for the men themselves, they were manifestly no philosophers, intent upon the construction of a scientific system of theology; on the contrary, they were eminently practical and simple-minded believers, not at all given to speculation, and, with the single exception of the unknown author of the Epistle to Diognet[illegible] making no very decided impression upon us even of [illegible] tive intellectual breadth and vigor. As for their place in h[illegible] tory, they stand midway between the Apostles on one si[illegible]

and the converted philosophers of the second century on the other; inspiration, whose oral teachings some of them at least had enjoyed, having just ceased, and speculation having not yet begun. Such men, so conditioned, it can hardly need be said, must be the very best of witnesses, where the question is simply one of fact in regard to the faith of the early Church.

The earliest of these witnesses is Clement, a Greek, chief Presbyter, afterwards called Bishop, of Rome between 91?–100? A.D.* We have from his pen, in fifty-nine short chapters, an Epistle to the Corinthians, written probably about the year 96. The authenticity of this document is well established; while as to its integrity, the only probable interpolations have reference not to doctrine but polity. The occasion of writing was a dissension in the Church at Corinth, by which certain Presbyters had been unjustly deposed from office. An appeal having been made to the Church in Rome, Clement, after some delay, sent this Epistle, in which he tried by mingled reproofs and exhortations to bring back the Corinthian Christians to brotherly love and unity. Schism, and not heresy, having thus occasioned the Epistle, we need not wonder at the meagreness of its doctrinal contents; especially when we consider that the writer of it was not the inspired Apostle Paul, but only the uninspired Apostolic Clement. And yet, though there be much less than the Pauline proportion of doctrinal matter in this Epistle, what there is of doctrine incidentally introduced falls but little below the Pauline standard of orthodoxy. Special prominence is given to the doctrine of the Resurrection; although the handling of it is disfigured by the employment of the Pagan fable of the Phœnix. Justification by faith is set forth very much in the Pauline style; as, indeed, Clement and Polycarp alone of the Apostolic Fathers do thus set it forth. The Trinitarianism of Clement is as clearly pronounced as need be, considering the circumstances of the case. In the 2d chapter of the Epistle, he speaks of the sufferings of Christ as the sufferings of "God" (τοῦ Θεοῦ), who is the source of all spiritual strength and comfort. In

* The conjectural date of Jaffé in his *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*. Berlin. 1851.

the 16th chapter, Christ is called "the sceptre of the majesty of God," who came not in pomp and splendor, as he might have done, but in humility. In the 22d chapter, a passage from the Psalms (Ps. 34 : 11–18) is cited as the language of Christ himself, speaking through the Holy Spirit. In the 32d chapter, Christ is spoken of as descended from Abraham "according to the flesh;" in evident allusion to Rom. 9 : 5, where the same phrase occurs with the addition of "God blessed forever." In the 36th chapter Christ is called "the effulgence of the majesty" of God; as in Heb. 1 : 3 he is called the effulgence of his "glory." The underlying idea in these representations is evidently the old Hebrew idea of the Revealer of the unrevealed Jehovah. This Revealer is Christ, superior to angels, the inspirer of the ancient Prophets, the sanctifier of believers, nay, God himself. In two at least of the passages, the idea clearly is, that the relationship between the Father and the Son is immanent, and not merely economic. As to the Holy Spirit, while a distinct personality is not positively affirmed, it is certainly adumbrated. There are some six passages in all, the greater part of which have reference to the Holy Spirit as the source of inspiration in the Scriptures.* For example, in the 13th chapter, Clement writes, "For the Holy *Spirit* says," quoting Jer. 9 : 23, 24; and again, in the same chapter, he writes, "For the Holy *Logos* says," quoting Is. 66 : 2. So also in the 8th chapter, Noah and Jonah are represented as having spoken "by the Holy Spirit," while God himself (ὁ δεσπότης τῶν ἁπάντων) is represented as speaking in Ez. 33 : 11. We have thus the elements of the doctrine of the Trinity. And in two passages† something more than the elements; as in the 46th chapter, where we read: "Have we not one God (ἕνα Θεὸν), and one Christ, and one Spirit of grace poured out upon us?" That Clement's ideas were as well matured, and as sharply defined, as those of Athanasius, we do not pretend to say, or to imagine. It is enough for our purpose that he calls Christ God, speaks of Jehovah, the Logos, and the Holy Spirit as inspiring Pro-

* See chapters 2, 8, 13, 16, 42, and 45. † Chapters 42 and 46.

s and Apostles, and represents the Three as in some sort

ur next witness is Ignatius of Antioch, who suffered mar-
om in Rome, according to some writers in 107, according
hers in 116 A.D.;* more probably the latter. Unfortun-
y, the long-drawn Ignatian controversy is not yet ended.
more prevalent opinion is, that the seven Epistles, as we
e them in the shorter Greek recension, first published by
er in 1644, are genuine. Cureton, Bunsen, and others ac-
only three of these Epistles (to Polycarp, to the Ephe-
s, and to the Romans) in the still shorter Syriac recension.
Killen, of Belfast, Ireland, in his recent History of the
ient Church (1859), has made an elaborate and determined
rt to prove the entire collection spurious. The end we
have in view requires no settlement of this vexed ques-
. In any case, whether genuine or not, in whole or only
art, it is admitted that these Epistles all belong to the
e-Nicene period; the three already named having been
wn to Origen as early at least as 223 A.D., and all of them
luding the other four to the Magnesians, the Trallians, the
ladelphians, and the Smyrnaeans) known to Eusebius when
wrote his History about 325 A.D. Consequently, if there
Trinitarianism in the three Epistles of the Syriac recension,
n though not Ignatian, it is as old at least as the early part
he third century; if Ignatian, as Cureton believes, it is
er still by about a hundred years. While if there be more
nitarianism in the Greek seven Epistles than in the Syriac
e, it will be found that the difference between them is
y in degree and not in kind. Even in the three Syriac
stles there are at least five passages, which indicate a de-
ed Trinitarianism. In the Epistle to Polycarp we find it
tten: "Expect him who is above time (ὑπὲρ καιρὸν), who is
eless (ἄχρονον), who is invisible, who for our sakes became
ble, who cannot be handled, who is impassible, who for our

* These are the extreme dates, unless we allow some weight to the new "Mar-
om of Ignatius," recently edited by Dressel, which gives 102. A.D. Gres-
's date is 115.

sakes became passible, who for us endured every thing in every form." In the inscription to the Ephesian Epistle, Jesus Christ is called "our God" (*τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν*); and in the body of the Epistle, even his blood is spoken of as "the blood of God" (*ἐν αἵματι θεοῦ*). In the same Epistle, the Church is described as the building of God the Father, the stones of which are raised up on high by the engine of Jesus Christ which is the Cross, the rope by which they are drawn being the Holy Ghost. In the Epistle to the Romans, prayer to Christ is enjoined: "Entreat the Lord for me (*λιτανεύσατε τὸν Κύριον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ*), that through these instruments I may be found a sacrifice to God."* So much for the Syriac recension. In the shorter Greek recension of the seven Epistles, there are some fourteen passages of kindred import, speaking of Christ as God, of his sufferings as the sufferings of God, of his pre-existence "with the Father before the worlds" (*πρὸ αἰώνων παρὰ πατρὶ*), describing him as "God manifested humanly" (*Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερομένου*), with the other like expressions, which, if not necessarily implying the absolute Divinity of Christ, Divinity in the highest sense, are certainly best explained by supposing this to have been the writer's thought. One passage, in the 8th chapter of the Epistle to the Magnesians, reads as follows: "For the divinest Prophets have lived according to Jesus Christ. On this account they suffered persecution, inspired by his grace, that those who were unbelieving might be assured that there is one God, who has manifested himself through his Son Jesus Christ, who is his Eternal Word (*Λόγος αἰδιος*), not proceeding from silence,† who in all things pleased him that sent him." The subordination of the Son to the Father is, in the 13th chapter of the Epistle to the Magnesians, expressly declared to be "according to the flesh." Finally, in the account of his martyrdom, which has come down to us, it is related of Ignatius, that just before entering

* In the Greek recension, the reading is *λιτανεύσατε τὸν Χριστὸν*.

† The *σιγή*, not of Valentinus, which would disprove the Ignatian authorship of the passage, but of Simon Magus: See Hippolytus, Phil. 6: 18, Duncker and Schneidewin's Ed. p. 250. The "not proceeding from silence," means that Christ is *eterna'*.

the amphitheatre to be devoured by wild beasts, he kneeled down with the brethren and "prayed to the Son of God."* Whom he thus worshipped he must surely have regarded as Divine in the highest sense, else he was guilty of idolatry.

Next in order is Polycarp of Smyrna, a disciple of the Apostle John, who suffered martyrdom, probably, in the year 167.† His Epistle to the Philippians, in 14 chapters, hortatory in its character, appears (from the 13th chapter) to have been written shortly after the martyrdom of his friend Ignatius, 116 A.D. In the 2d chapter of this Epistle, he speaks in exalted terms of Christ as the Being, to whom all things in heaven and on earth are subject, and whom every spirit serves. In the 7th chapter, he denounces the Gnostic Docetism as a Satanic heresy. And in the 12th chapter, he speaks of Christ as "the eternal high priest" and Son of God. His dying prayer, as reported by the Smyrnaean Church, concluded thus: "Wherefore for all things I praise thee, I bless thee, I glorify thee with the eternal and heavenly Jesus Christ, thy beloved Son; with whom (μεθ' οὗ) to thee and the Holy Spirit be glory both now and forever. Amen."‡ Eusebius (4 : 15), it is true, gives this doxology in a different form: δι' οὗ, *through* whom, instead of μεθ' οὗ, *with* whom; but, as Burton has shown, both these forms were originally in use amongst the orthodox, and were regarded as equally proper till after the Council of Nice. Subordinationism certainly had no foothold amongst the Smyrnaeans, if we may judge from their own doxology, with which the *Martyrium* concludes: "To whom be glory, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, world without end. Amen."§

The so-called Epistle of Barnabas is no doubt spurious, the work, not of the Apostolic Barnabas, but of some Jewish Christian of Alexandria, assuming his name. The date of its

* *Martyrium S. Ignatii*, chap. 6.

† The earliest date is that of Pearson, 147; the latest, that of Usher, 169. As to his age at the time of his death, it is a question whether the 86 years, which he speaks of, refer to his whole life, or only to the period of his Christian discipleship.

‡ *Martyrium S. Polycarpi*, chap. 14.

§ Ibid, chap. 22.

composition is put by Hefele between the years 107 and 120 A.D. This Epistle contains no Trinitarian doxology; but the essential Divinity of Christ, which necessarily involves the Trinitarian conception, is very clearly presented. "Let us make man in our image and likeness," Gen. 1 : 26, is twice quoted (chapters 5th and 6th), and applied to Christ. The correctness of this exegesis is, of course, not now in question. Right or wrong, it equally serves our present purpose in elucidating the doctrinal position of the writer of the Epistle. In his opinion, Christ preëxisted with the Father, and they two took counsel together in the work of creation. In the 5th chapter it is declared, that Christ himself inspired the Prophets who prophesied concerning him; and the sun is said to be the work of his hands. In the 7th chapter it is written: "If therefore the Son of God, who is Lord of all, and will come to judge both the quick and the dead, hath suffered, that by his stripes we might live, let us believe that the Son of God *could not have suffered* (*οὐκ ἠδύνατο παθεῖν*) *but for us.*" And in the 12th chapter: "Behold again, Jesus is not the son of man, but the Son of God, manifested in form and flesh" (*τύπῳ καὶ ἐν σαρκεὶ φανερωθείς*).

But by much the ablest and most finished production of this early period, is the Epistle to Diognetus, by some unknown author of an uncertain date. Bunsen, with little reason, ascribes it to the Gnostic Marcion, and supposes it to have been written about the year 135. Otto has recently returned to the ancient but almost universally abandoned opinion, that Justin Martyr wrote it. Dorner ascribes it to Quadratus the Apologist. Most critics are content to label it as anonymous. As to the date of it, Hefele suggests the time of Trajan (98–117 A.D.); others, with more probability, the time of Hadrian (117–138 A.D.) Schaff is quite right in pronouncing this Epistle "one of the most beautiful memorials of Christian antiquity." Apologetic in character, rich in thought, elegant in style, it presents us with a most engaging picture of the Christian life of the period, to which it belongs. The declared object of the writer was, to explain the genius of Christianity as compared both with the Pagan religions and with Judaism. Of

ourse it was required of him to say who Christ was. God 'sent Him," he says, "not (as we might suppose) as a servant, or as an angel, or as a ruler, or as one engaged in earthly affairs, or as one entrusted with the care of things in Heaven; but God sent the very artificer and creator of the universe—Him, by whom he made the heavens, by whom he inclosed the sea within its due bounds; Him, whose mysterious laws are faithfully kept by all the starry signs; Him, from whom the sun hath received the measures of his daily course, duly to keep them; Him, at whose command the moon shineth in the night; Him, whom the stars obey as they follow the moon in her course; Him by whom all things have been set in order and defined and placed in subjection, the heavens and the things that are in the heavens, the earth and the things that are in the earth, the sea and every thing that is in the sea, fire, air, deep, things above, things below, things between. This is He whom God sent unto them."* Here, certainly, is no merely incidental, no unguarded or ambiguous, but a most direct, well-considered, and elaborate assertion of the essential Divinity of Christ; a being to be worshipped with as profound a reverence as we render to God the Father.

The Pastor of Hermas is also of uncertain date, but is supposed to have been written not far from 150 A.D. In form, this work is somewhat fantastic, consisting of 4 Visions, 12 Mandates and 10 Similitudes. As to its contents, it is well described by Hase as "a strenuous exhortation to morality, enforced by the prospect of the second advent of Christ." Its doctrinal errors are mainly in the direction of an ascetic formalism. In regard to the Person of Christ, the most decisive and satisfactory passage is Similitude 9 : 12, where it is said, that "The Son of God is more ancient than any created thing, so that he was present in counsel with his Father at the creation." In Similitude 9 : 14, it is said: "The name of the Son of God is great and vast, and the whole world is supported by it." An obscure and much debated passage occurs in Simili-

* Bunsen's Hippolytus, vol. 1, p. 178.

tude 5 : 5, which reads: "His Son is the Holy Spirit." This apparent confounding of the Son with the Spirit, Hefele thinks, may be explained by supposing that only the human nature of Christ is here referred to. At any rate, it must not be so interpreted as to militate against the obvious import of other and clearer passages. The mystical character of the treatise should certainly bespeak for it the utmost charity of criticism.

The seventh, last and least important of these Apostolic Fathers, is Papias the Millennarian, of Hierapolis in Phrygia, a man of some learning but of feeble judgment, who is supposed to have suffered martyrdom about 165–7 A.D. He wrote a work, entitled, "Explanations of the Lord's Discourses," only a few fragments of which are extant. Precisely what his views were in regard to the Person of Christ, not enough remains of his writings to enable us to determine. There is, however, a recognition of the Trinitarian formula in one of the fragments preserved by Irenæus.*

With such testimonies before us, gathered from the writings of such men, representing the simple faith of the Church near the close of the first century and in the early part of the second, we wonder that any man should speak of Trinitarianism as an invention of the Platonizing Fathers. If Clement Ignatius, Polycarp and the author of the Epistle to Diognetus were not Trinitarians, we may well despair of finding Trinitarians anywhere in history. Though not theologians in the stricter sense of the term, these men must have had opinions; and, of all subjects engaging their attention, the one which most concerned them as Christians, must have been the Person of their Lord. Such love as theirs, firing them even to martyrdom, must needs have defined more or less exactly the nature of its object. And so in fact it did. Christ was to these ardent disciples both man and God. His Humanity they maintained against Docetism, without debating the question, subsequently mooted, whether or no he had a proper human soul as well as a human body. But his Divinity was what they felt the most deeply, and the most earnestly affirmed.

* See Routh's *Reliquiae Sacrae*, 2d Ed., Vol. 1, p. 11.

They even went so far in this direction, as to assert of Christ's Divine nature what was true only of the Human; not hesitating to speak of his sufferings and blood, as the sufferings and blood of God. If Christ be not Divine in the highest sense, then these men were idolaters, for they certainly worshipped the Son even as they worshipped the Father. It was natural that, at first, less prominence should be given to the Person of the Spirit. That the Spirit was not ignored, is evident from the many passages, in which He is spoken of as the inspirer of the ancient prophets. While the Trinitarian doxology, so frequently employed, stands forth, decisively witnessing for these early Fathers, as believers in one God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

From the Apostolic Fathers the transition is easy to Irenæus. He comes next after them in logical, though not in chronological order. Of Greek parentage, though born in Asia Minor, and probably in Smyrna, where he sat at the feet of Polycarp, the scene of his labors was in the West. After the martyrdom of Pothinus, whom he had either accompanied or followed into Gaul, Irenæus in 178 became Bishop of Lyons, where he also is supposed to have suffered martyrdom in 202.* His principal work, the *Adversus Haereses*, in five books, was composed, as we learn from the work itself (*Adv. Haer.* 3 : 3 : 3), during the Pontificate of Eleutherus (177–190 ?), or more exactly, according to Harvey, between the years 182 and 188.† This, it is true, was later by some years than the death of Justin Martyr,‡ the most prominent of the Platonizing Apologists; which, however, is of no account in the present discussion, since Irenæus stood quite aloof from the speculative movement in theology, which these men inaugurated. The author of the *Adversus Haereses* was indeed a man of learning, familiar especially with the works of Homer and Plato; but the type of his theology was distinctively Biblical and practical, rather than philosophical. Left to himself, he would

* This is the common opinion, though disputed anew by Harvey in his recent 1857) edition of the writings of Irenæus.

† Harvey's *Introduction*, p. 158.

‡ According to Otto, 165; according to Semisch, 166 A.D.

hardly have gone beyond the range of the Apostolic Fathers. But falling upon different times, a different development awaited him. It was required of him to maintain the traditional orthodoxy in the face of antagonisms unknown to his immediate predecessors and teachers. The confronting heresies which conditioned his doctrinal statements, were three: Gnosticism, Ebionism, and Montanism; but especially the first two. Ebionism had gradually become a heresy. In the time of Irenæus it was a sheer humanitarianism, denying that Christ was born of a Virgin, and regarding him as a mere man. Gnosticism had assumed a great variety of forms; but the various systems were nearly all agreed in teaching: (1.) That God is utterly incomprehensible. (2.) That matter is eternal and antagonistic to God.* (3.) That creation is the work, not of God, but of the Demiurge, according to some only subordinate, according to others totally opposed to God. (4.) That the human nature of Christ was a mere deceptive appearance. A work written avowedly to refute these well-defined heresies, has its general theological character indicated with no little clearness in advance. Christ, we know, is to be set before us as at once a man and more than a man. Precisely what rank is assigned to him, we must inquire of the work itself. Thus inquiring, we find the proper humanity of Christ vigorously maintained against the Docetists. This is done at large in the third book, where Christ is represented as the son of David, born miraculously of the Virgin Mary, but a man of real flesh and blood, suffering for our sins, dying and rising from the dead. Whether or no he had a human soul as well as a human body, does not so clearly appear. In one place (*Adv. Haer.* 5 : 1 : 3), it is said the Logos animated the body of Christ, as the soul animated the body of Adam. But in another place (5 : 1 : 1), Christ is spoken of as "giving his soul for our souls, and his flesh for our flesh."† The question here involved, it is well known, had not then been mooted. Had it been mooted, it is hardly to be imagined that Irenæus could

* Basilides, according to Hippolytus, must no longer be reckoned a Dualist. Most of the Gnostics were Dualists.

† In our citations from Irenæus, we follow Stieren's ed., Leipsic, 1853.

have been an Apollinarian. Against the Ebionites, on the other hand, it is maintained in the third book, with equal fulness and emphasis, that Christ is Divine. Repeatedly is he spoken of as "God," "the Word of God," "the Son of God," as "always existing with the Father," with other the like expressions, which carry with them the idea of Divinity in the highest sense. That the word *God* is not inconsiderately or loosely employed by Irenæus, is evident from several passages, such, for example, as *Adv. Haer.* 4 : 2 : 5, where it is said, "He who has any one superior to himself, and is under the power of another, can neither be called God nor Mighty King." "Word" and "Son" are used interchangeably in a multitude of passages.* This "Son of God" is without beginning, having always existed with the Father. Indeed, he is the one Revealer of God under all the economies, or, as Irenæus expresses it (4 : 6 : 6): "The Father is the invisible of the Son, the Son the visible of the Father."† The relation existing between the Father and the Son is expressed by several terms, such as *prolatio*, *generatio* and the like; but this generation is declared to be a mystery (*inenerrabilis*, indescribable, 2 : 28 : 6), known only to the Father who begat, and the Son who is begotten. The creation of matter is also a mystery, but different from generation (2 : 28 : 7). That less is said of the Son as he existed with the Father before his incarnation, than of the incarnate Logos, is entirely in accordance with the distinctively Biblical and practical character of the Irenæan theology already noticed. The plurality of persons is not allowed to militate against the unity of God, which is constantly affirmed. That the Son is in every respect equal to the Father, follows, of logical necessity, from the coëternity of the Son with the Father, so frequently and decisively declared. The coëternally begotten must of course be coëqual. This is sometimes explicitly asserted. And yet candor requires the acknowledgment, that there are other passages which savor of subordination. In distinguishing the

* Such as *Adv. Haer.* 2 : 30 : 9. 4 : 7 : 3. 4 : 20 : 3.

† The same idea is repeated *Adv. Haer.* 4 : 20 : 11.

persons in the Godhead, language is sometimes employed by Irenæus, as by others of the earlier Fathers, not consistent with strict Trinitarianism; as when in *Adv. Haer.* 2 : 28 : 8, the text, "My Father is greater than I" (John 14 : 28), is referred to the Eternal Word, and not to the historic Christ. But in such passages, Irenæus is equally inconsistent with himself. Duncker, in his monograph on Irenæus, declines attempting to resolve these contradictions. They must stand as they are. It is enough for our purpose, that while the coëquality is sometimes explicitly affirmed, the coëternity, which by a logical necessity involves the coëquality, is uniformly taught in terms which admit of no doubtful interpretation. As to the person of Christ, it is again and again expressly declared, as in *Adv. Haer.* 4 : 6 : 7, that he is at once "very man and very God." The Divinity of the Spirit is also clearly taught. In *Adv. Haer.* 4 : 7 : 4, the Spirit is called the *figuratio*, similitude, of God.* In *Adv. Haer.* 4 : 20 : 3 it is said, that as the Son was always with the Father, so the Spirit was with the Father and Son before the worlds were made. In several places, Gen 1 : 26 is cited as referring to the Father, the Son, and the Spirit. In other passages, some six or seven times in all, the Son and Spirit are called "the Hands of God," by which he accomplished the work of creation. These three all the angels serve (4 : 7 : 4). Passages which represent the Spirit as in any sense inferior to the Son, like those which represent the Son as inferior to the Father, are obviously inconsistent with such declarations as we have just quoted in regard to the coëternity of the Spirit with the Father and the Son. If coëternal, of course coëqual; as the ripening science of the Church presently discovered and declared. The Trinity, Irenæus says (3 : 18 : 3), is involved in the very name of Christ, which reminds us of the Anointer, the Anointed, and the Unction. The word Trinity, it is true, does not occur in this passage, nor in any other; but in many passages, which it would be tedious to refer to, the

* Harvey, in a note on this passage, quotes Basil as saying, that the Spirit is the likeness (εἰκὼν) of the Son, as the Son is the likeness of the Father.

three persons are mentioned in a way to indicate their absolute and essential Divinity. In short, it is clear that Irenæus worshipped one God in three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

Closely related to Irenæus stands Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus Romanus, who suffered martyrdom in 236 A.D. His most important work, the *Philosophumena*, the last seven books of which have been recently recovered and published, appears to have been composed between the years 223 and 235.* Once a pupil of Irenæus at Lyons, though by no means equal in ability to his teacher, he is like him in spirit and purpose, and should therefore be listened to, along with Irenæus, in advance of Justin Martyr and the Alexandrians; the chronological order, as already remarked, being of little or no account in a case like this. If the Trinitarianism of Hippolytus be less pure and strict than that of Irenæus, less free from the taint of subordination, it is explained by his polemic zeal against Patripassianism, which led him strongly to emphasize the hypostases. Indeed, so strong was this emphasis, as to provoke against him the charge of impugning the Divine Unity. This charge he repels, resenting as a venomous calumny the imputation cast upon him by Callistus, of being a worshipper of two Gods, in that he worshipped both the Father and the Son.† The 10th book of the *Philosophumena* concludes with a Confession of faith addressed to the Heathen. This confession affirms abundantly the essential Divinity of Christ, but is silent in regard to the Holy Spirit. Hence the assertion of some critics, that Hippolytus knew nothing of the distinct personality of the Spirit. This silence is easily accounted for. In the 9th book, Hippolytus was simply steering his way between two opposing heresies, one of which denied the Divinity of Christ, while the other denied his proper personality as the Word of God, distinct from the Father. He had thus no occasion to speak of the Holy Spirit; the Person of Christ being the only question under debate. In

* Jacobi, in Herzog's Encyklopädie, says about 234 A.D.

† *Philosophumena*, 9 : 12.

addressing the Heathen, as he does in the 10th book, his aim evidently is, not to develop the whole scheme of Christian doctrine, but simply to bring his Heathen readers to accept the salvation provided for them in the Gospel. A belief, so decided as that of Hippolytus, in the essential Divinity of Christ, must have been accompanied by an equally decided belief in the essential Divinity of the Holy Spirit; regard being had, of course, to the prevailing type of his theology as so distinctively Biblical and practical. We may therefore venture to claim Hippolytus as a Trinitarian, without appealing to those fragments ascribed to him (the genuineness of which has been disputed), in which the doctrine of the Trinity is expressly taught.*

[*To be concluded.*]

* See Wordsworth's "Hippolytus and the Church of Rome." London. 1853. Chapter 10, pp, 152–178.

Theological and Literary Intelligence.

THE *Oxford Essays and Reviews* continue to occupy the attention of England to the exclusion of almost every other theological subject. An address against them, signed by more than 8,500 of the clergy, has been presented the Archbishop of Canterbury. Some 20,000 copies of the work have been sold. At the meeting of Convocation, February 28, and March 14, this was the principal topic.

Soon after the Bishops had assembled in the Upper House on Thursday, March 14, the Prolocutor of the Lower House attended to present a gravamen, signed by twenty individual members, complaining that a book called *Essays and Reviews* had been published in London, containing teaching which was subversive of the inspiration and doctrine of Holy Scripture. The gravamen alleged that out of the seven writers of these *Essays and Reviews* six were clergymen of the Church of England. The members of the House who had signed the gravamen prayed that their Lordships would be pleased to direct the appointment of a committee of the Lower House to make extracts from the book alluded to, and to report thereon to their Lordships' House.

After a debate, in which the Bishop of Oxford moved to acquiesce in the petition, the Bishop of Chichester seconded this motion, and the Bishop of London expressed his dissent from it.

The Archbishop of Canterbury put the motion, when there appeared—

For (8)—The Bishops of Winchester, St. David's, Oxford, Bangor, Salisbury, Llandaff, St. Asaph, Chichester.

Against (4)—The Bishops of London, Bath and Wells, Gloucester and Bristol, Norwich.

The Committee thus appointed have chosen Archdeacon Denison as their Chairman, and were to meet at the close of the week, to examine the volume, for the purpose of reporting thereon to Convocation.

In the course of the debate, the Bishop of London (Tait) said, in respect to Drs. Temple and Jowett: "He was in the position of being the intimate personal friend of two of those clergymen whose names appeared in the volume. He would wish to say with regard to both of them, that from the personal friendship and the intercourse he had had with them during the last twenty years, he entertained for them the very liveliest regard, and in proportion as that regard and affection were strong the more he desired that an opportunity should be afforded to him of doing what he trusted they would do, which was to make a declaration which would be satisfactory to the church and to the country, that they were not responsible for every word that occurred in that unfortunate volume. He

rejoiced that, through circumstances over which they had no control, it would be impossible for the archbishops and bishops generally to meet for some time to come to consider this subject, because he most anxiously desired that that time should be employed by the gentlemen who had taken part in composing this book in endeavoring to vindicate themselves before the country in the only way they could vindicate themselves—namely, by an expression of their positive belief in the truths to which their book was not unnaturally supposed to be antagonistic. How some of those gentlemen would be able to do this he could not say. He should very much doubt the possibility of their being able to do so."

In respect to Dr. Temple he added: "that he most sincerely trusted that the interval which would elapse between the present time and the further consideration of the subject would enable Dr. Temple, the amiable headmaster of Rugby school, to make a public declaration of what he (the bishop) could have no doubt was his private feeling—namely, that he is deeply pained by many passages which occur in the volume with which his name was unfortunately associated. As he had said before, he had known the writer for many years in the intimacy of private friendship. He believed that the essay in the volume which bore his name was preached as a sermon from the pulpit of St. Mary's, Oxford. He very much disliked the views expressed in that essay, but the essay was totally different in his estimation from other passages which occurred in that volume, and he could not understand by what motive the author should be restrained from declaring publicly that he does not approve other things in that most unfortunate volume."

The Bishop of Oxford "hoped that nothing which would go forth from that room would lead to a misapprehension as to the opinions of the bishops on this subject. He was sure that every one must highly honor the affectionateness and courage of the Bishop of London when he spoke of his personal friends, but whose words he found himself bound to condemn. Perhaps that affectionateness of feeling might have led the bishop to express his judgment as to the writings of one of the authors. The truth of doctrine was dearer than all personal affection, and he thought his remarks ought not to go forth without an explanation. What he specially alluded to was this—the bishop had spoken as though it would satisfy the church if those who had put forth those doctrines would put forth some positive declaration as to their holding of the whole truth. Now he (the Bishop of Oxford) ventured to say that few things could be more disastrous than that it should be supposed that any of the bishops thought it would be the slightest removal of objection to this volume if the writers, one and all, made a most solemn asseveration of holding the truth. The more people asserted that they held all the truth, and yet put openly forward what denied that truth, was in his judgment incompatible with all true belief in our Lord and Saviour, and rendered it the more dangerous. The right reverend prelate having read several extracts from the essays, said the present was not the time to enter fully into the book. When a man came forward and said he reverenced the Bible and its truths, and then came forward and said that its writers were as liable to error as other men, that the prophecies written in that book manifestly failed of fulfilment, but that pious reverence has made us unwilling to admit their failures, he said the putting together of those two things made the second error more deadly, because it seemed to make it compatible with holding the truth. Therefore he was anxious that not by any such idle protestation, while the book itself remained unretracted, could the church be satisfied

of the fidelity of its writers. The form which the error was taking was that particular form which tended to sap all honesty of profession or subscription. It professed great personal affection for our Lord, and then it defended teaching which necessarily denied his incarnation, his miraculous conception, his resurrection in the presence of his disciples, the one all-sufficient sacrifice offered on the cross, and his atonement for the sins of the world. By inference the writers of the essays denied every one of these great truths, and yet professed to maintain the faith of the Church of England unshaken. He would rather that men came forward and said, 'Give up your old faith,' than that they should say, 'Keep the old faith, and still retain these monstrous perversions of it.' He thought that if the mistake went forth that in the opinion of the bishops assembled in convocation, these contradictions could be set right by the solemn adjurations of these writers not holding these doctrines, it would be a most fatal thing for the church. He was told that this book had been translated into French and other languages, in order that these doubts might be circulated abroad. He knew that an infidel lecturer in one of our great towns suspended his lecture, and said that instead of it he would read passages from the writings of clergymen of the Church of England as abundantly sufficient for his purpose. Nothing but an entire retraction on the part of the writers of the Essays and Reviews would satisfy the church."

The Archbishop of Canterbury said: "The petition which had led to the present discussion stated that the book of *Essays and Reviews* was full of dangerous doctrines. Nothing could express his own feeling more clearly. After what had been said, and after the expression of opinion on the part of the bishops in the document they had all signed, there could be no question as to what were their feelings on the subjects. Their only doubt would be in what way they should attempt to avert the dangerous consequences. The bishops thought, when they took the unusual course of giving their opinion on these essays, it was doubtful what power they might have to ensure their condemnation. It was doubtful also what would be the effect of any formal condemnation of them by convocation. Other measures had been pointed at, and were still under the gravest attention of the bishops. As the upper house of Convocation, they were not now quite at liberty to take action upon this subject. The bishops had fixed a day next month when they would meet the bishops of the northern province, and on that occasion they hoped to be able to decide in what manner the essays could be legally dealt with. The public would gather from this that the bishops of the Church of England were by no means insensible to the gravity of the occasion, and that they wished to meet it by the best means in their power."

The Rev. Dr. Temple has announced his intention of giving to the world forthwith a volume of sermons preached during the last three years in the chapel of Rugby school. This course of proceeding has evidently been adopted by the reverend gentleman with a view to show what are his opinions on the leading points of Christianity, as distinguished from the interpretations which have been put upon his essay, *The Education of the World.*

In addition to the movements in England against the *Essays and Reviews*, the bishops in Ireland are about to give expression to their reprehension of them. The Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin have addressed a joint letter to the bishops of their several dioceses, in which they pronounce it as their united opinion, that the views set forth in the work are manifestly at variance with the principles of the Church."

The Bishop of Winchester has taken strong ground against the neological Essayists. He frames his examination of candidates to meet most pointedly such errors, and declares that he will never knowingly ordain any one holding such sentiments.

An organisation of churchmen entitled "The Church of England Clerical and Lay Association for the Maintenance of Evangelical Principles," has put forth a strong Declaration and Protest against the book, in which it is proclaimed by the Association: "That, in our opinion it is the unquestionable tendency of the book as a whole, and the apparent object of some of the treatises contained in it, to undermine belief in all the most essential truths of religion, both natural and revealed, as they are generally received and understood. That in the treatises referred to, we find the most offensive statements both of a heretical and sceptical nature, either propounded by the authors themselves, or, when cited from others, represented, often very insidiously, as founded in reason and truth, and more worthy of credit than the matters of belief to which they are opposed.

The *Saturday Review* in its usual dashing style tries to account for all the commotion, by very low causes. It says: "We suspect that among the causes which have led to this disastrous crisis, the excessively narrow spirit in which the appointments to bishoprics have recently been made is not the least influential. When men such as the authors of *Essays and Reviews* see bishopric after bishopric filled by prelates of the very straitest sect of the Puritans, and Puritan tests for ordination virtually superadded to those by which the clergy are legally bound, they feel that they have no longer any sympathy or consideration to expect from the rulers of their Church; and, as the close and stifling barriers of sectarianism rise round them, they make convulsive efforts to recover air and liberty, and do things which would be unjustifiable under happier circumstances, but which derive some justification from despair. Those who have watched these affairs with an attentive eye observe effects which Prime Ministers, in disposing of their patronage for the benefit of a party, may easily overlook."

It was remarked, that of the five Professors of Divinity at Oxford and Cambridge, not one had written against the Essays. Dr. Pusey has since published the following letter, which we give entire from *The Guardian*.

"(*To the Editor of the Guardian*).—Sir,—A correspondent of yours mentions me with others (I know not whether excluding or including me), who are called upon by their position to answer the unhappy *Essays and Reviews*. The subject has been in the minds of many of us. The difficulty has arisen, not in providing definite answers to definite objections, but in giving systematic answers to a host of desultory attacks on revelation, its evidences, the Bible which contains it, and the truths revealed. The well-known passage in the unbelieving *Westminster Review* states the extent to which the truth has been attacked; it did not fall within its objects to notice the guerilla, pell-mell character of the attack. But look at the list:—

"'Now in all seriousness we would ask, what is the practical issue of all this? Having made all these deductions from the popular belief, what remains as the residuum? In their ordinary, if not plain, sense, there has been discarded the word of God, the creation, the fall, the redemption, justification, regeneration, and salvation, miracles, inspiration, prophecy, heaven and hell, eternal punishment, a day of judgment, creeds, liturgies, and articles, the truth of Jewish history, and of Gospel narrative, a sense of doubt thrown over even the incarnation, the resurrection, and the ascension, the

divinity of the second person, and the personality of the third. It may be that this is a true view of Christianity, but we insist, in the name of common sense, that it is a new view.—(p. 305).'

"An attack may be made in a short space. If any one cannot rest on the authority of the universal church, attested as it is by prophecy, nor again, on the word of Jesus, he must take a long circuitous process of answer. But already, if books we must have, these would need to be books, not essays. What could be condensed into essays upon—1. Revelation; 2. Miracles; 3. Prophecy; 4. The Canon; 5. Inspiration; 6. Our Lord's Divinity and Atonement; 7. The Divinity and Offices of God the Holy Ghost? But beyond this, there is the miscellaneousness of their random dogmatic scepticism. The writers, in their own persons, rarely affirm any thing, attempt to prove nothing, and throw a doubt upon every thing. If any of us had dogmatized as to truth, as these do as to error, what scorn we should be held up to! They assume every thing, prove nothing. There is only here and there any thing definite to lay hold of. One must go back to the foreign sources of this unbelief, to find it in a definite shape, which one could answer. I have made a list of the subjects on which I should have to write on my own special subject, the interpretation of the Old Testament. Some indeed admit of a short answer, as when one says, that the title given by Isaiah to our Lord, 'Mighty God,' perhaps only means 'strong and mighty one,' or that Isaiah in the words, 'A virgin shall conceive and bear a son,' means 'a *maiden's* child, to be born in the reign of Ahaz,' or that 'kiss the son' (Psalm ii), should be rendered 'worship purely,' or that for the words 'They pierced my hands and my feet,' there should stand the senseless 'like a lion.' Apart from inspiration, no one could think that any human writer, who wished to be understood, would use the words *el gibbor* of Almighty God in one chapter ('the remnant shall return to Almighty God'), and in the chapter before us those self-same words of the child who was to be born, in another sense. The 'kiss' was a well-known sign of fealty to a king, or worship to an object of worship; but the Hebrew word for 'kiss' would no more mean 'worship' by itself than our English word. It could be shown in brief space that *Almah* means 'unmarried maiden' or virgin, and that the conception spoken of is beyond nature. Popularly it has been said, 'If Isaiah did not prophesy the birth of a virgin, the LXX. did.' It would take no great space to show that the rendering 'As a lion,' is unmeaning, without authority, against authority, while the rendering 'They pierced,' is borne out alike by authority and language. But these are but insulated points, easy to be defended, because attacked definitely. But when their range of attack extends from Genesis to Daniel, when one says that credible history begins with Abraham (Williams, 57); another, that there 'is little reliable history' before Jeroboam (Mr. Wilson, p. 170, of course, contradicting each other as to the period between Abraham and Jeroboam); another denies the accuracy of the Old Testament altogether according to our standards of accuracy (Professor Jowett, p. 347), asserting that 'like other records,' it was 'subject to the conditions of a knowledge which existed in an early stage of the world' (*Ib.* 411), that 'the dark mists of human passion and error form a partial crust upon it' (Wilson, p. 177), that the truth of the unity of God in scripture only gradually 'dispersed the mists of human passion in which it was itself enveloped' (Jowett, p. 286); when contradictions between the Kings and Chronicles are vaguely assumed (Wilson, 178, 9, Jowett, 342, 7); when it is asserted that prophecies of Jeremiah, Isaiah, Amos, failed (Jowett, p. 343); and implied that

God could not predict the deeds of one of his creatures by name (*Ib.*); that when Nahum prophesied there were human grounds to anticipate the destruction of Nineveh, which he prophesied (Williams, p. 60); or that Micah, in prophesying the birth at Bethlehem, meant only a deliverer in his own times (p. 68); that 'perhaps *one* passage in Zachariah and *one* in Isaiah (it is not said which) may be capable of *being made* directly Messianic' (Williams, p. 69); and that 'hardly any, probably none, of the quotations from the Psalms and prophets in the Epistles is based on the original sense or context' (Jowett, p. 406); when the genuineness of the Pentateuch (Williams, p. 60), of much of Isaiah (*Ib.* 68, Jowett, p. 313), Zechariah (Williams, p. 68), Daniel (lxix, lxxvi) is denied; when it is asserted that the aspects of truth in the book of Job or Ecclesiastes are opposite or imperfect (Jowett, p. 347), that actions are attributed to God in the Old Testament at variance with that higher revelation which he has given of himself in the Gospel (26); when Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac is attributed not to God, but to the 'fierce ritual of Syria' (Williams, p. 61), not to speak of the temptation in Paradise (p. 177), the miracle of Balaam's ass, the earth's standing still, 'the universality of the deluge, the confusion of tongues, the corporeal taking up of Elijah into heaven, the nature of angels, the reality of demoniacal possession, the personality of Satan, and the miraculous nature of many conversions' (Wilson, 177), or the book of Jonah (Williams, p. 73)—how can such an undigested heap of errors receive a systematic answer in brief space, or in any one treatise or volume? Or why should these be more answered than all the other attacks on the same subject with which the unbelieving press has been for some time teeming? People seem to have transferred the natural panic at finding that such attacks on belief could be made by those bound to maintain it, to the subjects themselves, as if the faith was jeopardized because it had been betrayed. With the exception of the still imperfect science of geology, the *Essays and Reviews* contain nothing with which those acquainted with the writings of unbelievers in Germany have not been familiar these thirty years. The genuineness of the books impugned, the prophecies, whose accomplishment in themselves, or in the Lord, is so summarily denied, have been solidly vindicated, not in essays, but in volumes. An observation on the comparative freedom and reasonableness of the 'conservatism of Hengstenberg' and Jahn (Williams, p. 67) is, I believe, the only indication, given in the volume, that much which the writers assume as proved, has been solidly disproved. Some volumes have, I believe, been already translated.

"But this circuitous process cannot be necessary to faith. God did not reveal himself to us for disputers. These answers may have their place; but there must be some briefer, directer road to faith. One of the essay writers owned that their system could never be the religion of the poor. Then it cannot be the true Gospel, which was for the poor. Those who believe our Lord's words, need no further proof as to the Old Testament. He has referred to it as of authority, and as speaking of himself. He has sealed to us the whole of the Old Testament, as, in all its divisions, speaking of himself (Luke xxiv. 44 add 27).

"It has been observed that he has authenticated to us just that class of facts in the Old Testament, which, to human reason, would seem most to need confirmation—Jonah in the fish's belly (Matt. xii. 40), the conversion of Nineveh (41), the flood (xxiv. 37–39; Luke xvii. 26, 27), the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Matt. x. 15; xi. 23, 24; Luke xvii. 2, 8, 9), Lot's wife (32), God's appearing in the burning but unconsumed bush (Matt. xii. 26), the brazen serpent (John iii. 14), the manna (vi. 33), the

personality of Satan (Matt. iv. 10; xii. 26; Mark iii. 23–26; Luke iv. 8; xiii. 16; xxii. 31). Again, of that early history, which two of these writers throw a slur on, our Lord sets his seal on one birth of a single pair, according to the account in Genesis (Matt. xix. 4, 5), the death of Abel (xxiii. 35), the flood (as I said), the history of circumcision (Luke vii. 22, 23). Then, again, as to prophecy, it is our Lord himself who quotes Daniel (Matt. xxiv. 15; Mark viii. 14); the denied chapters of Isaiah, as Scripture (Matt. xi. 13; Luke iv. 17, 18; xviii. 31–33; John vi, 45), Zachariah (Mark xiv. 27). He alleges the prophecies of the Old Testament in the way which this school condemns (Matt. xiii. 14, 15; xxi. 42; Mark vii. 6), and one of those which have been called 'imprecatory Psalms' (John xvii. 1, 2). The principle of this argument is not confined to the Old Testament. It includes equally the reality of demoniacal possessions (Mark v. 8; vii. 29; ix. 25, 29; xvi. 17) and eternal punishment.

"*The Westminster Review* calls it a 'dangerous assumption that the Old Testament is a part of Christianity.' Not in the eyes of the reviewer, who unhappily believes neither. Our Lord has bound them together for his disciples, and however it may be charitable or right to meet in any other way the perplexities which people make for themselves or others, there must be some more compendious way for the mass of mankind. Life is not given for proving revelation to one's-self, but for belief, love, worship, duty.

"I have written at this length because there seems to be a feverish anxiety in some minds that answers should be written to these essays. Answers have, in fact, been written to very many of the attacks, by Tholuck, Hengstenberg, Keil, Hävernick, and others. Answers will doubtless be written in this country. Some of the objections are as old as Celsus and Porphyry. The Church has survived these early attacks these one thousand six hundred years, and will to the end. For myself, I am convinced that the Bible is its own best defence; that the Holy Ghost, by whose inspiration it was written, speaks through it still to hearts prepared by his grace to hear; and while I trust, during any residue of my years which God may appoint me, to do what in me lies to develope, by his help, some of the meaning of his Word, removing as he shall enable me, men's self-made difficulties, or pointing out the completion of prophecy, my conviction is, that the difficulties lie, not in Holy Scripture itself, but in the dispositions with which men approach it.

"*Christ Church.* E. B. Pusey."

Among the works and articles called forth by this controversy, are the following: Lord Lindsay, Scepticism, its Retrogressive Character in Theology and Philosophy, with especial reference to the New Movement in Oxford.—Rev. Chs. Hebert, Neology not True, and Truth not New.—A new edition of The Dangers and Safeguards of Modern Theology, by the Bishop of London (Tait).—A new Reformation Society has been formed, sympathising with the Oxford essayists: and a tract (No. 1) published, written by Alexander Alison (author of a recent rationalising *Philosophy of Civilisation*,) containing the creed of the new movement.—Rev. Geo. J. Weld, in a "Brief Defence of the Essays," shows that similar views have been expressed by divines of the Church of England.—A counter work is in preparation, by Dr. Thomson of Queen's College, Oxford, Prof. Ellicott, the commentator, Mansel and Rawlinson, the late Bampton Lecturers.—J. L. Wheeler, Some Notices of Baden Powell's Essay on the Study of the Evidences, Oxford.—Some friends of Prof. Jowett have collected Statements of Christian Doctrine and Practice, extracted from his various works,

as an answer to the charges brought against him by the reviewers (this work is ascribed chiefly to Prof. Stanley).—Rev. Chs. Girdlestone, Negative Theology, an Argument for Liturgical Revision.—J. R. Young, The Mosaic Cosmogony, in reply to Goodwin's Essay.—"Essays and Reviews" anticipated: Extracts from a work published in 1825, and attributed to the Lord Bishop of St. David's (Thirlwall).—Dr. Jelf's Address in Convocation is published under the title, "Specific Evidence of Unsoundness in the Essays and Reviews."—Dr. McCaul has reprinted from the *Record*, Three Letters on Rationalism and Deistic Infidelity.—Mr. Jenkins, a pamphlet on Scriptural Interpretation, addressed to Mr. Jowett's Essay.—The Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce), two Sermons on "The Revelation of God the Probation of Man," delivered before the University.—Cazenove, Certain Characteristics of Holy Scripture, reprinted from the *Christian Remembrancer*.—The article in the last number of the Edinburgh Review on the Essays is ascribed to Prof. Stanley, and vindicates them against some of the charges brought against them. It ascribes the commotion rather to the articles in the Westminster and Quarterly Reviews, than to the Essays themselves. It speaks of "the flippant and contemptuous tone" of Williams; it complains of the extreme positions of Wilson; it laments the negative character of the volume, particularly of Jowett's essay. But it defends them against the charge of holding opinions inconsistent with an honest subscription to the Articles.—The article on the Essays in the new number of the *North British Review* is by Isaac Taylor. It charges them with (1) levity, (2) evasiveness, (3) shallow philosophy, (4) misdirected Biblical criticism, (5) incoherence.—Some of the German periodicals have also given an account of the book: the *Deutsche Zeitschrift*, for March; and the *Neue Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, for April 13. The latter says, that Dr. Temple's Essay cannot bear a comparison with the works of Herder and Hegel, and that it indicates a Socinian tendency as to the work of Christ. It wonders at the enthusiastic veneration of Williams for Bunsen, and that he ascribes so much to Bunsen for which Bunsen was indebted to others. It rather laughs at Wilson's suggestion, that the Germans are to furnish the materials, and the English to build the edifice, etc.—The Rev. Jas. Buchanan, D.D., has published a volume under the title, Essays and Reviews Examined. Two counter volumes of Essays by different authors are in course of preparation. Rev. T. Chapman, Miracles the Proper Credentials of Christianity—a reply to Powell's Essay. 2s.—The Essays and Reviews, and the People of England: with an Appendix, containing all the Documents and Letters. 1s.—A Few Words of Apology for Prof. Powell's Essay. By a Lay Graduate. 1s.—James Moorhouse, Modern Difficulties respecting the Facts of Nature and Revelation. Four sermons before the University of Cambridge. 25s. 6d.—Suppression of Doubt is not True Faith. A Letter to the Bishop of Oxford. By a Layman. 1s.—The Essays and Reviews are now in their ninth edition.

GREAT BRITAIN.

REVIEWS AND PERIODICALS.—The *Christian Remembrancer*, Jan. 1861, reviews Conybeare and Howson on St. Paul, with particular respect to the journeys of Paul; and Dr. Hessey's Bampton Lectures on Sunday, dissenting from his views about the institution in Paradise. It gives an account of Wolff's Travels and Adventures, and of the Original Memoirs of the first Earl of Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper. Its essay on Certain

Characteristics of Scripture is directed against Prof. Jowett's essay in the Essays and Reviews, and convicts him of careless and inaccurate statements on several points, defending the prophecies and types of the Bible, and the doctrines of Incarnation and of Original Sin. A learned and critical account of Tischendorf's Latest Discoveries concludes the number. The April number contains ten articles: 1. On Tammuz and the Worship of Men among the Ancient Nations; 2. Why should we Pray for Fair Weather? a criticism of Kingsley's sermon; 3. Notes on Industrial Training in National Schools; 4. Bennett's Congregational Lectures; 5. Social Life in the Eighteenth Century; 6. The Codex Alexandrinus —a valuable critical article; 7. The Future of the Papacy and Europe; 8. Biblical Cosmogony—against Mr. Goodwin's Essay; 9. Oxford University Sermons (Scott's and Moberly's); 10. Dogma in Relation to "Essays and Reviews."

The *Edinburgh Review*, April, besides an elaborate defence of the Essays and Reviews, has an able article against Dixon's Lord Bacon; a curious account of the Republic of Andorre, whose independence dates from the charter of Charlemagne, A.D. 801; articles on Political Diaries, Eton College, De Tocqueville, Mrs. Piozzi, the Fables of Babrius, Forbes's Iceland, and the election of President Lincoln. The last article takes the ground, that "the maintenance of the Union" has become "impossible."

The *British Quarterly Review*, April, has an account, in the main laudatory, of Motley's United Netherlands; a criticism of the Sinaitic manuscript, contesting its alleged antiquity, and favoring the later rather than the earlier Uncial MSS.; articles on Iceland and its Physical Curiosities, Canada, Dixon's Personal History of Lord Bacon, the Impending Crisis in America, the Historic Element in Ballads, Commerce with China, Theological Liberalism, and the State of Europe. The article on Theological Liberalism refutes the statements of the *Westminster Review* and the *National Review*, about the alleged injustice shown to Dr. Davidson in his removal from his chair in the Lancashire Independent College.

In the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, April, 1861, three of the articles have respect to the authors of the "Essays and Reviews;" one on the Atonement in Relation to Modern Opinions, contests Prof. Jowett's views about the idea of sacrifice; two on Modern Sceptical Writers discuss the Essays themselves, and Jowett's principles of Scriptural interpretation. Two other articles are on the Early Life of Christ. The First Born, as a Title of Jesus Christ, is the subject of the most elaborate and learned discussion in this number of the *Journal;* the phrase, "the first-born of every creature," Col. i, 15, is interpreted, with Storr and Barnes, 'among all creatures the chief, or first-born'—in a figurative sense. The Nicene interpretation was, begotten before any creatures; the Unitarians make it equivalent to, the first-born among creatures; Bloomfield, Olshausen and others refer it to the eternal generation. A considerable part of the "Intelligence" of this number is devoted to extracts from various periodicals on the "Essays and Reviews."

The *Westminster Review*, for April, contains the following articles: Mr. Kingsley on the Study of History, The Sicilian Revolution, Voltaire's Romances and their Moral, The Universities and Scientific Education, Early Intercourse of England and Germany, The Cotton Manufacturers, Maine on Ancient Law, Eton, Austria and her Reforms. The article on Kingsley is a vindication of the positivist conception of history against his attacks, taking the ground, that, in a strict sense, there is no science of history; that all that it amounts to is a discovery of sociological laws by the method

of comparison. The article on Maine's new work on Ancient Law is very able; it gives the work the highest praise, as combining the excellencies of Bentham's and Montesquieu's methods. But at the same time, the Review shows its positivist tendencies, by making law to be simply a matter of observation and induction. The three stages of legal growth are, legal fictions, equity, and positive legislation.

About 25 vols. of the materials for English history were published last year under the superintendence of Sir John Romilly. The following are among the works to be issued this year: Ricardi de Cirencestria Historiale de Gestis Regum Angliae (A.D. 447–1066), edited by J. E. B. Mayor; Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, edited by B. Thorpe; Jehan de Waurin's Recueil des Croniques, edited by W. Hardy; Wars of Danes in England—in Irish—edited by Dr. Todd; a second volume of T. Wright's Political Poems from Edward III. to Henry VIII.; Sagas Relating to the Northmen, by G. W. Dasent; the Liber Albus, translated by H. T. Riley; a Catalogue of MSS. on Early History of Great Britain, by T. D. Hardy. The Surtees Society have published Vol. 37 of their Collections. Rev. Jos. Stephenson, Chronicles of Great Britain and Ireland in Reign of Henry VI.

Capt. H. G. Raverty, the best Afghan scholar of the day, writes to the News of the Churches, that he is preparing a translation of Selections from the Poetry of the Afghans, from the 16th to the 19th century. Prof. Dorn, of St. Petersburg, the only other European scholar who has thoroughly studied the Afghan (or Pushto) language, says, that this poetry "is able to sustain the severest test of European criticism." Capt. Raverty published his Grammar of the Pushto at Calcutta, in 1855. He has also translated the whole of the New Testament into Pushto, and he complains of the translation begun by the American missionary, Mr. Loewenthal.

Rev. A. A. Ellis, of Trinity College, Cambridge, is to edit from the MSS. of Bentley, his Notes in the Greek and Latin text of the New Testament, under the title, Bentleii Critica Sacra. The volume will also contain the Abbé Rulotta's collection of the Vatican MSS., a specimen of Bentley's proposed edition, and an account of all his collections.

Rev. John Wesley Thomas continues his version of Dante's Trilogy, or the Three Visions, by the publication of the Parable of Purgatory, in the metre and triple rhyme of the original. The Inferno was published some years since.

The Life of Richard Porson, one of the most eminent of England's classical scholars, Professor of Greek at Cambridge, 1792–1806, has at last been written by I. Selby Watson, published by the Longmans.

A new edition of Johnson's Dictionary, on the basis of that of 1773, is to be published by the Longmans in monthly parts, edited by Dr. Latham, introducing new words, etc.

A contributor to the *Notes and Queries* refers to the remarkable coincidences between Milton's Paradise Lost and the Anglo-Saxon poem of Cædmon, paraphrased from Genesis. Junius's edition of Cædmon was published in Amsterdam, in 1655; Paradise Lost in 1667. Striking illustrations of coïncidence are given by Westwood in his Palæographia Sacra Pictoria, 1844; and by Andras in a Disquisitio de Carminibus Anglo-Saxonices Caedmoni adjudicatis. Paris, 1859.

A Correspondence between the Bishop of Exeter and Macaulay has been published, relating to the representation given by the latter of Cranmer's opinions, and of the character of the Church of England in the early days of its Reformation. The letters are very courteous and very spicy. The

) appears to have been successful in showing, that the historian
strong assertions on the basis of documents of doubtful authority.
Birch, of the British Museum, just elected a corresponding member
French Institute, has published the second part of the "Select
i in the Hieratic character," which he terms the "Romance of the two
rs," an Egyptian novel. It is from the d'Orbiney papyri, purchased
7. It was described by Mr. Goodwin in the Oxford Essays, 1858.
second volume of Dr. Vaughan's Revolution in English History is
d to the Reformation, from Henry VIII. to Elizabeth. He joins
froude, in part, in the endeavor to rescue Henry from some of the
prium cast upon him, contending, among other things, and success-
that Henry was not instigated to doubt the validity of his marriage
atharine by his passion for Anne Boleyn; his divorce on that ground
ntemplated 18 months before he knew Anne.
John William Donaldson died in London, Feb. 10, at the age of 49,
ut by excessive studies. He took the highest Greek prize in the Uni-
r of London in 1830; and then became a fellow in Trinity College, Cam-
. In 1839 he published his New Cratylus, or Contributions towards
e accurate knowledge of the Greek Language; and a few years af-
ds his Varionanus, in which he rendered the same service to the
He was Head Master of the Grammar School of Bury St. Ed-
s. For the last few years he had been living at Cambridge, expect-
is said, a professorship there upon the reform of the University.
ted Pindar, and Sophocles' Antigone; continued K. O. Müller's His-
f Greek Literature for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Know-
published Greek and Latin Grammars, and on the Theatre of the
s. His edition of Jashar, in Latin, was learned but fanciful and ar-
r. During the last two years he brought out new editions of most
works.
rious literary work is the volume of *Translations by Lord Lyttle-
d Mr. Gladstone*, in which the distinguished Etonians turn English
into Greek, Latin, Italian, and German. Among the poems thus
rmed are, Milton's "Comus," Dryden's "Sacrifice," Goldsmith's
rted Village," Tennyson's "Lotus-Eaters," and Heber's "Lines to
ife," all into Greek; with Tennyson's "Œnone" and "Godiva" into
hexameters. There is also a fine translation into monkish Latin of
ll-known hymn, "Rock of Ages." We copy one stanza:

rthing in my hand I bring,	"Nil in manu mecum fero,
nply to thy cross I cling;	Sed me versus Crucem gero;
ked, come to Thee for dress,	Vestimenta nudus oro;
lpless, look to Thee for grace;	Opem debilis imploro;
ul, I to the fountain fly:	Fontem Christi quæro immundus,
ash me, Saviour, or I die."	Nisi laves, moribundus."

Rev. Thomas Hartwell Horne, well known to readers of sacred lite-
by his "Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the
Scriptures," has retired from his post in the library of the British
m, which he had filled thirty-six years (since 1824), having more
ompleted the allotted age of man. He is in his eighty-second year.
s at Christ's Hospital when Coleridge was (1789–95), and was for
ears the contemporary of the young poet. His earliest work, "A
View of the Necessity and Truth of the Christian Religion," written
eighteenth year, determined to some extent the course of his fu-
fe and studies. Dr. Horne is a voluminous writer on law, theology,

bibliography, in short, all departments of literature; and at the time of his retiring from the British Museum was engaged upon that "never-ending, still beginning" myth—"The Catalogue!" He is one of the first to enjoy the benefits of the new regulations of the Museum in regard to retiring pensions.

The Rev. Charles Webb Le Bas, Prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral and biographer of Bishop Middleton, of Calcutta, has recently died.

A new English Quarterly is announced at London, under the title, "The Museum, a Quarterly Magazine of Education, Literature and Science."

"An Asian Mystery, Illustrated in the History, Religion and Present State of the Ansaireeh or Nusairis of Syria," is the title of a work in which the late Rev. Samuel Lyde, M.A., discusses the doctrines and customs of that little-known tribe of Asiatics, whose religion has excited great curiosity among Orientalists. The Ansaireeh are a people of Syria, whose chief seat is among the mountains which produce the well-known Latakia tobacco; and they have offshoots in Antioch and Bagdad, as well as other parts of Western Asia. Their habits are peculiar, and they appear to have an extreme horror of Christians. The presence of one within forty feet, unless running water be between, makes their prayers void; but the same disadvantage does not attend the presence of a Mohammedan. They invoke the Deity under the titles of "the Prince of Bees," "the Lion," "the Crown of the Chosroes Line," and "the End of Ends." This, and much other curious information, is supplied in Mr. Lyde's book.

The British and Foreign Evangelical Review, London and Edinburgh, Jan. 1861, has two articles from American periodicals, viz. Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy of the Conditioned, from the Princeton Review, and Unitarian Tendencies, from the American Theological Review. It has also a translation of an interesting article on the Life and Labors of Martin Luther, by Rosseeuw St. Hilaire from the *Revue Chrétienne*, and of Schneider on the Lutheran Doctrine of Christ's Vicarious Death, from the *Studien und Kritiken*. Its original papers are on the Views of the Early Christians on the Atonement, in opposition to Baur and Jowett; on the Theory of an Incarnation without a Fall, criticising recent German speculations; and a very valuable account of Melancthon and the Theology of the Church of England, proving conclusively the early Calvinism of that church in opposition to Laurence, Tomline, and others. The April number contains 13 articles, two from American periodicals; two, translated from the German, on Didymus of Alexandria, and Lange's address at the Barmen Conference, on Worldly Literature and Christianity; reviews of Bateman's Life of Bishop Wilson, of Carlyle's Autobiography, and of Ackerman's Plato; a sketch of the Hebrew Monarchy; and a long account of the Oxford Essays, in their relation to doctrine. There is also a very good account of Vinet's History of Preaching among the French Reformed.

Dr. Candlish's work on the Atonement, its Reality, Completeness and Extent, appears after sixteen years in a new edition. It is a vigorous and lucid exhibition of the subject, partly in reference to the new controversies: partly on the question of the extent of the atonement. His theory on the latter point is that of limitation; but in order to reconcile this with the unlimited offer, he resorts to the peculiar hypothesis, that the act of atonement may be postponed to the end of the world, when all the world will be called upon to give their assent to it; and the atonement is made for all who signify this assent, and not for those who reject it. The British and Foreign Review says of this theory: "It is only an hypothesis, but one of the most happy ever made on this subject, and calculated to remove a world of misty and confused thinking on the vicarious satisfaction."

Sketches of Early Scotch History and Social Progress," by C. Innes, ains illustrations of life in the "north countrie" during times which ı now left few traces behind them, excepting in books. The facts have ı diligently collected from various works printed for the Bannatyne), the Maitland Club, and the Spalding Club; and they show Scotland the Scotch as they were when they differed as much from Englishmen renchmen do. Scottish scholars filled the universities of Europe, and ı bore off the prizes; but the people at home lived in a condition of ess ferocity, filth, wretchedness and degradation, such as has not ted in the southern part of this island since the very early Norman

As late as the close of last century the colliers and salters of Scot- were literally slaves, being either born the bondsmen of their masters, ecoming so in after life. They had no power of leaving their employ- t or of bettering their fortunes; and it was found necessary, in 1775, ass an act of Parliament to relieve them from their miserable state. ı act did not take complete effect until 1799; and as late as 1842, a ch collier told the members of a Parliamentary Commission that he self had been born a slave, and had worked for some years in that con- ın.

he "Curiosities of Crime in Edinburgh" during the last thirty years,) been illustrated by Mr. James McLevy, a member of the Edinburgh ce District Force, who has been working at his vocation ever since l, and who has been concerned in 2220 investigations.

GERMANY.

ecrology. Dr. J. M. Jost, the well-known Jewish historian, died at age of 67, at Frankfort Nov. 20. His chief works were: History of the elites from the Times of the Maccabees, 10 parts, 1820–47; General ory of the Israelites, 2 vol. 1831; English Reading Book, 4th ed. 2 1852; Mythological Gallery, 1834; works on German Grammar, etc. translated the Mishna, and edited the *Israelit. Annalen*, 1839–41, and ı, a monthly periodical.

he works of Bunsen (whose death was mentioned in our last number, 76) in chronological order, are the following: De jure Atheniensium ditario, 1813; Beschreibung von Rom (with Platner, and others), 3 vol.)–37; the History of the Passion and the Still Week, 2 parts, 1841; abeth Fry, and the Christian Women of Germany, 1842; the Basilicas hristian Rome, 1843; the Constitution of the Church of the Future, 5 (translated into English); Egypt's Place in Universal History, 5 vol. 5–56 (translated); Ignatius of Antioch and his Times, 1847; the Three uine and the Four Spurious Epistles of Ignatius, 1847; Constitution of German Federation, 1848; Project for a Constitution for the Empire, 3; on Sleswick and Holstein, 1848; Hippolytus and his Times, 4 vols. under another title, 6 vols. 1852 sq.; Signs of the Times (translated), d. 1856; God in History, 3 vol. 1856–8; and his Bible Work, of which rts were published, 1858–60.

esides the works of Baur of Tübingen, enumerated in our last number, 75, he also wrote: Symbolism and Mythology, or the Natural Religions Antiquity, 2 vol. 1824; De Gnosticorum Christ. ideali, 1827; Pastoral tles of Paul, 1835; Origin of Episcopacy, 1838; the Ignatian Epistles their latest Critic (Bunsen) 1848; Gospel of Mark, 1851; the Tübingen ool and its Relation to the Times, 2d ed. 1860. The successor of Baur

at Tübingen is the court chaplain Dr. Weizsäcker, a man of entirely different tendencies.

The chief works of F. C. Dahlmann, who died Dec. 5, at Rome, were: on the Athenian Comedy (in Latin) 1811; Historical Investigations, 2 vol. 1821–4; an edition of Adolfus (Neocorus) Chronicle of Dithmar, 2 vol. 1827; Sources of German History, 2d ed. 1838; Politics in Relation to Present Affairs, 1st vol. 3d ed. 1847; History of Denmark, 3 vol. 1840–4; History of English Revolution, 1844, 6th ed. 1853; History of French Revolution, 1845, 3d ed. 1853.

Prof. Hitzig of Zurich, of rationalistic tendencies, has been called to succeed Umbreit in Heidelberg. Ullmann has been compelled, by the negative party, to leave his post in the Church Council, and his position as Prelate. Dr. Bähr has also resigned his place on the Church Council, after years of faithful service. Ullmann says that Bähr's recent revision of the Agenda is superior to any thing of the kind now in use in German churches.

Periodicals.—The *Studien und Kritiken*, Heft 2, 1861, opens with an article from Bleek's ms. Lectures, edited by his son, on Isaiah lii, 13–liii, 12, to be followed by other extracts. While he does not view this passage as a direct prophecy, he acknowledges that the whole description of the servant of God is such that it seems to present, even in detail, the image and the history of the Saviour. He acknowledges, too, that the description is that of vicarious sufferings, not merely for the benefit, but also for the expiation of the sins of the people. The second article, by Richter, is on Pædobaptism, its Nature and Right, defending it not as necessary, but as salutary, and in connection with the position, that baptism confers the Holy Spirit and the forgiveness of sin. A long philological and polemic article by Steitz, on the use of ἐκεῖνος in the classics and in John's Gospel (ix, 37 and xix, 35) defends against Buttmann the position, that the Evangelist there means himself. Gurlitt investigates the sense of various passages in Matthew vii, 13, 14, xvi, 18, x, 28 (Luke xii, 4, 5,) the latter against Stier, in his Words of Christ, who interprets it of Satan and not of God. Ullmann gives an interesting account of Pressler's life of Ambrose Blaurer, the first reformer of Suabia; Holtzmann reviews Maier on 1st Corinthians, etc.

The *Deutsche Zeitschrift* for 1861, edited by Hollenberg, appears in a new and reduced form, as a monthly periodical, devoted to essays and reviews. Messner, on Neander, gives a genial sketch of his character and influence. Julius Müller reviews Menken's life, by Gildemeister. The number for March contains a review of the Oxford Essays and Reviews, rather wondering at the excitement they have occasioned, and criticising their vague and immethodical character. The *Neue Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* still prospers on the old basis. It gives more religious intelligence than any of the German periodicals, besides longer articles, e. g. a good account of Baur, and sketch of the life of the late King of Prussia.

The *Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theologie* (the organ of Tübingen) Heft 1, 2, 1861, contains in two parts a learned essay by the editor, A. Hilgenfeld, on the Investigations about the Gospels, reviewing the earlier conjectures (Semler, Lessing, etc.;) and giving an account of the more comprehensive hypotheses of Eichhorn, Hug, Schleiermacher and Gieseler, and of the later theories of Strauss, Bauer, Baur, Weisse, Wilke and others. Lipsius on Galatians ii, 17. Volkmar on the apocalyptic books, Ezra IV. and Enoch in two articles. An anonymous article on Julian the Apostate proposes to answer the inquiry, How far is his apostacy to be defended? giving in this number a preliminary sketch of his life. Hilgenfeld, the Origin of

he Book of Enoch, is in opposition to Volkmar, who puts it in the times of Barkochba. Hilgenfeld contends for its origin about 98 B.C. in the time of he Jewish King, Alexander Jannæus.

Zeitschrift f. die historische Theologie, Heft 2, 1861. The first and ongest article is by Hochhuth (in continuation of his History of Sects in Hesse) on Theobald Thamer, a mystic of the 16th century (died 1569), of whom Neander gave an interesting account in a pamphlet published in 1842. Dr. Ebrard gives an account of the breaking out of the first French Religious War in 1562. Dr. Hartwig agrees with Schwab (in his Life of Gerson), that Gerson was not the author of the famous work De Modis uniendi ac reformandi Ecclesiam, and conjectures that it is to be ascribed to Andreas of Escobar (Scobar), who died after 1437, and of whose other works a list is given, p. 311. The last article, of 6 pages, by Edward von Muralt, Librarian in Petersburgh, contains various readings of he Moscow manuscript of the Church History of Eusebius, probably from he 12th century. Schwegler, in his edition, made use of the Mazarin MS. of the 10th century; Laemmer has used the Venetian MS. of the same entury.

Theologische Quartalschrift, Erstes Quartalheft, 1861. Besides reviews of various recent works, this Roman Catholic quarterly contains an interesting paper on Gregory VII and Henry IV at Canossa, by Hefele; an article on the object of the Gospel of John, by Aberle; and critical notes on the Eclogae Propheticae of Eusebius of Cæsarea, by Nolte. Hefele defends Gregory against the charge of deception in his treaty with Henry. Aberle makes the main object which John had in view to be, not so much the supplying what was lacking in the other evangelists, as the proof that Christ was the incarnate Logos, against unbelievers and heretics.

Two valuable German periodicals ceased to be published at the close of 1860: the Leipsic *Repertorium*, edited by Dr. E. G. Gersdorf, and the *Allgemeines Repertorium für theol. Literatur*, edited by Dr. H. Reuter. The former of these has been invaluable for its thorough bibliographical notices, and classification of books. All the departments of learning were well represented in it.

The *Zeitschrift f. die lutherische Theologie*, Heft 1, 1861, begins the publication of the autobiography of Rudelbach, Dane by birth and German by descent, one of the editors. He was born in 1792. The account of his youth gives interesting sketches of Copenhagen, 1792–1800. Keil on Shiloh, Gen. xlix, 10, defends the Messianic interpretation with Hengstenberg, and against Kurtz, and Delitzsch (in his Genesis—he interpreted it of Christ in his Prophetic Theology, 1845). Keil's dissertation is able and learned. Kurtz interprets Shiloh as "peace," or "place of peace:" Delitzsch makes it refer to the city of Silo (1 Sam. iv, 12.) The other articles are by Hurban on Church Parties, and by the jurist, Göschel, on the biblical principles of state law in connection with ecclesiastical and international law. The second Heft has a discussion on the Cherubim by Engelhardt, in reply to Kurtz and Hofmann; Studies on the Epistles to the Corinthians, by Th. Schott; the Doctrine of Predestination in the Formula Concordiæ, by J. A. L. Hebart; K. Strōbel, on the Ministerial Question and its Bearings, and a full critical bibliography.

The first part of the new periodical for Canon Law (*Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht*), edited by R. Dove, gives promise of being an able work. The first part contains an Introduction by the Editor; Oppenheim on the Discussions in the English Parliament about Civil Marriage; Hermann on the Project of a Church Constitution for Saxony; Richter, the Relation be-

tween the R. C. Church and the State in Prussia, since 1848; reviews of recent works; and legal documents.

The first part of a new edition of Lucian of Samosata, has been published by Francis Fritzsche of Rostoch, who more than thirty years since began his labors upon this satirist. Dindorf and Bekker have in the meantime published other editions: and Dindorf has in contemplation a more complete textual revision, with the aid of the best codices. Fritzsche has also drawn to his help several valuable manuscripts. The combined labors of these eminent scholars will, it is hoped, at last give a purified text.

Dr. W. Binder's Novus Thesaurus Adagiorum Latinorum, Stuttg. pp. 403, is an enlarged edition of his Medulla Proverbiorum Latinorum (increased from 1875 to 3609), and is said to be the fullest and best collection of the Roman and later Latin proverbs, including an account, as far as possible, of their origin, and a comparison with German proverbs.

The University of Leipsic celebrated, Dec. 2, 1860, the 450th anniversary of its foundation, its ninth semi-centennial. Among its greatest names is that of Leibnitz. Oswald Marbach has published a history of the University, on the basis of authentic sources. The Acts of the University, A.D. 1523 to 1558, edited by F. Zarncke, have been completed, published by Tauchnitz for 8 Thalers.

It is proposed to erect a monument to the memory of the great geographer, Carl Ritter, at Quedlinburg, the place of his birth, where is also a monument to the memory of Klopstock. The ministers of state, Von Bethmann-Hollweg and Von Roon, are at the head of a commission for this object.

A very valuable work, and a needed supplement to Latin dictionaries, is Dr. J. G. Th. Grässe's Orbis Latinus, giving the Latin names of places, cities, seas, lakes, mountains, and rivers, in all parts of the world, with a German-Latin index; it costs 1½ Thalers.

It is said that the late King of Prussia left in manuscript a work on the History of the Evangelical Church and its Development, which is to be published by Prof. Richter.

Dr. G. M. Redslob, in his Apokalypsis, attempts a revival of the mystical theory of interpretation, as necessary to the true understanding of Scripture, on the basis of the Alexandrian hermeneutical school. The speaking with tongues in the Church of Corinth was, it seems, the proclamation of this esoteric doctrine. Judas Iscariot, carrying the bag, means that he kept the door while these mystic truths were uttered.

The Wurtemberg Summaries, or concise Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, are in the course of republication at Nuremberg. They were first issued 1659–1672; and another edition in 1700. They were drawn up by direction of the pious Duke Eberhard III, at the time when a revived interest in religion followed the devastations of the Thirty Years' War. The chief authors were the Prelate John Heinlin, a forerunner of Bengel, and the General Superintendent Conrad Zeller. They are distinguished for simplicity, orthodoxy, and practical use, and have always been highly esteemed. Dr. Graul began a republication in 1846. Of the new edition, now in progress, the first volume, on the Pentateuch, and the sixth, on the Epistles and Revelation, are issued. The whole will be comprised in six volumes.

Dr. Lämmer's new edition of the Church History of Eusebius is sharply criticised by Hollenberg in the Literarisches Centralblatt, attacking particularly his collation of the Venice manuscript, as very incorrect and incomplete.

Among the new works announced for publication are, Keil on the Pentateuch, 2 vols.; Kahnis, Lutheran Dogmatics, 2 vols; Wolff, the Book of Judith; two new parts of Lindner's Bibliotheca Patrum Selectissima; a second edition of Delitzsch's Biblical Psychology.

Reuter's *Repertorium* for Sept. 1860, gives an account of a curious work, highly praised for research, by J. L. Stubach, published at Stockholm and Leipsic, Part 1, 1856, Part 2, 1859, called, The Primitive Religion, or the Discovery of the Primitive Alphabet. The basis is in the author's researches among the Runic inscriptions, alphabet, numbers, etc. His theory is, that there is one primitive alphabet, of 12 signs (3 being vowels); that these 12 signs are symbols, containing the primitive faith; that each of the 12 has a fourfold significancy, arithmetical, phonetic, geometric (in writing), and symbolical; that this symbolical sense is found in the 12 signs of the zodiac, which signs thus give the primitive alphabet, and also contain the Messianic account of the world from Adam to Christ (transferred to the course of the sun); and that in the misinterpretation of this, was the beginning of polytheism and idolatry. The enlargement of the alphabet from 12 to 22 was not for the sake of the sounds, but had a dogmatic significancy, having respect to the promised Messiah, etc.

Professor Bergk, of the University of Halle, claims to have discovered eight new songs of Goethe. He has published them as a supplement to Goethe's works. They were first printed in Jacobi's "Iris," and have hitherto been ascribed to other authors. Bergk finds his proof of their genuineness among J. G. Jacobi's papers, preserved in the library of the University in Freiburg, (the Roman Catholic Seminary of the Grand Duchy of Baden), and in his own critical genius.

It is stated that the King of Bavaria has given 5000 florins towards the publication of a History of Science in Germany.

The Prussian Universities.—During the summer session of 1860, the six Prussian Universities had thirty-one ordinary and eighteen extraordinary professors, and eight private teachers, all occupied in instructing students in the department of theology. The theological students attending these Universities in 1859–60 were as follows:

In Griefswald,	during winter,	36;	summer,	30.
In Halle,	"	499;	"	497.
In Breslau,	"	291;	"	285.
In Konigsberg,	"	128;	"	112.
In Bonn,	"	286;	"	287.

Of the 1567 theological students attending the winter session, 1452, and of the 1523 attending the summer session, 1434, were natives of the country.—*Neue Evang. Kirch.*

HOLLAND.

The annual Programme of the Hague Society for the Defence of the Christian Religion has been issued by Prof. Van Stengel of Leyden. The objects for the prizes Sept. 1, 1861, are on the Principle of Authority in Religious Matters, as held by the different branches of the Church, with its Scriptural warrant; and on the Discipline of the Early Christian Church. For Sept. 1, 1862, a critical Investigation of the Contents of the Talmud, in relation to the originality of the Christian religion; a Collection and popular Interpretation of those passages of Scripture which have been most perverted in practical relations. For Dec. 13, 1861, a popular relig-

ious work, examining the principles of the so-called Modern Theology; a critical history of opinions about the Intercourse of Men with Spirits; a proof of the Resurrection of Christ, and its importance to the Christian faith. Other questions proposed are, the Moral Character of the Christian Revelation; the Independence of Faith in the Divine Origin of Christianity in relation to historical and critical science; the grounds of belief in Immortality; a history of the doctrine of Moral Freedom; an Examination of Materialism; and an account of the opinions of the School of Tübingen.

The subjects for the annual prize of 400 florins of the Teyler Society of Haarlem have reference to the work of Pécaut on Christ and Conscience, (noticed in this REVIEW, 1860, pp. 123–5), viz.: Can the absolute sinlessness of Christ be proved against historical and philosophical objections? Can it be maintained, even if we suppose that the personality of Jesus proceeded from a natural development of humanity? What is the importance of the results of this inquiry for our times?

DENMARK.

The Literary Society of the North, at Copenhagen, though not long in existence, has published 20 to 25 volumes. Its object is to reëdit the monuments of the old Scandinavian literature. Among its publications is an edition of Gragas, an Icelandic code of 1118, with a Danish translation by Finsen, much superior to the Latin translation of the 4to edition of 1829. It has also published the Songs of Iceland, those of the Faroe Islands, Sagas, etc. The Society of Northern Antiquaries, of which Rafn is the secretary, publishes two periodical works, viz. a Review of Northern Archæology, containing the proceedings of the Society; and Annals of the Archæology and History of the North, containing the memoirs and papers read, etc.—*Corresp. Littéraire.*

RUSSIA.

Died at Heidelberg, Oct. 12, 1860, at the age of 29, Maria Nikolajewna Wernadski (her maiden name was Schigajew), a Russian lady of unusual literary attainmants, specially learned in political economy. She translated Hopkins' work on Political Economy into Russian, and also took part in the translation of Tengoborski's on the Productive Powers of Russia, besides writing on these subjects several essays in Russian journals.

The Russian Press. In Russia, excluding Poland and Finland, there were published last year, 310 periodical papers; 142 in St. Petersburg; 45 at Moscow; 10 at Riga; 11 at Dorpat; 10 at Odessa; 8 at Kiew; 6 at Tiflis; 5 at Wilna; 5 at Cronstadt. There is also an official journal in each of the 66 provinces of the empire. Of the periodicals, 230 are in the Russian language; 38 in German; 29 in French; 5 in Armenian; 2 in English—shipping reports; 3 in Lithuanian; 1 in Hebrew-German; 2 in Russian-French-German, etc. Twelve are daily; 2, five times a week; 7, three times a week; 8, twice a week; 99, weekly; 64 monthlies; 9 quarterlies; 6 yearly. Four are devoted to theology; 8 to pedagogics; 3 State economy; 7 geography; 2 philology; 5 bibliography; 16 medicine; 16 natural sciences; 3 mathematics, etc.

SWITZERLAND.

The Academy of Geneva celebrated, June 5, 1859, its Three Hundredth Anniversary. In commemoration of the event the Livre du Recteur, 1559—1859, has been published by Revilliod, Fort & Fick, 400 p. 8vo. This is the register of all the names of students inscribed; about 7000 from all the countries of Europe. The volume also contains a list of the Professors and Rectors of the Academy.

ITALY.

Dr. M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Italy, has been translated into Italian, and is now widely circulated.

The Emperor of France has been attempting to get Volterra's Descent from the Cross (reckoned by some one of the three masterpieces of painting) transferred from the Church of the Trinita in Rome, to Paris, on the ground that the church, built by a French King, is still owned by France. But the Courts decided adversely to his claim, after the picture had been taken down for removal.

The excavations at Pompeii, suspended since 1849, have been recommenced.

The Vatican contains 100,000 printed books and 25,000 MSS., 2,880 of which are Oriental; also a museum of medallions and other antiquities. The Casanatensian library consists of about 120,000 volumes and of MSS., some of which are of great value. The Angelica library contains 148,725 volumes, and the Aracælitana is also richly stored; the Barberina has 60,000 printed works, 10,000 MSS., and the original autographs of Tasso and Petrarch. The Corsinian library, consisting of an immense mass of books, is the best in Rome or Europe for its collection of rare prints, engravings, and the editions of works of the 13th century. The Chigian and the Vallicellian are both rich in books and MSS. In all the convents there are large libraries, but both in these and in the others above named, there is a dearth of modern books, especially of those that treat of social sciences. As far as the cause of superior instruction is concerned, the deficiency is very great; but as regards ancient works, the libraries contain treasures with which those of no other city can compete.

Garibaldi has accepted the dedication to him of an autobiographical work about to be issued, entitled, "Student Life in Venetia," edited by Signor Girolamo Volpi, whose novel, "The Home and the Priest," was published last year under the auspices of Leigh Hunt. The translation from the unpublished Italian manuscript was effected by Mr. Carey, the translator of Dante's "Divine Comedy," and author of "Psyche's Interludes."

The Struggles of Venice under the leadership of Manin, 1848–9, are recorded in M. de la Faye's "*Documents et Pièces Authentiques Laissès par Daniel Manin*," published in Paris. For about a year and a half Venice resisted the whole military and maritime force brought to bear on it by Austria; though Asiatic cholera was ravaging its population; though food was scarce, and relief impossible; though conflagrations were perpetually bursting out among the houses struck by the enemy's shells; though the ammunition of the besieged grew less and less day by day, and finally dwindled down to nothing; though the little Venetian fleet was deprived of almost all its hands by disease, and though Manin himself was constantly suffering acute anguish from a complaint of the heart. M. de la Faye

does justice to this magnificent episode in the annals of Italian heroism; while, on the other hand, he exhibits the miserable double-dealing of Lamartine, who, while professing the utmost sympathy with the insurrectionary Italians, twice assented to a bargain for surrendering Venice to Austria, in consideration of France receiving Savoy! Cavaignac and Jules Bastide are also shown in a somewhat unfavorable light; and M. de la Faye regards the conduct of the English Government in those days as being far more honest than that of France.

FRANCE.

M. Guizot in his Address to Lacordaire, when the monk was received among the 40 of the Academy, is reported to have commenced his speech, addressing Lacordaire, thus:

"What would have happened, Monsieur, if you and I had met six hundred years ago? I have no taste for awakening reminiscences of discord and violence; but I should not respond to the sentiment of the generous public who hear us, and the great public outside these walls who took such an interest in your election, were I not, like it, moved by and proud of the noble contrast which exists between what passes at present in this hall, and what would have taken place formerly under similar circumstances. Six hundred years ago, Monsieur, if persons of my religious persuasion of that day had met you, they would have assailed you with indignation as an odious persecutor, and you, ardent in inflaming the victors against heretics, would have exclaimed, 'Strike—strike always! God will know how to distinguish his own!'"

The allusion was to the reputed words of Arnauld, the papal legate, Abbot of Citeaux, addressed to the crusaders against the Albigenses, about to attack the city of Begiers, July 22, 1209, who asked him, How they were to distinguish the faithful from the heretics, viz. Cœdite eos, novit enim Dominus qui sunt ejus. M. Ch. Tamizey de Larroque, in the Correspondance Littéraire (Feb. 10), attempts to show that there is no sufficient evidence that these words were ever spoken by the Abbot. The story is not found in any of the early chronicles. In Guizot's Collection of Chronicles, there are six upon the capture of Begiers, in none of which is it mentioned: not in Guillaume le Breton, nor Guillaume de Nangis, nor in the Histoire de la Guerre des Albigeois, written in the Romance; nor in the Chronique de St. Denis, nor in the History of the Crusade, written in verse. It is first found in the work of a German monk, Peter Cæsarius, a Cistercian, of the monastery of Heisterbach (near Bonn), in his Dialogi de Miraculis, written about 1223, a writer famous for credulity. Testis unus, testis nullus, says the critic. This same Cæsarius reports another saying of the Abbot of Citeaux, when asked what should be done with the captives at Mineroc, that they should pardon those who became converts, but burn those who refused.

A work on the History of Jansenism, by René Rapin, hitherto inedited, has been published by Abbé Domenech. It brings the account down to 1644, furnishing new materials.

The wars of Tamerlane in Asia Minor are the subject of an Armenian Chronicle of Thomas de Medzoph, translated by F. Néve, professor at Louvain, and published at Brussels, pp. 158.

Hoëne Wronski's Philosophie Absolue de l'Histoire was published in 2 vols. in 1852: The first volume of his Posthumous Works, just issued, is on the Développement progressif et fut final de l'humanité.

"Tacitus and His Age" is the title of a new work by Guchan, in which the character of Nero is smoothed over in a novel manner. Thus the early part of his reign is said to have been, though popular, much affected by "family difficulties."

The *Annales de la Philosophie Chrétienne*, Février, 1860, contain an article translated and edited by Panthier, from the MSS. of a Jesuit missionary in China, in the 18th century, Father Prémare, on certain works of Chinese Philosophy, supposed to indicate the primitive monotheism of that people. The work commented on dates from the 11th century, and is of a philosophical rather than a theological cast, containing speculations akin to those of the Stoics. M. Panthier published in 1844 an Esquise d'une Histoire de la Philosophie Chinoise. Father Prémare also wrote a Notitia Linguæ Siniacæ, published at Malacca in 1831, a century after his death, and subsequently translated into English by J. G. Bridgman, Canton 1847, 700.

M. Charles Schoebel continues his examination of Primitive Monotheism in the Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne. His chief object is to refute Renan's position, that the monotheistic belief was a specialty of the Semitic race. He accordingly points out the evidence of its existence in other races, and the proof that tribes of the Semitic race have in many instances degenerated into polytheism, like other races. The December number gives evidence in favor of the primitive monotheism of the Chinese, the Greeks, Babylonians, Chaldeans, Assyrians and Syrians. The Arabs (Semitic) were originally monotheistic and became polytheistic.

A report to the Minister of Public Instruction, by M. Mérimée, proposes some changes in the public libraries of Paris. The library of the Arsenal is famous for its collections in dramatic literature, poetry and romance; St. Genévieve in theology; the Sorbonne, in philosophy and the classics. To complete the specialities of each, it is proposed to take works from the others; and to transfer to the Imperial library the works which will there fill up important collections—the latter to make amends by giving to each of the others the publications which will make it complete in its own branch.

The Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres has elected as honorary members, De Rossi of Rome, Immanuel Bekker and Theod. Mommsen of Berlin, and Weill of Heidelberg.

Abbé Martin, of Agde, has published a work on Chrysostom, his works and his age, in 3 vols. pp. 1636, 21 francs, which the Annals of Christian Philosophy says is one of the noblest panegyrics ever issued upon the golden-mouthed preacher. It enters fully into the contemporaneous history of the Greek emperors.

Abbé Migne writes to the Annals of Christian Philosophy (Jan. 1861) announcing the completion of his two vast collections (Cursus Completus) of Patrology, in 326 volumes, large 8vo, double columns. The Course of Latin Patrology is in 217 vols. from Tertullian to Innocent III: the Græco-Latin is in 109 volumes, from Barnabas to Photius; the Latin version of the Greek is sold separately in 55 volumes. The Latin volumes cost five francs, the Greek-Latin, 8. Besides this, there have been prepared, and will be soon published, 12 large volumes containing 210 general and special indices and tables; these alone cost, in editing, half a million of francs—500 years of the time of fifty different persons! The Abbé says in conclusion: Nunc dimittis: and, *Cursum* meum consummavi.

Léon Pages, Bibliographie japonaise—a Catalogue of all books relating to Japan published since the 15th century. 4to 6 fr. M. Pages has also translated into French, from the Dutch, an Essay on Japanese Grammar

by J. H. Dunker-Curtius, with the illustrations and additions of Hoffmann. 8vo, 20 fr.

The French poets of the Carlovingian order are to be reproduced under the authority of the Minister of Public Instruction, in 40 volumes; 4 have been published.

The grand prize of the National Institute for the best collection of the masterpieces of French prose writers from the 14th to the 16th centuries, accompanied by a dictionary, grammar, and history of the language at that epoch, was assigned, Feb. 7, to D. K. Monnard, Professor of the Romanic Language and Literature at Bonn.

M. L. de Rochaud is about to publish an elaborate work on Phidias, his Life and Works; the Marbles of the Parthenon. The Correspondance Littéraire of Feb. gives a valuable chapter from it on the marbles in the collection of the British Museum.

Two recent French works are devoted to the Wars of the Peasants in France (La Jacquerie, 1356–8). In one of them M. Perrens eulogises Etienne Marcel, the leader, as the hero of French liberty; in the other M. S. Luce represents Marcel and the whole movement as revolutionary and disorganising. The former work attributes to Marcel an agency which the facts do not warrant, in the Ordonnance of 28th Dec. 1355, which many French historians describe as *La grande charte des Francais.*

Scherer in his Mélanges de Critique says, that "the Bible contains no prophecies," "that if any Jews have been converted by the 53d of Isaiah, it has been from mere ignorance." Dr. Capadose of the Hague writes in reply to this to the Archives du Christianisme in a very earnest manner: "If I could see M. Scherer, I would say, here is an Israelite, who refutes your false statement, not by words, but by facts." At 25 years of age he was reading the Gospel of Matthew, and his attention was accidentally directed to the 53d of Isaiah: "I read it through; it impressed me deeply; I thought some one must have changed the book, for I found here the Gospel: in this man of sorrows I found the Messiah." "For 49 years this faith has been the joy of my life, my comfort in all trials." "So it was too with his deceased brother," he adds, saying, "that if all this is the result of 'ignorance,' it shows that ignorance has a remarkable power, that of making life happy, and death peaceful."

Newspapers in Paris. Paris contains 503 newspapers, of which 42 are devoted to politics, and have to deposit caution money in the hands of the Government. The oldest paper, *Le Journal des Savans*, dates back to 1665. The circulation of the leading journals is as follows: *Le Siècle*, 40,000; *Le Constitutionnel*, 20,000; *La Patrie*, 30,000; *L'Opinione Nationale*, 25,000; *La Presse*, 15,000; *Les Débats*, 10,000; *Le Pays*, 8,000; *L'Union*, 4,000; *La Gazette de France*, 4,000; *L'Ami de la Religion*, 4,000; *Le Monde*, 4,000.

The journal *Le Monde*, the successor to the notorious *Univers*, now represents the Ultramontane party. As a specimen of its tone, one of the chief editors, M. Coquille, in a recent number, says, that the Reformation was rejected by the people of all countries, and imposed upon them only by their rulers; that the edict of Nantes of Henry IV was a betrayal of the Church and of France; that the Catholics have always been persecuted, and never persecutors, etc.

The pamphlet of M. Rosseeuw St. Hilaire, Ce qu'il faut à la France, published originally in the Revue Chrétienne, has had great success. It gives the verdict of history upon the persecutions of the Huguenots, tracing back to this source the evils that have afflicted France.

Count Agénor de Gasparin, formerly Deputy under Louis Philippe, and one of the Commissioners for the emancipation of slavery in the West Indies, has published an octavo volume of 500 pages, entitled: *Un Grand Peuple qui se rélève—Les Etats Unis en* 1861. ("A Great People who raise themselves up—The United States in 1861.") The position which the author undertakes to prove is, that the people of the United States, in electing Mr. Lincoln, have committed no fault, but on the contrary, they have raised themselves up; they have raised themselves from the barbarism into which the slave power was drifting them, and placed themselves on nobler and more civilized ground.

The sixth volume of the *Correspondence of Napoleon First* has appeared, comprising the time of Buonaparte's Consulship, the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire, the second war in the Vendée, the second expedition to Italy, Marengo, and the preliminaries of the Luneville Treaty.

The fourth volume of *M. Guizot's Memoirs*, and the third of his *Translation of Shakespeare*, are announced in Paris.

Auguste Callet has published a work on the existence of hell and eternal punishment. His principal point is, that the idea not only involves an eternity of suffering, but an eternity of depravity in the sufferer.

M. Garnier Pages, who was formerly Mayor of Paris and afterwards a member of the provisional government, will shortly publish a "History of the Revolution of 1848," giving an account of all the political events of that memorable year. It will appear in four parts, under the following titles: "The Revolution of 1848 in Europe," in three volumes; the "Fall of Royalty," in one volume; "The 24th February, 1848," also in one volume; and "The Provisional Government," in three volumes. The intimate knowledge which M. Garnier-Pages must necessarily have of the transactions of that period will enable him to produce a work of more than European interest.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The late Dr. Murray submitted to the New-Jersey Historical Society, at its last meeting before his decease, a manuscript memoir of John Witherspoon by Ashbel Green, D.D., which had been taken to Scotland, but recovered by Dr. Murray in a visit to Scotland in 1860. The memoir was referred to the Committee on Publication—it is to be hoped that it may be published.

One of our countrymen, Mr. Thayer, has been for some years collecting materials for a life of Beethoven, in all parts of the Continent. He is now in England for the same object.

A new review, *The Danville Quarterly Review*, edited by an Association of Ministers, has been started to represent a phase of Old School Presbyterianism not adequately expounded in the Princeton Review, or the Southern Presbyterian Quarterly. An explanatory note says, "What may be expected in this Review is great personal freedom of opinion, great unity of fundamental principle, great diversity of didactic treatment, great variety on union points." The subject of Imputation is thus referred to in one of the articles: "The theological world is at present edified by the remarkable spectacle of several brethren of learning and ability exhibiting their skill in dialectics, metaphysics, and philosophy, and each in antagonism to the others, in the vain effort to subject the great cardinal doctrine of Imputation to philosophical analysis."

The *Methodist Quarterly Review* for April, among other articles, has a valuable criticism on Powell's views of the Order of Nature and of Miracles by Dr. Wing of Carlisle, Pa.; a criticism of McCosh on the Intuitions, by Dr. Dempster of Illinois; a forcible exhibition of the State of the Country in reference to Slavery, by the Editor. Dr. Hibbard, of Canandaigua, contributes a learned and just exposition of the Pauline Use of the word σάρξ (*flesh*) in relation to the doctrine of depravity. He takes, and ably maintains, the position that it refers to the natural, yet moral, state of man, as alienated from God; and that it involves an inability, a want of power, to submit and conform to the law of God. He holds "with Augustine, that since man by his free will became estranged from God," this "free will, left to itself, is now only active to sin," and "man needs now a new supervenient grace in order to be brought back to goodness."

The *Evangelical Review*, Gettysburg, Pa, in the April number, Art. V, furnishes a list of publications by Lutherans in the United States—a valuable contribution to bibliography. The list extends to thirty-four pages, and includes many works of great merit in theology and church history. The Lutheran standards, "The Christian Book of Concord," with an historical introduction, translated by Rev. Ambrose Henkel, was published at New Market, Va., in 1854, pp. 780. The History of the American Lutheran Church, to 1842, by Dr. E. L. Hazelius, was published at Zanesville, Ohio, in 1846, pp. 300. The best brief sketch of the History is by Prof. M. L. Stoever, published by the Lutheran Board, 1860. The ablest and most prolific author is Dr. S. S. Schmucker, whose works are widely known. The same number of the Review, Art. VII, gives the original plan for a Union of the Lutheran Church in this country, adopted by the Synod of Pa. in 1819, which led to the formation of the General Assembly in 1820.

The *Southern Methodist Quarterly Review* for April, contains the following articles: The Conflict of Moral Philosophy; Thomas Carlyle, by Prof. Stark; Thomas Babington Macaulay; Nast's Commentary, by Prof. Reubelt; Methodism in Canada, by President Cummings; Philological Study of the Latin Language, by Prof. Dickson; Lady Maxwell, by Mrs. Martin; Baptism and Church Membership of Children, by Rev. C. W. Miller; and Brief Reviews.

The *Christian Review*, April, has three interesting philosophical articles on Archetypes, the Immateriality of the Soul, and Berkeley and his Works. That on Archetypes gives an instructive history of the doctrine, particularly as developed in modern physical researches. A review of Conant's Matthew demurs to some of the proposed alterations of the old version; e. g. Matthew x: 9, Provide not gold....in your *girdles*; x: 32, Every one who shall *acknowledge* (for, confess) me before men; xi: 12, the kingdom of heaven is *taken by* violence, and the violent *seize upon it:* xi: 23, They shall go down to the *underworld:* xiii: 25, The enemy came and sowed *darnels* (for, tares)—"the *Parable of the Darnel* would savor of affectation:" xvii, 4, Let us make here three *tents:* xxi, 16, *Prepared* praise, (for perfected); xxiii: 5, They made broad their *protectives!* (for, phylacteries); xxiv, 22, The *chosen* (for, the elect). But the most important part of the criticism is the argument against supplanting *baptize*, by *immerse*—e. g. xxviii, Go ye therefore, and IMMERSE all nations. Some of our Baptist brethren may be so *immersed* in this usage as not to feel that such a rendering is ludicrous as well as unnecessary; though, when they are consistently called *Immersers*, or *Dippers*, we think they must have some feeling of the sort passing over them. We are glad to find this able and

scholarly *Review* taking ground against such innovations. It justly argues that baptize means much more than immerse. Stendel's essay on the Inspiration of the Apostles is continued, and to be continued. It is well worthy of being translated.

The *Congregational Quarterly* for April, has an excellent biographical sketch of John Cotton, by J. S. Clark, D.D., and a very valuable contribution to the history of theological opinions in New England in the Old Covenant and Confession of the Northampton Church, furnished by Rev. Zachary Eddy, D.D., the present pastor of that church.

Rev. Heman Humphrey, D.D., late President of Amherst College, died in Pittsfield, Mass., April 3. He was born in 1780, graduated at Yale College, was first settled in Fairfield, Conn., and then in Pittsfield in 1817. In 1823 he was called to the presidency of Amherst College, which was raised to a high position under his wise administration of 22 years. Since 1845 he has resided in Pittsfield. His Sermons, Travels in Europe, in 2 vols., Letters to a Son in the Ministry, and Letters on Domestic Education, as well as his occasional discourses, and frequent articles in quarterly reviews and in religious newspapers, have given him an honored name in our religious literature. His last volume was a series of Revival Sketches, reviewed by Dr. Woodbridge in the first volume of this REVIEW. He was an eloquent and forcible preacher, a wise counsellor, and a foremost man in all the leading religious, missionary and philanthropic movements of the times.

Prof. J. W. Gibbs died in New Haven, March 25th, at the advanced age of 71. Prof. Gibbs was born in Salem, Mass., April 30th, 1795, graduated at Yale College in 1809, and occupied the position of tutor in that institution from 1811 to 1815. In 1824 he was invited to the professorship of Sacred Literature, a post which he occupied until his death. In this department, as also in philological and grammatical studies generally, he has long held an honored position among scholars. As an author he was chiefly known for his translations of Gesenius' Manual Hebrew Lexicon of the Old Testament in 1824, republished in London in 1824: in 1828 he published a Manual Hebrew Lexicon, in an abridged form. He was also a contributor to various periodicals. His "Philological Studies," "Latin Analyst," and "Teutonic Etymologies," contain some of the most valuable essays in philology that have appeared in this country. A valuable commemorative discourse by Prof. G. P. Fisher, of Yale College, is a worthy tribute to the scholarship and worth of Professor Gibbs.

The second edition of an anonymous work, called Christ the Spirit: Being an Attempt to state the Primitive View of Christianity, is published by Francis & Co., N. Y. 12mo, pp. 468. The author has also written Remarks on Alchemy and the Alchemists. His theory of Christianity is, that it was originally an offshoot from the Essenes—one of the most violent of hypotheses, unsupported by any historical evidence.

The Paris correspondent of *The World* writes, that the United States Minister at the Hague, Henry C. Murphy, Esq., has translated several poems of Jacob Steendam, the first poet of New Netherlands, born in 1616, and who came to New York (New Amsterdam) about 1652. His first poem "The Complaint of New Amsterdam, in New Netherland, to her Mother," was published in Amsterdam, Holland, in 1659. Another poem, entitled "The Praise of New Netherland," was published in 1661. Only a few copies of this translation have been printed, for private distribution.

The Society of the United Brethren for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen, at its last annual meeting in Bethlehem, Pa., authorized

the Board of Directors to publish a History of the Moravian missions among the North American Indians, from their commencement, 128 years ago. The Society received last year over $10,000; its net capital is $153,377.

Historical and Biographical Works. J. N. Carrigan, First Settlements of the French in the Mississippi Valley, second series, from the MSS. in the archives of the Marine at Paris.—S. Mordecai, Virginia, especially Richmond, in By-Gone Days; second edition. Winthrop Sargent, Life and Career of Major André.—The Life of Samuel Adams, by one of his great-grandsons, is announced.

Rev. Dr. Dorsey, late President of the Methodist Protestant Conference of Virginia, is preparing a history of the Methodist Protestant Church.

The Massachusetts Historical Society are to publish a volume of original and unpublished letters of Washington, collected by Edward Everett; and also a collection of documents relating to the early history and men of the colony, under the supervision of Mr. Winthrop.

H. B. Dawson, of New York, is preparing a History of New York during the Revolution, from manuscripts in the Mercantile Library Association. A grammar of the Flat Head, or Selish Dialect, by Mengarini, will form the 2d volume of the Library of American Linguistics. A memoir of Rev. John Brainerd, brother of David, is in preparation by Rev. Thos. Brainerd, D.D., of Philadelphia.

Libraries in Yale College.—	Vols.
Library of the College, exclusive of pamphlets,.....	38,000
Linonian Library,.....	12,000
Brothers' Library,.....	12,000
Medical and Law Libraries,.....	5,000
	67,000

The number of unbound pamphlets is estimated at seven thousand. The Am. Oriental Society has about 1,800 books and pamphlets, deposited in the College Library. No Catalogue of the College Library has been printed since 1823. The oldest printed book is Augustine, De Vita Christiana, A.D. 1467, from the press of Ulric Zell, of Mayence. The library funds yield about $1,500 per annum. The most valuable recent addition was about 4,000 vols. in 1854 from the collection of Prof. Thilo, of Halle, chiefly in ecclesiastical history.

The *Boston City Library*, founded eight years since, by the liberality of Joshua Bates, Esq., of London, now has about 100,000 volumes, while Harvard only has about 92,000. The last year it received an accession of 8,000 volumes. Theodore Parker's library of about 16,000 vols. will soon be added. Mr. Jonathan Phillips left to it $20,000. Prof. Ticknor has recently given 2,000 volumes. The daily circulation is 508 volumes. About 18,000 persons are registered as readers. The annual expenses are $30,000.

Three valuable manuscripts of Rev. Thos. Hooker, of Hartford, have been discovered and deciphered by Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull. The first consists of the notes to Mr. Hooker's first and second Election Sermons, 1638, 1639. The second is a long letter to Gov. Winthrop, of Mass., in defence of Conn. This is published in the Conn. Hist. Society's collections. The third is Mr. Hooker's Thanksgiving Sermon, preached Oct. 4, 1638; text was 1 Sam. vii, 12.

Literary and Critical Notices of Books.

THEOLOGICAL AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

1 *Dictionary of the Bible, comprising its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History.* Edited by WILLIAM SMITH, LL.D., Editor of the *Dictionaries of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, etc. Vol. I. A to J. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1860. 8vo. Pp. vii. pp. 1176.

This work is constructed according to the plan of the Editor's Classical Dictionaries, and is designed to render the same service in the study of the Bible, which they have afforded in the study of the Greek and Roman writers. It is no mere compilation, made by irresponsible and nameless persons, under the sanction of Dr. Smith's name, but it is the joint product of a number of scholars, executing each an assigned portion, which bears his name, and for which he is responsible. There are, it is true, evils connected with this multiplicity of authorship. What the work may gain in completeness, it may lose in homogeneousness. The collaborators are not likely to have precisely the same theological position, the same critical principles, or the same power of grasping and illustrating a subject. Winer's Bibisches Realwörterbuch, which is in a certain sense the work of one man, far exceeds in unity of plan and treatment Dr. Smith's Dictionary. But such a work is not to be expected in England, nor is it perhaps to be desired. In the present state of theological science, there are some advantages attending this variety of authorship. It is a gain to the Biblical student to have placed before him discussions of leading questions in criticism and interpretation by scholars of varying prepossessions and mental habits. Few men are altogether exempt from a rationalising tendency, and as few are free from a trace of bigotry and narrowness. But where there are many factors, the errors may correct each other. The undue bias of one writer may be counterbalanced by the opposite extravagance of another. While the contributors to this Dictionary are evangelical in their tone and feeling, they differ, of course, in individual traits and opinions. They belong, also, to various ecclesiastical connections. Dr. Smith is himself a dissenter; most of his coadjutors are members of the Church of England. A number of American names, such as Pres. Felton, Profs. Conant, Hackett and Stowe, are inserted in the list of writers at the beginning of the first volume. We infer that the services of those gentlemen were not procured in season for them to contribute to the first volume, but that their pens will enrich the second volume. In a few instances Dr. Smith has been unfortunate in the selection of his collaborators. Thus for example the article on the Topography of Jerusalem is written by Mr. James Fergusson.

Mr. Fergusson is a man of ability, whose earlier life was spent in the shop

and counting-house. Like most men, who, without the advantage of a liberal education, take up science late in life, he is rash in forming his opinions and obstinate in asserting them. He has adopted the notion, based on certain architectural considerations, that the church erected by Constantine on the site of the Holy Sepulchre, was the present grand mosque es-Sûkhrah in the middle of the Haram area. An erroneous view on so fundamental a point gives a wrong direction to the treatment of the entire subject. So important an article ought never to have been entrusted to the hands of one who had adopted a fanciful theory.

This Dictionary covers more ground than the work of Winer before mentioned. It contains many articles which belong properly to the department of Biblical Introduction. Thus we have articles on the Biblical Canon and on the several books of the Old and New Testament. Some of these are extremely well written. We have been particularly interested in the articles on the Canon and on Isaiah, which are able, full, and candid. That on Job is less satisfactory; the writer makes a hesitating attempt to prove the great antiquity of the book, and involves the subject in a cloud of dust, without reaching any positive result. The shorter articles on the names of obscure persons and similar topics, often neglected in works of this sort, are very complete.

We have observed in a few of the articles a disposition to turn mere hypothesis into history, and to assume as settled what is yet matter of conjecture. This is a fault which Englishmen have been very ready to charge upon the Germans, while they have claimed for themselves a keen practical sense which admits nothing without adequate proof. For example, in the sketch of Hezekiah's life, it is assumed as matter of history, proved and admitted, that Sennacherib came to the Assyrian throne in 702 B.C. Now this fact, if it be such, involves a change in the Biblical chronology; and the statement of 2 Kings 18 : 13, that Sennacherib came against Hezekiah in the fourteenth year of the reign of that king is proved incorrect; since the reign of Hezekiah could not have begun later than 724, and is generally placed somewhat earlier. Now we do not object to this assertion on doctrinal grounds. If the date in the passage above named is shown to be false, there should be no hesitation in admitting the result; that it will be hereafter proved and generally admitted, is possible. But in the present stage of the investigation, it cannot be regarded as a settled thing. It is as yet a plausible hypothesis, belonging to the field of scientific inquiry, but not entitled to a place in a book of results. For it is an hypothesis which requires the adjustment of three distinct sources of evidence: Berosus, i. e. Alex. Polyhistor as preserved by Eusebius, the Canon of Ptolemy, and the Assyrian inscriptions. If the adjustment were entirely simple and natural, (which it is not), there is still a cloud of uncertainty hanging over one of the factors. The Assyrian inscriptions cannot as yet be regarded as a perfectly clear and unequivocal source of evidence. It is only a few years since they were discovered, and the problem of deciphering them is not fully worked out. Much has been done, and the results already achieved reflect credit on the scholars who have wrought them. But a perfect solution is very difficult, and not to be affected in one day or by one man. The nature of the case demands that we should have something more than the authority of two or three able, ingenious but perhaps rather sanguine men.

The instance above named is not the only example of a disposition to follow implicitly the statements of Mr. Rawlinson in his extremely learned but somewhat premature work on Herodotus. Thus we find it asserted that

Sennacherib made two expeditions into Palestine, and that Zishakah was not King of Egypt until 690 B.C. The first of these propositions rests on the supposed fact that only one expedition, and that successful, is mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions. If it is certain that these are thoroughly and accurately read, and are moreover perfectly reliable and truthful, the question is settled, and we must hold to a second expedition ending in the terrible judgment that overtook Sennacherib's army as narrated in the Bible. But this view of the matter, we are compelled to think, was not in the mind of the Biblical writer. If one reads with care the narrative in the book of Kings, or in the parallel passage of Isaiah, he will find it difficult to believe that the compiler had in his mind and intended to convey to his readers the notion of two distinct expeditions. We say therefore in this case, also, that the proposition is not improbable, and may in future be proved true; but its assertion in a Biblical Dictionary, is at the least premature.

But time and space will not allow us to pursue these observations further Though the book is doubtless open to criticism, we believe it to be the best work of the kind in the English language. It testifies to the increased attention bestowed on Biblical science in England in the last twenty-five years. It is also a hopeful sign of what England may do hereafter. We believe that more than any other nation she is capable of managing free criticism with a firm hand, and of conducting theological investigation in a liberal yet conservative spirit.

Lange's Theologisch-Homiletisches Bibelwerk. Die Corintherbriefe von Dr. CHR. FR. KLING. Bielefeld, 1861, royal 8vo, double columns, pp. 407. This volume forms the seventh part of the New Testament division of Lange's Bible-work, to which we have frequently referred in terms of commendation. It is somewhat out of proportion, as to length, with the other volumes; but it bears the marks of elaborate preparation, and is well adapted to homiletic use. It is written in the same method, and in a like evangelical spirit, with the preceding parts of the work. The remainder of Paul's Epistles, and the Revelation will complete the New Testament. The next issue will be Superintendent Moll's Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Die Lehre von der Kenosis, dargestellt von Dr. PH. J. BODEMEYER. Götting. 1860, pp. 234. The question whether the Son of God, in assuming human nature, laid aside his divine nature, emptied himself of divinity, is the subject of this volume. It is, as is well known, one of the topics most ardently debated in the recent theological literature of Germany. The author reviews the theories of Thomasius, Martensen, Dorner, Liebner, Gass and Rothe, with abundant learning and acuteness. He begins with a speculative construction of the Trinity; and asserts that there is a double life in God; on the one hand, the internal, Trinitarian life; on the other, the life shown in creation, in the self-manifestation of deity. Deity must divest itself of some of its attributes and modes of working when it is revealed or manifested. But this humiliation, or emptying (Kenosis), is not found in the incarnation alone; it is also seen in all the works and ways of God in respect to creation. Some of the author's views are open to grave difficulties; as when he says, the Christ as man was not an individual, but only had the form of one,—which seems to approximate to docetism. His criticism of Martensen's doubts about the divine omniscience, and of Julius Müller's theory of a timeless fall of man, are acute. Many of his speculations are bold; and he often seems to feel assured upon matters where hesitation would be more be-

fitting. He says scarcely a word of the famous dispute between Tübingen and Giessen, on the question of *Kenosis* or *Krypsis*. He makes the humiliation of Christ to consist (p. 210), not in his laying aside the divine attributes (which would have been of no avail), but in his giving up, in his human state, the blessedness he had with the Father, and taking upon himself the wrath of God.

Principles of Natural Theology. By ROBERT ANCHOR THOMPSON, M.A. London. 16mo, pp. 120. The author of this compact little treatise is the successful competitor for the Burnett Prize a few years since. The object of the present essay is to state the intellectual principles of the theistic arguments. It is more systematic in its method and aim than the preceding essay, and a more vigorous work.

We often hear the word demonstration applied to arguments for the divine existence, but usually with regret. All that any wise man will undertake to show is, that our knowledge of God may be put upon the same basis with our other accepted knowledge. We have as good reason to cherish and act upon a belief in the existence of a personal and infinitely wise and holy God, as to put confidence in the existence of finite minds and a material universe. The three knowledges rest upon the same principles, have the same character, may be verified by the same method. Many works have been published upon the evidences of Theism, but few attempt the task which most of all needs to be done, namely, to discuss the subject in its *principles*. This Mr. Thompson has attempted in his thoughtful essay. We have read it with interest, and with entire sympathy with its purpose.

In the first chapter Mr. T. states with clearness and precision the argument from final causes. The cosmical arrangements, the unities of plan, the adjustments to ends, manifested in the universe, are undeniable. The question is, How shall this order be interpreted? We are limited to one of three hypotheses. Either the matter of the world has arranged itself, or it has been arranged by some superior power, either intelligent or unintelligent. Matter, as known, is not one being, but a system of diverse substances, existing under certain conditions. The first hypothesis is unsatisfactory. We need some arranging power superior to the world. Can this power be known to be intelligent? Every thing at least looks as if it were. If the arranging power be merely mechanical, it is a power which affords all the accepted signs of intelligence, and no others. To speak of it as unintelligent is to deny properties it does manifest, if not to attribute to it those it does not exhibit; as though a chemist were to say: This gas has all the properties of oxygen and no others, but we will call it hydrogen. It is also to falsify the spontaneous processes of the mind, as exhibited in the attainment and verification of our knowledge of all intelligent beings besides ourselves. The adjustments of a watch argue a contriver. But, says the objector, you have had experience of watch-making. Yes, is the reply, but not till I had learnt that watch-makers have minds like my own. Whence came this *prior* knowledge? Through manifestations of intelligence at least similar in kind to those seen in the watch. These signs are evidence of intelligence, because the mind carries the knowledge of itself which it gains in consciousness into the external world, and by this light of reason interprets what it sees. If it gives a valid interpretation to the signs which reveal finite minds, it may, on the same principles, recognise intelligent power in nature.

This argument reaches only to an intelligent power, the cause of the order and adaptations of the world. We infer a wise architect. Is this mind the Creator of all things? In the third chapter an inquiry is made into "the extent of possible knowledge on the doctrine of creation." The main posi-

tions taken are: (1.) That we have a cognition of a real or absolute to all phenomena. (2.) "Our knowledge of the *nature* of any being can never go beyond its relational properties or powers." (3.) Precisely the same principle of reason which enables us, through sensation, to apprehend the existence of substance, leads us to explain diversities in nature, as known, by diversities in the unknown. If the atheist retreats to the unknown, we may claim that all the signs of creative wisdom manifest in the diversities of the known must be presumed to exist in the unknown, for the one rests upon the other. Our author properly distinguishes between a cognition of existence, and a knowledge of the nature or mode of existence. Upon the latter question his language is not always sufficiently guarded. Thus (p. 30) we read: "Knowledge is always of relations. But the relations of things are not the things themselves." All that can properly be affirmed is, that our knowledge of the nature of things *depends upon* relations, diversities, etc. The nature of a substance is known through its properties, relations, etc. As matter of fact, every body with which we are acquainted is connected with something else. These relations, diversities, etc., through which substances are known, are conditions of existence as well as of knowledge; are not simply forms of thought, but belong to the things themselves. This is all that is necessary for our author's purpose, and all, we presume, for which he would contend.

These premises being conceded, it will follow that our knowledge of the finite is a knowledge of diversities, these diversities reaching to the limits of knowledge. But a universe of diversities implies limitation, combination, determined relations. If the diversities are self-existent, i. e. if the universe as known is self-existent, we have no cause for these limitations; none superior to the universe, for it is, ex hypothesi, self-existent; none in the universe, since its self-existence belongs to its diverse substances, and no one of these self-existent substances can limit or determine the others. In other words, the actual known universe is composed of different substances in combination, relation, etc. There are diversities of the unknown corresponding to those in the known. Such relations are valid proofs of intelligence. Their cause must be mind. This mind arranges and disposes the universe as known. This mind, then, is the Creator, and not merely the architect of the universe; because to determine the number, quantity, relations, combinations, in general, the limitations of existing substances, up to the limits of knowledge, is to determine their *existence* so far as they can be known.

Is this intelligence eternal and infinite?

The author, we are glad to notice, affirms unqualifiedly, "that the cultivated human mind always has the conception (idea?) of the Infinite Being." How can we show the objective validity of this idea? As against the idealist, we are inclined to think that the most satisfactory solution of this question will be found by simply analyzing the idea itself. Our author assumes that in the knowledge of matter and finite minds we have already passed from thought to being. He then states, as the conditions of this knowledge, conditions belonging not merely to the mental act, but to the outward objects:

1. All knowledge of the finite is a knowledge of diversities.
2. Every finite being is known as enduring.
3. Every material body is known as extended.
4. Every known change implies a cause.

These conditions, it is then shown with considerable acuteness, land us in hopeless contradictions, unless we assume the existence of a being eternal and infinite, unknown in his eternal and infinite nature, but known as the

author of all the limitations of the finite. The reality of the infinite is thus manifested by the contradictions which result from its denial.

The doctrine of the infinite which lies at the basis of this chapter, it will be noticed, differs widely from that of Sir William Hamilton, and coincides, in the main, with that set forth in former numbers of this Review. We know both that the finite and the infinite exist, though the ultimate nature of each is unknown. This result of philosophy accords with the common belief. God is unsearchable, but we know that he is.

The following chapter (Chap. 5) is occupied with an ingenious "comparison of the principles and processes of the mind in its attainment of its theological and its other knowledges." Hints of such a comparative view were frequently given in the author's Christian Theism. They are here wrought out with judgment and skill, and lead to the conclusion that our knowledge of God is one of our primary knowledges, and is spontaneously originated. This conclusion we deem thoroughly warranted, and of great importance. Without following the argument into its details, we would call attention to the use made by Mr. Thompson of the principle of causality. Through its spontaneous operation, the mind gains its first knowledge of self as distinct from the world, and, with equal certainty, its knowledge of a Being superior both to the world and man.

In the concluding chapter is presented the testimony to be derived from man's moral constitution, as to the character of God, and His purpose in placing us here. The leading topics, of course, are Free-will, the Sense of Duty, Immortality. The argument is impressively, though not elaborately, stated, and well prepares a candid mind to welcome and rejoice in that purpose of God, revealed in the kingdom of his Eternal Son.

Our summary of this well-stored essay is imperfect. We trust enough has been stated to give a correct idea of the book, and to commend it to the attention of our readers. E. C. S.

CHURCH HISTORY.

A Text-Book of the History of Doctrines. By Dr. K. R. Hagenbach. The Edinburgh translation of C. W. Buch. Revised with large Additions from the Fourth German Edition, and other Sources. By Henry B. Smith, D.D., vol. 1, 8vo, pp. 478. New-York: Sheldon & Co. 1861. Mr. Buch's translation of Hagenbach was made from the first edition, 1841; subsequent Edinburgh editions contained some of the additional matter of the second German edition. But the fourth edition of the original is much enlarged, and contains also important corrections of some of Hagenbach's earlier statements. In this first American edition, the whole of the Edinburgh translation has been thoroughly revised; the additional matter of the last German edition introduced; the German literature has been brought down to the present time, and the English and American literature added. Besides this, extracts have been incorporated into the volume from the works of Gieseler, Neander and Baur on the History of Doctrines, so that it contains what is most important in their text-books, in addition to the matter furnished by Hagenbach. In this way, the bulk of the work is one third greater than that of the Edinburgh edition. It is published in good style by Sheldon & Co. The second volume will be ready in two or three months.

The value of Hagenbach's work is attested by the frequent demand for new editions in Germany, in the midst of much competition. The second

edition of Baumgarten-Crusius (edited in the second volume by Hase); two editions of Meier; Beck's Compendium, 1848; Noack's, 1856; the second of Baur, 1858; and the posthumous works of Gieseler and Neander, have all been published since Hagenbach first came into the field, and his work alone has reached a third and a fourth edition. Gieseler's extends only to the Reformation; and Neander's is very concise on the whole period from the Reformation to the present times. Hagenbach gives a candid statement of the main points, fortified by exact citations from the sources. Its theological position is liberal and conciliatory without being negative or destructive. As a text-work in the History of Doctrines it is unsurpassed.

Apart from the additions made to the Edinburgh edition, its frequent mistakes in translating required a thorough revision. To take a few instances at random. On p. 218 of this edition, it is said of Irenæus, that "he regarded the elements as more than merely accidental things, though they are *only* bread and wine,"—it should read, "though *not* as being *only* bread and wine" (nicht als blosses Brod und Wein). On the same page, it is said of Tertullian, that "he showed a leaning towards the *allegorical* interpretation;" it should be, "towards the *sober symbolical*" (die nüchterne symbolische Auffassung). On p. 120, the views of Clement on the Logos are thus rendered: "He attaches more importance to the imminent existence of the Logos. In his opinion, the Logos is not the word of God, which was spoken at the creation of the world, but that which spoke itself." The passage should read: "He lays more stress upon the immanence of the Logos." This, in his view, is *not only* the *spoken*, but the *speaking*, creative Word of God." On p. 244, it is said of the Controversy about Images, that it "turned in the first instance upon the form of worship," instead of saying that, "it belongs in the first instance to the history of worship." On p. 256, "natürliche Häresien" is rendered, "heresies respecting the nature of Christ." On p. 286, Augustine, we are told, "directs our attention to the practico-religious importance of the doctrine of the Trinity, by reminding us of the true nature of love without envy;" it should read, "that it is of the very nature of disinterested (unenvious) love to impart itself." P. 311, the Traducianists must look upon Christ's birth as exceptional, "but even this restriction required some exception on account of the equality subsisting between his human nature and ours;" the German here says, "it required some limitation of the position, that Christ's human nature is consubstantial with ours." The translation on p. 321 about the Pelagian controversy is a series of blunders; the translator speaks of "the consequences which Celestius was compelled to infer from his premises by the opposition he met with," instead of "the inferences which his opponents drew from his premises;" of Pelagius it is said, "for aught that appears" (instead of, "as he appears") "in his writings, he was clear-headed," etc. P. 364: "General providence manifests itself in the preservation of the genus, and of the condition of all existence;" the last clause should be, "and of the circumstances in which it is placed." In a note on p. 389, the "Confessions of Augustine" (August. confess.) are translated "Augsburg Confession." On p. 391, instead of saying that Gregory Nazienzen "did not make the efficacy of Baptism depend on the external ecclesiastical position, or on the inherent moral worth of the *administrator* of the rite," the Edinburgh version reads, "on the external merit of *the church*, or the inherent moral desert of the *person to be baptized*." On p. 404, speaking of Augustine's views on the resurrection, we read, that he believed, that "all will have the stature of the full-grown man, and as a general rule, *will be thirty years old*," while Augustine means

only to say, that the stature will be that attained at the age of thirty years. The translation on p. 434, note 11, implies that in the doctrine of ideas the Scotists were nominalists, and the Thomists, realists: but the German contains no such inaccuracy, merely asserting that the Thomists were Aristotelian, and the Scotists Platonic, in the doctrine of universals. In the English, p. 441, Ruysbrock is accused of "mystical sensuality and voluptuousness;" the charge contained in the German is that of "mystic sensuousness and luxuriance of imagination." On p. 475 an opinion of Hugo St. Victor is thus stated, "It is impossible to conceive of a faculty of perception without beginning and consciousness;" instead of "a faculty of knowledge, without knowledge and consciousness." On p. 483, the translation says of John Scotus Erigena, that he "endeavored philosophically to establish the contrast between God and the world:" but Hagenbach said, that "he endeavored to mediate, by dialectics, this antagonism." On p. 400, a work of Hystaspes is spoken of, as if Hystaspes were a man and had written a book. These are but specimens, which might be indefinitely multiplied, of entire misconceptions of the plain sense of the original. The instances of omissions, of feeble and indefinite renderings, are innumerable.

Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte, von Dr. H. Schmid, 1859. Pp. 180. This is the most concise history of doctrines drawn up of late years, and on some points, of very great value. Its author is well known by his learned contributions to Lutheran orthodoxy. He has much skill in compression. But the shortness of the book is in part owing to his restriction of the subject. He includes in the history only those topics, which have been so discussed as to lead to their statement in positive dogmas by ecclesiastical authority; those contained in recognised confessions of faith. Accordingly he does not give (like most of the text-books) an account of the opinions of theologians in every period on all the doctrines, but only those that issued in definite conclusions. In this respect he follows the methods indicated by Thomasius, in his monograph on Origen (1837). His division is into three periods; the Ancient Church; Scholasticism; Reformation. He ends the doctrinal development with the Formula Concordiae, which settled the doctrine of the most consistent Lutherans. He hardly seems to recognise any proper doctrinal progress among the Calvinists. So that the book has but a limited scope; although within its metes and bounds it shows the fruit of much learning. But it cannot take the place of those fuller works, which are at once more impartial and complete, not arbitrarily restricting the sphere of doctrinal growth.

Die Christliche Kirche an der Schwelle des Irenäischen Zeitalters. (The Christian Church on the Threshold of the Age of Irenæus.) Von K. Gratl. Leipz. 1860, pp. 168. This work is small in compass, but weighty in contents. It is so full of clear thoughts, sharp statements, and compressed learning, as to awaken high expectations about the author's proposed monograph on Irenæus, to which this volume is an introduction. All the main points in the antecedent history of the church are admirable grouped, so as to give a vivid picture of the times. The position of Irenæus is sketched with a bold and firm hand. "Irenæus—nomen et omen, as the father of church history has not failed to notice (Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. v, 24): his inmost nature was peace and for peace—so much so, that for almost all his life he did not lay aside his armor—according to the maxim, Sivis pacem, para bellum." He was a man that mediated as did no other of his time between the extremes: "born and trained in the East and working in the West, he tempered the speculative tendencies of the land of his birth with

the practical methods of the land of his adoption." So, too, in theology, "he steered in the fortunate middle way between a three-fold Scylla and Charybdis: volatilising spirituality and gross materialism; one-sided externalizing and one-sided subjectivity; legalism and antinomianism.—The subjects of the chapters, all of which are the result of thorough study, are: Heathenism: Christianity and Heathenism: Judaism: Christianity and Judaism: Jewish Christianity and Heathen Christianity: the Gnostic Antagonism: the Montanistic Tension: the Position of the whole Internal Development of the Church, under which last are discussed, the Sources of Christian Knowledge, the Church Organism, the Dogmatic Task, Theological Science. Few German books give so much matter in such a racy form. The theological position of the writer is firm and evangelical, but at the same time learned and philosophical. He has been previously known as the author of a small work on the Distinguishing Doctrines of the different Church Parties (5th ed. 1857); by his translation of Dante's Inferno, said to be well executed (1843); by a larger work in 5 vols., a Journey to East India through Palestine and Egypt, in 1849 to 1853; and as the editor and translator of Bibliotheca Tamulica in three volumes, containing works illustrative of the Vedanta system.

Hebrew Men and Times, from the Patriarchs to the Messiah. By JOSEPH HENRY ALLEN. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. 1861. pp. 435. Without any parade of learning this volume gives the results of careful study, in a clear and simple narrative. It is as different as possible from the great majority of histories of the Old Testament, especially in English literature, in its whole method of statement and illustration. The theocracy is left to be inferred, if one will; the human aspects and relations are made prominent. The Old Testament history is, in fact reconstructed, chiefly on the basis of the theory of Ewald, to whom the author acknowledges his large indebtedness. The most important points of criticism as to both fact and doctrine, and as to the origin of the Hebrew literature, are presupposed as proved, in a sense adverse to the common orthodox view. The earliest literature is from the time of the Judges. The Pentateuch is made up of fragments from several sources—comprising at least some six books. The history of the Israelites is narrated in its connection with, rather than its isolation from, that of the surrounding people. Strongly dissenting from the general position of the author, and from many of its particular statements and interpretations, we cannot but commend the manifest candor, as well as skill, with which the work is written: and only wish, that some one might perform such a task equally well, on the basis of a more complete and less revolutionary theory. The chapters on the Maccabees, and the Alexandrians are well wrought out. That on the Messiah contains some of the germs, rather intimated than urged, of a profound view of the position and work of Christ.

Legends of the Madonna as represented in the Fine Arts.—By Mrs. JAMESON. Corrected and enlarged edition. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1861. pp. 483. This beautiful miniature edition, in blue and gold, of Mrs. Jameson's Legends, was prepared for the Boston publishers, who will follow it up by her kindred works on Sacred and Legendary Art, Legends of the Monastic Orders, and History of our Lord, giving the text of the series, without the artistic illustrations. An excellent portrait of the author accompanies the volume. It contains the best and most popular elucidation of the legends about the mother of our Lord, and the representations given

in the successive periods of Christian art. The subject is viewed from the æsthetic side: Mary is the type of womanhood, of which each nation, and each school of art, has its characteristic ideal. The Introduction gives the history of Mariolatry, and of the artistic representations: describes the symbols and attributes of the Virgin, and the various subjects, Devotional and Historical. The Devotional Subjects are described in two parts, The Virgin without the Child, and, The Virgin and Child. The Historical Subjects are treated in five parts. The work shows thorough study of the productions of the great schools of art, a womanly and reverential interest in the theme, and felicity of description and illustration. All the acts of Mary's life have been inspiring themes for the poet, the painter and the sculptor. The growth of the system of creature-worship is fully illustrated in the history of art as related to the Virgin. There can also here be traced an attempt to make out a complete parallel between the successive events in the life of the Mother, and the stadia in the life of her Son. The heart of the whole Roman Catholic system is in the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, authoritatively proclaimed as an article of faith by the reigning Pope, in 1854. Murillo, three centuries ago, celebrated this dogma, by twenty-five pictures. For Protestants, the beauty of the art remains, even when the faith that prompted it is seen to be idolatrous. The work of Mrs. Jameson is invaluable, not as a book of religion, but as a felicitous account of one of the most attractive subjects in the history of Christian art.

Ueber Tammûz und die Menschenverehrung bei den alten Babyloniern. (On Tammuz and Man-Worship among the ancient Babylonians.) By D. A. Chwolson. St. Petersb. 1860. The learned author of this tract here brings his researches on the Remains of Babylonian Literature (1859), and the Nabathean agriculture, to bear on the interpretation of the passage in relation to Tammuz in Ezekiel viii, 14, where, among the heathen abominations is mentioned, "women sitting bewailing Tammuz." The Vulgate has here Adonis: the interpretation of Jerome, of Cyril of Alexandria, and of most of the recent critics, Gesenius, Creuzer, Winer, Ewald, Rödiger. De Sacy, and Hitzig, conjecture Osiris. Benfey refers it to a Persian festival. Some Jewish commentators, taking the verb (bewail) in a causative sense, *make weep*, refer it to an idol, with eyes of lead, which were to be heated inside until the lead melted, giving the image the appearance of weeping. Chwolson, following out a hint of Maimonides, has found in the Arabic translation by Abu Said, of a Babylonian work, accounts of festivities in connection with a god *Tâ'ûz* (see in Chwolson's Sabeans, ii. 27): "on the 15th of the month Tammuz, the women weep over him (telling) how his Lord slew him and ground his bones in a mill, and scattered them to the winds." This martyrdom of Tammuz is also identified by some with that of St. George. The representation in the Babylonian tradition is, that he was one of the first preachers of planet-worship, and suffered martyrdom in consequence, and is reverenced as a saint. The tract of Chwolson is full of curious learning.

Allgemeine Kirchliche Chronik, von Karl Matthes. Siebenter Jahrgang, 1860. Leipz. 1861. This seventh volume of Matthes' Ecclesiastical Chronicles is a continuation of a valuable work. It reviews the history of the church for 1860, in all parts of the world. The accounts are evidently drawn up with considerable care. The history of theology is included. The weakest part is on the history of the church in this country. Any one who wants such a register for three shillings cannot do better than to get this. The past volumes can be procured for about 20 cents a volume.

A New Digest of the Acts and Deliverances of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Compiled by the Order and Authority of the General Assembly. By Rev. Wm. E. Moore. Philadelphia: Presb. Publication Committee, 1334 Chestnut street. New York: A. D. F. Randolph, 683 Broadway. 8vo, pp. 633. This work is strictly a Digest, and not a history. It admirably answers all the demands that can fairly be made upon such a work, giving the best summary of the decisions of the Presbyterian church from 1706 to 1860. The chief editor has performed his task in a way to deserve the thanks of all who need to consult such a work. It is divided into thirteen chapters. I. Of the Church. II. Officers of the Church. III. Candidates [for the ministry]. IV. Of the Sacraments. V. The Courts of the Church. VI. Of Discipline. VII. Moral Questions. VIII. Deliverances on Doctrines. Under this is the Explication of Doctrines, presented in 1837 in reference to the memorial on Doctrinal Errors. This Explication contains the best authorized statement yet made, as to the real doctrinal position of the so-called New School branch of the Presbyterian Church. IX. On Modes of Evangelization. X. The Permanent Committees. This is confined to the action of the New School since 1849. XI. Correspondence with other Churches. XII. Plan of Union and the Division. XIII. Miscellaneous, as, Secession of the Southern Churches, Bible Classes, Fasting and Prayer, Psalmody, Amendments to Form of Government, etc. An Appendix gives the judicial decisions of the civil tribunals; that of Judge Gibson in Banc; the York Church Case; and the Lane Seminary Case. The whole volume is well arranged, has a good index, and is handsomely as well as substantially got up.

The Presbyterian's Hand-Book of the Church. By Rev. Joel Parker, D.D. and Rev. T. Ralston Smith. New York: Harpers. 18mo, pp. 250. A very useful and convenient manual for the members and officers of the church. It contains something of everything about the church, the ministry, and the services of the church. There are forms of prayer for special occasions: formulas for admission into the church—distinguishing wisely between the baptized and the unbaptized: a simple Catechism for children: a list of books for parochial and ministerial libraries; and wise and salutary directions about the affairs of the church. It ought to have, as it deserves, a wide circulation. It is a needed book. Price, fifty cents.

The Churchman's Calendar, for the year of our Blessed Lord Christ, 1861. No. 1. New York: Church Book Society. The preface of this conceited little Calendar, is dated Baltimore, and subscribed A. C. C., which letters we understand signify Arthur C. Coxe, D.D. It is "designed to exhibit an actual view" (not merely a 'view,' but an 'actual' one) "of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church in all the World,"—on another page spoken of as "the existing Churches of Christendom," "arranged according to the ancient Catholic Law." How this "ancient Catholic Law" did, or could, assign a place to the Anglican Church, or even to the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, we are wholly at a loss to conjecture: these are put third in this Calendar, but we do not know of any "ancient Catholic law" which assigns to them this position. There are other curiosities in the "arrangement." One division (the fourth) is styled Abnormal Churches. What are these? The Armenians, Maronites, St. Thomas Christians, the Church of Sweden, the Church of Holland (Jansenists), the Moravians, and the Copts. Was there ever such a jumble made

in a Calendar before? Copts and Maronites are 'abnormal' on account of doctrine and discipline; Moravians and Swedes are 'abnormal,' if at all, for lack of the so-called apostolical succession. Then again, there is a class called 'Tridentine Churches,' those founded since the Council of Trent in Africa, Asia, North and South America, and parts of Europe: but these are all organically connected with Rome, and acknowledge her as their head: and thus this 'actual view' is historically false. Russia and Austria, too, are put down among the Oriental churches; is this in accordance with the "ancient order"? Milan, France, Spain, etc., are put down as separate churches from the Roman, contrary to the actual facts in the case. And while the South American churches, and the Copts, and the Maronites, are all recognized as 'Catholic churches,' not a word is said as to the existence of Lutheran and Reformed churches all over Europe and America. And this is an 'actual view,' of what the author calls 'Nicene Christendom.' Even the author's own church is described as 'Anglican' instead of giving its 'actual' designation.

GENERAL HISTORY.

The History of England from the Accession of James II. By Lord MACAULAY. Vol. V. Edited by his sister, Lady TREVELYAN. New York: Harpers. 1861. This last volume of Macaulay's graphic history, begins the record of the progress of England, after the peace with France in 1697, when she entered upon a new career, the fruit of the Revolution of 1688. The work is incomplete, but it is finished in all its parts, concluding with a fragment upon the last days of William III. Such a history as Macaulay projected could never have been completed in the period allotted to man's work on earth; but it will be a model and an incentive to all future historians. It is one of the chief signs of a new era in the art of historic composition, an era in which all the interests of the human race, and the welfare of the people, shall be made prominent, instead of the deeds and sayings of crowned heads, or even of great names. The constitution, and not the ruler, is the central point of observation and interest. The people, and not a class, are recognised as the great subjects of history. Lord Macaulay had splendid gifts as a historian, and made noble use of innumerable materials. Though not devoid of prejudices, his sympathies were ever on the side of constitutional liberty. Dixon may criticise him, and justly, about Penn; the Bishop of Exeter may expose his unfairness towards the spirit, and some of the leaders, of the early English Reformation; and Mr. Paget may controvert his statements about the Duke of Marlborough, and the Highlanders; but still he has brought out the meaning and bearings of the great Revolution of 1688 as has no other writer; and has put into our hands the threads by which we can trace back the present prosperity of England to the principles of the Reformation and the Revolution. And his history, though incomplete, has already taken its place, not only as a most popular book, but also as a standard and classic work. His name is enrolled with those of Hume and Gibbon, Guizot and Thiers, Ranke and Schlosser. The three chapters which make up the present volume, were for the most part prepared for the press by his own hand. Though not as brilliant as many portions of the previous volumes, yet these pages are instinct with the life of history, and command an absorbing interest to their close. The art of historic narration is often carried in these pages to such perfection,

that the art itself is hidden. Herein Macaulay is well deserving of study. What he says is so well and exactly said, that he never uses *italics*, which D'Israeli somewhere calls "that last resource of the forcible feebles."

The whole history is published by the Harpers, in both a library edition and a 12mo. The latter, in five volumes, is produced for forty cents a volume. A full and valuable index to the whole work is appended.

History of Latin Christianity; including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicholas V. By HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's. In eight volumes. Vols. IV.–VIII., New York: Sheldon & Co. 1861. We are glad to learn that the republication of this invaluable work has a success proportionate to its merits, and disproportioned to these hard bookselling times. Its success is owing, not merely to the admirable style in which it is issued, nor yet alone to its indisputable merits as a historic composition, but also to the fact that it fills up a gap in our English historical literature. Though written by a Dean, it is not by any means a mere ecclesiastical history. It is a history of the times, and is chiefly ecclesiastical, because the history of the Church was the main part of European history during the middle ages. But the history of the German Empire, of France, Spain, and England, and to some extent of the East also, is interwoven with the narrative. The descriptions of personal character, and the grouping of events, are excellent throughout. The narrative is rather devoted to the external events than to the inward life of the Church and the nations. The great controversy between the nominalists and realists is described only in general terms, in the way of literary reference rather than of thorough investigation. The estimate of Abelard's position and influence is well conceived, and it is justly suggested that he undoubtedly had a distinctive position between the extreme nominalism and realism. The controversies and different characteristics of the schools are most fully described in chapter III of the concluding Book, in the eighth volume, chiefly relying upon the authority of Ritter and Hauréau; but the author is evidently more at home in the narrative of external events and the estimate of the general culture, than in the metaphysical distinctions of the scholastic divines. The same book also gives valuable accounts of the art, literature, and popular beliefs and customs of the middle ages. Among the portions most fully elaborated, are the pontificate of Innocent III; the account of the Popes in Avignon; the history of the Lollard and of Wycliffe; and particularly the proceedings of the great reforming councils of the fifteenth century. It is of course impossible that all points should be fully elaborated in a work covering so much ground; but we are surprised not to find a discussion of the enigma of the Popess Joanna; nor to see any reference to the chief works (those of Thomassy and Rosen), in which the authenticity of the Pragmatic Sanction of Louis IX is contested, for though these are not convincing, they are much relied upon by the Ultramontane writers of France and Germany.

The history ends with the taking of Constantinople, and the pontificate of Nicolas V. The signs of the great Reformation are just beginning to appear. It is hardly to be expected that Dean Milman will carry on his work any further. But others may be led, by his high example and brilliant success, to describe the purification of the church, whose history is here told in so admirable a manner. No English work in Church history can, upon the whole, be rated before it.

The whole work is written in the spirit of the republic of letters, and not in that of the cloister, or of the schools. It is therefore well fitted for general reading and use, and it will find readers in literary circles, from which a professional church history would be excluded. It is a good omen for the

character of our reading public, that a work so solid and extensive should have already acquired so large a circulation. It ought to be found in all our public libraries.

In the contents of vol. III, p. 9, Damascus II should read Damasus II. On page 263 of the same volume, Dean Milman gives his sanction to the use of the word "infelt," speaking of the "infelt accordance with the dominant creed."

History of the United Netherlands, from the Death of William the Silent to the Synod of Dort. With a full view of the English-Dutch Struggle against Spain, and of the Origin and Destruction of the Spaniah Armada. By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY, LL.D., D.C.L. New York: Harpers. 1861. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 532, 563. These admirable volumes narrate the history of the closing events of that great struggle, in which the Protestantism of Europe was saved, and the Protestantism of this country cradled. The greatest power of Europe sought to extirpate a free nation of merchants and workmen, numbering about a million and a half. The history, as Mr. Motley well says, "is not exclusively the history of Holland. It is the story of the great combat between despotism, sacerdotal and regal, and the spirit of rational, human liberty. The tragedy opened in the Netherlands, and its main scenes were long enacted there; but as the ambition of Spain expanded, and as the resistance to the principle which she represented became more general, other nations were, of necessity, involved in the struggle. There came to be one country, the citizens of which were the Leaguers; and another country, whose inhabitants were Protestants. And in this lay the distinction between freedom and absolutism. The religious question swallowed all the others. There was never a period in the early history of the Dutch revolt when the Provinces would not have returned to their obedience, could they have been assured of enjoying liberty of conscience or religious peace; nor was there ever a single moment in Philip II's life in which he wavered in his fixed determination never to listen to such a claim. The quarrel was in its nature irreconcilable and eternal as the warfare between wrong and right; and the establishment of a comparative civil liberty in Europe and America was the result of the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."

William the Silent was dead. The Prince of Parma intrigued successfully in Brabant and Flanders for the Spanish cause. The Estates first sought the alliance of France; but found their effectual help in Protestant England. The history of this struggle is, then, the history of Europe in one of its great crises. And it is here narrated with such fulness and life as never before. The state of France, of Spain, of England, of Germany faithless to its trust, and the characters of all the great men of the times, are depicted not only in broad outline, but in minute description. The siege of Antwerp (of which a plan is given) and the great invasion and dispersion of the Invincible Armada are graphically described.

Mr. Motley loves definite portraiture. Here is his description of the Prince of Parma, whose sharp and resolute portrait greets us as we open the first volume. "He was never more truly heroic than in this position of vast entanglement. Untiring, uncomplaining, thoughtful of others, prodigal of himself, generous, modest, brave; with so much intellect, and so much devotion to what he considered his duty, he deserved to be a patriot and a champion of the right, rather than an instrument of despotism.

"And thus he paused for a moment—with much work already accomplished, but his hardest life-task before him; still in the noon of manhood, a fine martial figure, standing, spear in hand, full in the sunlight, though

scene around him was wrapped in gloom—a noble, commanding
entitled to the admiration which the energetic display of great pow-
wever unscrupulous, must always command. A dark, meridional
gnomy, a quick, alert, imposing head; jet black, close-clipped hair;
eagle's face, with full, bright, restless eye; a man rarely reposing,
ready, never alarmed; living in the saddle, with harness on his
such was the Prince of Parma; matured and mellowed, but still un-
l by time."

ry of Navarre, the hope of the Huguenots, is thus limned: "We see
e, a man of moderate stature, light, sinewy and strong; a face
d with continual exposure; small, mirthful, yet commanding blue
littering from beneath an arching brow, and prominent cheekbones;
hawk's nose, almost resting upon a salient chin, a pendent mous-
and a thick, brown, curly beard, prematurely grizzled; we see the
f frank authority and magnificent good humor, we hear the ready
of the shrewd Gascon mother-wit, we feel the electricity which
out of him, and sets all hearts around him on fire, when the trum-
nds to battle. The headlong desperate charge, the snow-white plume
where the fire is hottest, the large capacity for enjoyment of the
ioting without affectation in the *certaminis gaudia*, the insane gallop,
he combat, to lay its trophies at the feet of the Cynthia of the min-
d thus to forfeit its fruits; all are as familiar to us as if the seven
t wars, the hundred pitched battles, the two hundred sieges, in which
Barnese was personally present, had been occurrences of our own

neath the mask of perpetual careless good humor lurked the keenest
subtle, restless, widely combining brain, and an iron will. Native
y had been tempered into consummate elasticity by the fiery atmos-
in which feebler natures had been dissolved. His wit was as flash-
d as quickly unsheathed as his sword. Desperate, apparently reckless
ty on the battle-field, was deliberately indulged in, that the world
be brought to recognise a hero and chieftain in a king. The do-
gs of the Merovingian line had been succeeded by the Pepins; to the
Carlovingians had come a Capet; to the impotent Valois should
a worthier descendant of St. Louis. This was shrewd Gascon calcu-
aided by constitutional fearlessness. When despatch-writing, invisi-
nilips, star-gazing Rudolphs, and petticoated Henrys, sat upon the
s of Europe, it was wholesome to show the world that there was a
eft who could move about in the bustle and business of the age, and
charge as well as most soldiers at the head of his cavalry; that there
ne more sovereign fit to reign over men, besides the glorious virgin
overned England."

l this is a portrait of the Virgin Queen: "She was then in the fifty-
ear of her age, and considered herself in the full bloom of her beauty.
arments were of satin and velvet, with fringes of pearl as big as
A small gold crown was upon her head, and her red hair, through-
s multiplicity of curls, blazed with diamonds and emeralds. Her
ad was tall, her face long, her complexion fair, her eyes small, dark
littering, her nose high and hooked, her lips thin, her teeth black, her
white and liberally exposed. As she passed through the ante-cham-
the presence-hall, supplicants presented petitions upon their knees.
ever she glanced, all prostrated themselves upon the ground. The
'Long live Queen Elizabeth' was spontaneous and perpetual; the
'I thank you, my good people,' was constant and cordial. She

spoke to various foreigners in their respective languages, being mistress, besides the Latin and Greek, of French, Spanish, Italian, and German. As the commissioners were presented to her by Lord Buckhurst, it was observed that she was perpetually gloving and ungloving, as if to attract attention to her hand, which was esteemed a wonder of beauty. She spoke French with purity and elegance, but with a drawling, somewhat affected accent, saying '*Paar maa foi; paar le Dieeu vivaant,*' and so forth, in a style which was ridiculed by Parisians, as she sometimes, to her extreme annoyance, discovered."

The whole account of the negotiations with England, of Leicester's magnificent reception in Holland, and assumption of the Governor-generalship; of the negotiations for peace; of the vast preparations of Spain for the attack on England, and of the fate of the expedition, is minute and vivid, and much of it derived from new sources. Mr. Motley has made diligent explorations; and unites in a rare degree the power of patient investigation with the faculty of vivid representation. This new work will increase his brilliant reputation as a historian. His style is more chastened and mellow, without losing warmth of coloring. Parts of the narrative are in disproportionate excess of treatment; but these are the parts in which there is the most positive addition to historical knowledge. On both sides of the Atlantic these volumes have been greeted with high literary homage. They embrace the period from 1584 to 1590; two more volumes will carry it down to the Synod of Dort.

Besides the intrinsic merit of the volumes, as a rare specimen of the historic art, the fervid zeal of the author in behalf of civil and religious liberty has contributed to their wide popularity. He writes with an intense sympathy for the victims (who were to become the victors) of ecclesiastical and civil oppression. His enthusiasm inspires also his readers. The brilliant narrative is worthy of the high theme, and the theme exalts the narrative. Mr. Motley's sympathies are distinctively and thoroughly Protestant; though a Protestant, he evidently does not fully sympathise with the Genevan creed; but yet, that severe faith was at the basis of the heroism of the Netherlands. This point is not made as prominent as historic justice requires; too much is attributed to political and national motives and intrigues. There is, now and then, a slight thrust against Calvinism, as in the otherwise admirable portraiture of Olden Barneveld and Philip de Marnix, Lord of Sainte Aldegonde, burgomaster of Antwerp. He caricatures the belief in future punishment (as if it were exclusively Calvinistic); calls Barneveld a "liberal Christian," hardly such in the New England sense we suppose; and intimates efforts of De Marnix to raise himself above his early creed. The grounds of this last we do not know, for Sainte Aldegonde was undoubtedly thoroughly Calvinistic; he was a member of the Antwerp Synod of 1566, which adopted the Belgic Confession, one of the most orthodox of symbols. The subsequent portions of this history, particularly when it comes to the times of the Synod of Dort, will demand further statements on these topics; and we hope to find the author doing as much justice to the religious convictions, as he does to the national heroism and love of liberty, of the people of the United Netherlands.

We need hardly add, that the Harpers have issued these volumes in their usual attractive and excellent style of typography. A portrait of the Prince of Parma is prefixed to the first volume, and one of the Earl of Leicester to the second.

Life among the Chinese: with Characteristic Sketches and Incidents of Missionary Operations and Prospects in China. By Rev. R. S. MACLAY, M.A. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1861. Pp. 400. It is now fourteen years since the Methodists of this country established their mission in China. The Rev. Mr. Maclay, connected with it from the beginning, has given in this work an excellent, simple, and most interesting account of the Chinese people, and of missionary operations among them. About half of the work is taken up with the native history, government, and religions, presenting in a concise form all the main facts. The details of missionary life and methods are instructive, and show the zeal with which he and his associates entered upon their work. The population Mr. M. estimates at 400,000,000. His estimation of the capacity of the Chinese is high: "The Chinese mind is eminently quick, shrewd, and practical. It has an intuitive logic of rare vigor and certainty. Admit the premises in the argument of a Chinese, and his conclusion is generally inevitable. In their processes of ratiocination the defect is usually in the premises."

"As business men they are remarkably energetic, efficient, and adroit. The foreign merchant, whether European or American, who goes to China for business purposes, finds it necessary to avail himself of all the helps and safeguards which his own judgment or the principles of trade suggest in order to protect himself; and it not unfrequently happens, that after all his precautionary efforts, he is over-reached by his unscrupulous competitor. The Yankee must rise early in the morning and keep wide awake all day if he expects to get to windward of a Chinaman before nightfall."

Thieving is a characteristic propensity; and the Chinese thieves are "as expert as any in the world." "Lying seems to be universal. Everybody lies; parents to children and children to parents; masters to servants and servants to masters; sellers to buyers and buyers to sellers; subjects to government and government to subjects. A man's word is never taken in business affairs; no tradesman will consider any arrangement or contract binding unless what is called 'bargain money' has been tendered and accepted; and no agreement is considered valid until it is written out and signed by the parties in the presence of witnesses. In the administration of government you meet with the most unscrupulous mendacity. The people lie to the constable, the constable to the squire, the squire to the sheriff, the sheriff to the governor, the governor to the privy council, and the privy council to the emperor. We might truthfully designate the entire system of government administration in China one stupendous lie."

The entire number of Protestant missionaries in China, to 1859, had been 213, beginning with Dr. Bridgman, the first on the main land, in 1830. Great difficulties have hindered the progress of the work; but the Providence of God is opening the way. Mr. Maclay's earnest, closing appeal is worthy of devout consideration.

The Ordeal of Free Labor in the British West Indies. By WM. G. SEWELL. New York: Harpers. 1861. Pp. 325. This opportune work, originally written in the form of Letters to the New-York *Times*, gives a candid and favorable estimate of the results of emancipation in the British West Indies, viz., the Windward Islands, Trinidad, the Leeward Islands, and Jamaica. Even from the "imperfections and shortcomings of Jamaica," "the superior economy of free labor, as compared with slave labor can be demonstrated." It is cheaper to the master. As the result of his own investigation, and of the testimony of Governor Hicks, the author shows, that in Cuba the cost of slave labor in the production of sugar is 3

cents a pound; in Jamaica, under the slave system it was over 4¼ cents; in free Jamaica, it is 2 cents, and in Trinidad and Barbadoes it is still less. And "if free labor be tested by any other gauge than that of sugar production, its success in the West Indies is established beyond all cavil." The author, too, shows, we think, successfully, that the depreciation of the commerce of Jamaica can be directly traced to other causes than the introduction of freedom. As to all the other colonies, there is no question of the beneficial results of emancipation. The work is instructive and convincing.

PHILOSOPHY.

Rational Psychology; or, the Subjective Idea and Objective Law of all Intelligence. By LAURENS P. HICKOK, D.D., Union College. A New and Revised Edition. New York: Ivison, Phinney & Co. 1861. 8vo. Pp. 543. It is now twelve years since the publication of the first edition of Dr. Hickok's Rational Psychology. It was then greeted by a few persons as the most important contribution to metaphysical science produced in the English tongue during the present century; by many it was regarded with distrust and doubt; and not a few declared that they did not know what to make of it. Not only was the terminology new to them, but they could not see what business anybody had to be discussing the *à priori* conditions of all intelligence—enough for them the *à posteriori* road to knowledge. Since this work was published, Great Britain has given us four books on metaphysics: Ferrier's Institute, Mansel's Metaphysics (from the Encyclopædia Britannica), Hamilton's Lectures, and lastly Macmahan's Metaphysics and Revealed Religion. Whatever may be the merits of these works, it is not unjust to them to say, that in no one of them is the fundamental metaphysical inquiry, viz., the universal conditions and necessity of all thought, so distinctly apprehended, and resolutely and systematically carried through, as in this work of Dr. Hickok. He has undoubtedly gone to the heart of the matter, and knows what he is talking about. And he uses technical terms—and such there must be in this as in all science, with constant adherence to his own conceptions and definitions. His style requires study, but chiefly because his thoughts require study. Even where we may be inclined to differ from him in some points of his method, or as to the accuracy of his demonstrations, we need not be at a loss to know what the method and arguments really are and mean.

As an introduction to the study of German philosophy the treatise is invaluable. Dr. Hickok is one of the very few writers in the English language, who have really shown that they understood the principles and problems of the German systems. And not only so, but he has also been able to turn their method into the service of faith. Several of the most important and profound parts of this volume are those in which he derives some of the great underlying points and principles of the Christian system from the postulates of the transcendental philosophy. Following to some extent Kant's method, he arrives at positive, instead of negative, results, as to the valid being of the Soul, the World, God and Immortality, and this too on purely rational grounds. He thus avoids the hiatus which Kant left between the pure and the practical reason.

Of all the charges made against Dr. Hickok, that of a pantheistic tendency is the most gratuitous and unjust. It only shows, that such critics neither understand Dr. Hickok nor pantheism.

We welcome this new and improved edition, as an evidence that thinking minds are grappling with these problems, and beginning to be made familiar with them even in their academical career. No one can study the book without thorough advantage. This edition is improved, not in its general method, but in some details and applications, as in the proof of the valid being of what belongs to the sense and the understanding; in the statements about substance, cause, and force; and in the demonstration of a pure act of creation for the production of finite being. It is published in a more convenient form, and in excellent style.

The Christian Element in Plato and the Platonic Philosophy. By Dr. C. ACKERMANN, Archdeacon at Jena. Translated from the German by SAM. UEL RALPH ASBURY: with an Introductory Note by W. G. T. Shedd, D.D. Edinburgh: 1861. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. Pp. 280. From the earliest times of Christian history, there has been recognised a spiritual affinity between the Platonic philosophy and Christian theology. Christian apologists have made use of this phenomenon to confirm the argument for Christianity; heretics have made use of it, to ascribe to Platonism the doctrines which they impugned; and infidels have made use of it, to enfeeble the evidence for a specific revelation. The points of resemblance have been, for the most part, stated in a fragmentary and isolated way, in reference to particular doctrines, as the Trinity, Incarnation, etc. The object of Dr. Ackermann's most interesting and able volume, is a comparison of the respective systems, rather than of detached parts of the systems. Both are pervaded by a spiritual, a supersensible element. Both have in view the salvation or redemption of mankind from the dominion of the finite and sinful. Both are therefore theological, looking to an end to be realized by mankind, and in this respect, Platonism stands in a much higher position than any other system of antiquity. And as there is an end (a final cause) to be realised, so there must be a wise author of the world who planned, and is carrying out, this consummation. Both find the necessity for this redemption in the sinfulness (not the mere sins) and ignorance of man. Both put this redemption in a reconciliation of man with the divine, and see in this reconciliation the restoration of man to himself, the realization of the pristine idea of humanity. And both say, that this redemption can be effected only through heavenly powers, only by divine ideas. And both recognise a kingdom in which this is to be effected, which Plato calls a republic, and Christianity calls the Church.

But on the other hand, there are such differences between the two systems, as serve to show that Christianity is not borrowed from Platonism, and that Platonism even on these points of agreement is conjectural, and unsystematic. We are apt to read Plato by the aid of Christian ideas. Plato does not make the great end to be realised a specifically holy end—he knew not holiness as a divine attribute. The deliverance he anticipates is not a deliverance from the power or penalty of a holy law, so much as a deliverance from error and the thraldom of the senses. The regeneration he has in view is philosophic, rather than truly spiritual. Of propitiation and atonement he knows nothing. Neither a proper Trinity nor Incarnation is found in his speculations. And his republic, ruled by philosophers, is essentially different from the church of the redeemed.

The value of Dr. Ackermann's work is in setting forth these points of resemblance and contrast in a lucid and philosophical manner. Though written twenty-five years ago, it has not been superseded even in Germany. It is a work of profound interest to every Christian student, to all who are

interested either in the history of philosophy or of Christianity. The study of such a work, in its bearings on philosophic culture and thought, can result only in good. The translation appears to be well executed. Its value would have been increased by the addition of notes from the criticisms of Ritter and Nitzsch, (in the Studien und Kritiken), and especially from the volume of the late Dr. Baur, on the Christian Element of Platonism, or Socrates and Christ, which was published in 1837, and contains a thorough examination of the whole subject. We notice the advertisement of a new work on this topic by a Roman Catholic writer, F. Michelis, "The Philosophy of Plato in its Internal Relation to Revealed Truth, critically digested from the Sources." Part 2d. 1861.

The Elements of Logic. By CHARLES K. TRUE, D.D. Revised edition. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1861. Pp. 176. The first edition of Dr. True's Logic was published in 1840; the present, in a revised form, contains some new matter, particularly a valuable essay on the Philosophy of Induction, discussing the opinions of Whewell, Mill, Hume, and others, and successfully establishing, against Mill, the position, that the ultimate principle in the case is intuitive, and not itself derived from induction. The work is intended for beginners, and in this point of view has obvious merits, in its clear and simple statements, and its abundance of examples. Based upon the treatise of Archbishop Whately, it presents logic simply as the science of the syllogism, without entering into the questions and discussions which have recently been raised, and with which it is needless to perplex the minds of beginners.

Rudiments of Public Speaking and Debate; or Hints on the Application of Logic. By G. J. HOLYOAKE. Revised by L. D. Barrows. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1861. Pp. 230. The same publishers have brought out this English work, with an Appendix, containing Henry Rogers' well-known article on Sacred Eloquence, as seen in the British Pulpit, from the North British Review; and an Introduction, earnestly exhibiting the need, especially among ministers, of a more thorough study of the principles of public speaking. The work of Mr. Holyoake, without being a regular scientific treatise, contains much matter to stimulate and direct thought, under the three divisions of the Derivative, the Acquired, and the Applied Powers, of the orator. We might criticise some particulars in the arrangement and distribution of the topics; but the object of the book is rather to exhibit deficiencies, and to give practical hints and suggestions, than to set forth rhetoric in the forms and terms of a system. Large extracts are made from other authors; and there is an abundance of anecdote and illustration, so that the interest need not flag. The author's own style is occasionally somewhat rough, and his constructions unusual; but there is also much of pertinent and forcible criticism. We cannot say much in praise of the philosophy or religion of Mr. Holyoake.

The Limits of Exact Science as applied to History. An Inaugural Lecture delivered before the University of Cambridge. By the Rev. CHARLES KINGSLEY, M.A. Cambridge and London. 1860. Mr. Kingsley has made a good use of the occasion, presented by his induction into the chair of modern history at Cambridge, in uttering this earnest and eloquent protest against explaining history by the laws and methods of the so-called exact sciences. Though the title is more definite than the treatment, yet many forcible objections are urged against the claims and pretensions of the positivists, with particular reference to the positions taken in the *Westminster Review*

in its recent article on Neo-Christianity. If we "wish to understand history," he says, "we must first try to understand men and women." Though history obeys certain laws, these are not physical alone or chiefly, but moral, providential, religious. Its immutabilities are the laws of everlasting justice. Man breaks every day the sequences of nature. The predominance of mere physical laws is negatived by the fact of freedom; by the fact that there are fools in the world, not only "imbecile and obstructive" fools, but also "ferocious and dangerous" ones; by the fact of human reason guiding nations; by the fact, that geniuses come up now and then, no one can tell how or why, for no one can give us "a science of great men;" by the power of moral law and the fact of moral retribution; by an overruling Providence, for God is educating and guiding the race, and Providence is not only "over-ruling," it is "under-ruling," "around-ruling," "in-ruling," also. In history, nature is not to conquer, it is *to be conquered.* In the concluding part of the address he refers to prejudices against him, in "the minds of better men" than he is, "on account of certain early writings of mine. That prejudice, I trust, with God's help, I shall be able to dissipate." Incidentally he alludes to Dr. Temple's Essay on the Education of the World (in the *Essays and Reviews*) as inadequate, since the laws for the education of the individual are not sufficient to give a theory of the education of the race; and "between the education of the one and the other there is simply the difference between a man and a God."

Twelve Sermons: delivered at Antioch College. By HORACE MANN. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1861. Pp. 314. It is very possible that ministers, when they write popular lectures, are apt to foist into them the style of the pulpit: and it is equally possible, that when laymen write sermons they may involuntarily write an essay or a lecture instead. The late President of Antioch College did not escape this contingency of laymen. His Sermons are addresses; and the appended meditations, in the form of prayers, are rather exhortations or essays than petitions. In one of these prayers, for example, is this sentence: "If one class of these gifts is such as an Infinite Father would give us, the other is such as an Infinite Mother would give." These "Sermons" are chiefly upon moral duties, and contain faithful instruction and earnest warnings. There are many passages of marked vigor and popular effectiveness. But the doctrinal facts and truths of Christianity are, for the most part, reduced to the standard of moral lessons. The old mystics allegorized Scripture; modern reformers sometimes go to the other extreme, and 'moralize' Scripture.

The main idea, running through these addresses, is, that the moral law, under God's government, is binding and supreme. And yet, one of the main defects of the volume, theologically, is in its statements as to what the moral law is, and especially as to its sanctions. Natural law and moral law are confounded: moral law is reduced to the statements, by which natural laws alone can be defined. "Law merely signifies the manner in which God acts;" moral law, as much as physical, it is every where implied, consists simply in a certain sequence. Punishment, in the case of sin, is simply the sequence of the sin. To remove this sequence, we need only, and we must, remove the sin. No guilt or penalty then remains. Atonement for guilt by another, by Christ, must therefore be a fiction, in the sphere of morals, just as much as it would be in the sphere of physical nature. Such is the general theory of this volume, as it is of many other volumes. And it is disproved by the fact, that moral law and physical law are so distinct, that they cannot be defined by the same radical ideas. Physical law is simply a sequence of cause and effect; but moral law is the

expression of an eternal idea—it is rectitude embodied in the form of command, with appropriate sanctions. As physical law cannot thus be defined, so moral law cannot be defined by the mere idea of sequence. And hence all analogies and reasonings from the one to the other are inconclusive and illogical. To identify the two in definition is to introduce entire confusion into both ethics and theology.

PRACTICAL RELIGIOUS LITERATURE.

Select Sermons of the Rev. WORTHINGTON SMITH, D.D., late President of the University of Vermont. *With a Memoir of his Life*, by Rev. Joseph Torrey, D.D. Andover. 1861. Pp. 368. President Smith was born in Hadley, Mass., Oct. 11, 1795, was a graduate of Williams College in 1816, studied theology at Andover, was pastor of the church at St. Albans, Vt, for twenty-seven years, President of the University of Vermont at Burlington for six years, from 1849 to 1855, and died at St. Albans Feb. 13, 1856. He was a wise and prudent man, in speech and action. His administration of the affairs of his college contributed to its usefulness and prosperity. He secured to an unusual extent the confidence and esteem of all who knew him. The Memoir of Dr. Torrey is an affectionate and just tribute to his character and influence. This volume is a fitting tribute to his memory. The Sermons here published show how a wise thinker can use a truly spiritual philosophy in the maintenance of the essential truths of the Christian faith. Less brilliant than those of President Mahan, they appeal to a much deeper spiritual experience; the former are superficial when contrasted with the latter. Let any one read Dr. Smith's discourses on Conscience, on the Moral Government of the World, on the Law broken by a Single Offence, and on the Gospel true to the Moral Convictions of Men (to say nothing of those on more direct evangelical themes), and he will see how a true theory of conscience and the law leads to Christ and redemption, in contrast with Mr. Mann's mode of handling these themes, so as to substitute morals for religion. The last discourse, on Life, as Related to the Seen and the Unseen, is an impressive exhibition of the subject.

Half-Century Sermons. By JOHN WOODBRIDGE, D.D. Northampton. 1861. Pp. 35. These two discourses were preached in the First Church in Hadley, on occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the venerable author's ordination as Pastor of that church. They are an instructive review of a ministry, whose influence has been felt far beyond the bounds of that quiet and beautiful parish. Dr. Woodbridge's testimony to the efficacy and necessity of preaching the great doctrines of the Gospel in a plain and consistent manner is enforced by the fruitful experience of his useful and honored life.

The Life of Trust: being a Narrative of the Lord's Dealings with GEORGE MÜLLER, *written by himself.* Revised and condensed by Rev. H. L. WAYLAND. With an introduction by Francis Wayland. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1861. Pp. 490. The power of simple faith, that faith which *worketh* by love, is strikingly illustrated in these memorials of a most self-denying, benevolent, prayerful, and active life. Müller was born in Kroppenstädt, Prussia, 1805. Vicious in youth, he was reformed in the university of Halle, where he came under the influence of Tholuck. He devoted himself to a missionary life; but his

ission was to be in England, building up the Ashley Down Orphan-ouses in Bristol, by faith, prayer, and works. He began these in 1835, ıd has instructed 13,124 pupils; circulated over 42,000 Bibles and Tes-ıments, over 11,000,000 tracts and books; erected two large buildings, ıd is now erecting a third, at an expense of more than 650,000 dollars; ıd yet he never solicited a penny for any of these objects. And he re-ites many wonderful facts to show that answers to his prayers, in the way f contributions, came at just the right moment. The book abounds in ıch instances as the following:

"This is perhaps, of all days, the most remarkable as yet, so far as it gards the funds. When I was in prayer this morning respecting them, was enabled firmly to believe that the Lord would send help. though all emed dark as to natural appearances. At twelve o'clock I met as usual ith the brethren and sisters for prayer. There had come in only one illing, which was left last evening anonymously at the Infant Orphan-ouse, and which, except twopence, had already been spent on account of ıe great need. Lower we had never been, and perhaps never so low. Ve gave ourselves now unitedly to prayer, laying the case in simplicity efore the Lord. Whilst in prayer, there was a knock at the door, and one f the sisters went out. After the two brethren who labor in the Orphan-ouses and I had prayed aloud, we continued for a while silently in prayer. ıs to myself, I was lifting up my heart to the Lord to make a way for our scape, and in order to know if there were any other thing which I could o with a good conscience, besides waiting on him, so that we might have ood for the children. At last we rose from our knees. I said: 'God will urely send help.' The words had not quite passed over my lips when I erceived a letter lying on the table, which had been brought whilst we ere in prayer. It was from my wife, containing another letter from a rother with ten pounds for the orphans. The evening before last I was sked by a brother whether the balance in hand for the orphans would be s great this time, when the accounts would be made up, as the last time. Iy answer was, that it would be as great as the Lord pleased. The next ıorning this brother was moved to remember the orphans, and to send to-ay ten pounds, which arrived after I had left my house, and which, on ccount of our need, was forwarded immediately to me."

So far as such cases illustrate the power of prayer, and the fact of an-wers to fervent petitions, they are in accordance with the general experi-nce of Christians. But so far as they seem intended to change, as Dr. Vayland suggests, the whole economy of our benevolent operations, we hink that the facts are unwisely interpreted. We cannot see why it is not ast as Christian, and just as trustful, to ask a brother directly to help us in ood works, as it is to solicit him by letting him know that we have asked he Lord to induce him to help us. If we may ask the Lord to help us, hy may we not ask a brother also? And may not the answer to our etition to the Lord, sometimes depend upon our also asking others? Then, gain, if we may ask others to help us in work, why may we not also ask hem to help us with money? Many can give the money who cannot give he work. Besides, though there may be cases of marked individuality, ike Müller, who can go on and do a great and good work alone, without he aid and care of an organisation, such cases are simply exceptional, and or limited branches of benevolent activity. The more expanded works of harity require organisation and strict responsibility. Let us then derive ll the good we can from the memorials of such a self-denying life, without eing led astray by its partial theories.

A Memorial of Closing Scenes in the Life of Rev. GEORGE B. LITTLE. Riverside Press: H. O. Houghton, Cambridge, 1861. The subject of this beautiful Memorial was born in Castine, Me., Dec. 21, 1821; was a graduate of Bowdoin College in 1843, and of Andover Theological Seminary in 1849; was pastor of a church in Bangor until 1857, and then of one at West-Newton, Mass.; visited France for a brief period in 1860; and died in Roxbury, Mass., July 20th, after a long decline, illumined by the brightness of the Christian faith. This tribute to his memory, prepared with pious care by some of his nearest friends, is simple and truthful. It is not so much a biography as a record of Christian experience and character. To the numerous personal friends, and the parishioners of Mr. Little, it will vividly recall his eminent worth as a man, a scholar, a preacher, and a Christian. He was enthusiastic in his profession, and in his love of all good learning. Easily taking a high place, he seemed marked out for distinction among scholars; but his life was spent in the pulpit, which was made attractive by his clear, effective, and eloquent advocacy of the truth. His Christian experience, through many struggles, led him to a profounder sense of sin, and a simpler faith in Christ. The record of the closing scenes of his life is full of deep interest. This Memorial is beautifully printed. A striking likeness of Mr. Little will lead all who look upon it to wish to know more about that thoughtful and animated face. May many, besides his personal friends, gather comfort and strength from this instructive narrative of the uneventful life of a true Christian scholar and minister.

Little Footprints in Bible Lands. By J. H. VINCENT. With introduction by Rev. J. M. EDDY, D.D. New York: Carlton & Porter. Pp. 139. Biblical History and Geography are here taught in a novel and ingenious manner for the use of "Palestine Classes" and Sabbath-schools, by questions and answers, abundant pictures, maps, and songs. In some of the latter the names of places and rivers are set to music to help the memory. The method of such teaching is expounded in the Sixth Part. A full Gazetteer and Index conclude the book.

Leaves that Never Fade; or, Records of Divine Teaching and Help. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1861. 18mo. Pp. 143. A series of devout and profitable meditations on various themes, suggested by poems, verses of hymns, and texts of Scripture.

Words for the Hour. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1861. Suitable words of exhortation for the Christian soldier in the time of war.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Harper's Greek and Latin Texts. Nothing so beautiful and accurate in the way of Greek and Latin Texts has been produced in this country as this series of the Harpers; nor are the corresponding English and German works in any wise superior to them, nor yet so cheap. They are published at the uniform rate of 40 cents a volume. The whole of Virgil for 40 cents, in clear type, excellent paper, and nice, flexible binding! Horace and Æschylus at the same rate; Euripides is in 3 volumes, Thucydides in two, and Herodotus in two. Virgil is edited by Prof. Conington

of Oxford; Horace, by A. J. Macleane; Herodotus, with an Index of Proper Names, by J. W. Blakesley; Æschylus and Euripides, by F. A. Paley, with Indices; Thucydides, by J. G. Donaldson, with an Index. Cæsar, Sallust, Sophocles, Xenophon's Anabasis, Cicero De Senectute, and De Amicitia, and other works are in preparation. The Harpers deserve the thanks of all scholars for these serviceable and excellent editions. We hope that they may become pocket-companions with our collegiate and theological scholars.

Silas Marner, the Weaver of Raveloe. By the Author of "Adam Bede," etc. New York: Harpers. 1861. Pp. 265. In the translator of Strauss's Life of Christ, and of Feuerbach's Essence of Christianity—two of the most destructive pantheistic books of the century, who would have expected to find the sharpest delineator of scenes and characters in the humblest lot of human life, with a marked fondness for describing religious struggles and experience? But this transition from pantheistic abstractions to homely realities is in the nature of things, and exemplified in many other instances. George Elliot's (Marian Evans) novels are wholly of the realistic order (in the empirical sense of realism); and they are of the highest order of patient and truthful elaboration, yet without any artificial polish. Silas Marner, as a whole, is not equal to either Adam Bede or the Mill on the Floss; its two parts are disproportioned, and the plan of the author hardly seems to have been fully carried out. But it is a work of deep interest. The psychology is acute and natural, though concealed. It was a kind Providence that sent little Effie to take the place of Silas Marner's money-bags, and gave him human love instead of the love of gold; but does the book also mean to teach that human love is to supplant religious trust?

Trumps. A Novel. By George Wm. Curtis. Splendidly illustrated by Augustus Hoppin. New York: Harpers. 1861. Pp. 502. The author of "The Potiphar Papers" has lost nothing of his talent for describing fashionable society, and satirising fashionable follies. He is one of the few American writers who have made the scenes of novels, with their locality in New York, at once entertaining and natural. This work is written with talent. The characters are well drawn, and the movement spirited. It contains an exposure and rebuke of that fashionable pride and money-making, which rely only on external success. It is rather the outside of life, its superficial aspects, which are here delineated—in striking contrast with the work of Marian Evans. The illustrations by Hoppin are capital. The book is issued in very handsome style.

The Wits and Beaux of Society. By Grace and Philip Wharton. With Illustrations from Drawings by H. K. Browne and James Godwin. Engraved by the Brothers Dalzel. New York: Harpers. 1861. Pp. 481. This volume is a side-piece to the "Queens of Society." The lives of the Wits and Beaux of courts and fashionable life, Buckingham, De Grammont, Lord Rochester, Fielding, Lord Hervey, Beau Nash, Beau Brummell, afford little that can be edifying—excepting the sad moral derived from the contemplation of their perversion of brilliant talents. Their lives are hardly redeemed even by any noble human sympathies or sentiments. Of a higher order is the genuine wit of Chesterfield, Walpole, Sheridan, and Sydney Smith. The volume is enlivened by abundance of anecdote; and the narrative is simple and unpretentious. As the only tolerable collection of the kind, the

work has its place and worth in the illustration of the morals and manners of a class which a higher and more earnest culture will disown or transform.

The Breath of Life; or, Mal-Respiration and its Effects upon the Enjoyments and Life of Man. By GEO. CATLIN. John Wiley, New York. 1861. 8vo. Pp. 76. The author of the well-known work upon the North American Indians here presents himself as a medical discoverer, intent upon remedying the evils that afflict the race. His grand remedy is found in three words, "*Shut-your-mouth*," to be "engraved in every *Nursery*, and on every *Bed-post* in the universe." While the author manifestly exaggerates the importance of his discovery—made among the Indians, and tested by himself, yet no possible harm could come from giving the prescription a fair trial. The volume is at least entertaining; and the illustrations are spirited and effective.

ws of the Churches and of Missions.

S—UNITED STATES.

Census of 1860.

TES AND TERRITORIES.

	1850.	1860.	*Increase.*
...	583,169	619,958	36 789
...	317,976	326,072	8,096
...	314,120	315,827	1,707
...	994,514	1,231,494	236,980
...	147,545	174,621	27,076
...	370,792	460,670	89,878
...	3,0 7,394	3,751,563	754,169
...	489,333	676,084	187,751
...	2,311,786	2,916,018	604,232
...	1,980,427	2,377,917	397,490
...	3?7,654	754,291	356,637
...	988,416	1,350,892	362,396
...	851,470	1,691,238	839,768
...	305,391	768,485	463,094
...	192,214	682,003	489,789
...	92,597	284,770	292,173
...	13 294	52,596	39,272
...	6,077	172,793	166,616
...		143,645	143,645
...		28,893	28,893
...	11,354	50,000	38,646
...		4,839	4,839
...		11,624	11,624
	13,465,533	19,046,173	5,580,650

seen from this that New- l the first State in the that Illinois has grown r than New-York during years. In several of the ates the population has loubled in ten years, and , has nearly quadrupled. een no positive decrease on in any, although in ie New-England States it tionary.

remark may be made of ates, as this table shows:

LAVE STATES.

	1850.	1860.	*Increase.*
...	89,343	110,548	21,306
...	492,666	946,183	153 517
...	949,133	1,097,373	148,340
...	580,491	679,965	99,474
...	283,523	308,186	24,663
...	524,503	615,336	90,833
...	48,135	81,885	33,750
...	423,.79	520 444	91.6 5
...	296.648	407,051	110,403
...	272,953	354,245	81.292
...	154.431	415,799	261,568
...	162.797	331,710	16?,913
...	7?3,154	859,528	96,374
...	771,424	920,077	148,653
...	594,622	1,085 595	490 973
...	48.000	75,321	27,321
...	61.547	93,024	31,477
	6,522,048	8,602,470	2,080,422

Texas and Missouri have grown the most rapidly of all the slave States. South-Carolina, Florida, and Delaware are nearly stationary; and North-Carolina, Tennessee, and Louisiana have not advanced with great rapidity. As to the slave-growth, we have the following:

SLAVE POPULATION.

	1850.	1860.	*Decrease.*	*Increase.*
Delaware.....	2,290	1,505	785	
Maryland.....	90,368	85,382	4,986	
Virginia.....	472,528	495,826		23,298
North-Carolina,	288 548	328,377		89,829
South-Carolina,	344,984	407,185		62,201
Georgia.....	381,682	467,471		85,779
Florida.....	39,309	64,809		24,500
Alabama.....	342,893	435,463		92,571
Mississippi,....	309,878	479,607		169,729
Louisiana.....	244,809	312,186		67.3 7
Texas.....	58,161	184 956		126,.95
Arkansas.....	47,100	109 065		61,.95
Tennessee.....	239,460	287,112		47,652
Kentucky.....	210,981	225,400		14,419
Missouri.....	87,422	115,619		28,197
Dist. Columbia,	3,687	(No returns.)		
	3,203,999	3,999,853	55,771	148,375

In Delaware and Maryland alone has there been a decrease—that in Maryland so large that in another ten years, at the same rate, the slaves will be gone altogether. In Delaware there will be few left. In Missouri there has been a small positive increase; but compared with the white population, which has doubled, an enormous relative decrease. Slavery is nearly stationary in North-Carolina, South-Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee. In those States it grows only a few thousand a year. An emancipation of this increment alone would speedily extinguish the system in all the border States, without much loss to any body, and an immense general gain.

The slave States have gained in ten years about two millions of whites, and the free States more than five millions. New-York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio contain as many white people as all the slave States together.

FUGITIVE SLAVES.

The number of fugitive slaves reported by the census of 1860 was 803, against 1,011 as reported by the census of 1850. The official figures are as follows:

STATES.	Census of 1860.			Census of 1850.		
	Slaves.	Fugitives.	One in	Slaves.	Fugitives.	One in
Alabama,	435,132	36	12,087	342,844	29	11,822
Arkansas,	111,104	28	3,968	47,100	21	2,224
Delaware,	1,789	12	150	2,290	26	88
Florida,	61,753	11	5,614	39,310	18	2,184
Georgia,	462,230	23	20,096	381,682	89	4,288
Kentucky,	225,490	119	1,895	210,981	96	2,198
Louisiana,	332,520	46	7,228	244,809	90	2,720
Maryland,	87,188	115	758	90,368	279	324
Mississippi,	436,696	68	6,422	309,878	41	7,558
Missouri,	114,965	99	1,161	87,422	60	1,457
North-Carolina,	331,108	61	5,293	288,548	64	4,508
South-Carolina,	402,541	23	17,501	384,984	16	24,061
Tennessee,	275,784	29	9,509	239,459	70	3,421
Texas,	180,388	16	11,274	58,161	29	2,005
Virginia,	490,887	117	4,195	472,528	83	5,693
	3,949,557	803	4,918	3,200,364	1011	3,165

The Immigration of 1860.—The whole number reported by the Commissioners of Immigration, for 1860 (to Dec. 27), is 103,621, who brought with them $7,875,196. Of these 46,659 were from Ireland, bringing $3,540,034; 37,636 from Germany, bringing $2,800,336; 11,112 from England, with $844,512; 1,506 from Scotland, with $114,456; 1,470 from France, with $111,720; 1,306 from Switzerland, with $104,816; and the rest from 21 other countries. Of these, 44,000 remained in New-York State; 20,000 were destined for the West and North-West. The immigration in 1859 was 79,322; 1858, 78,589; 1857, 183,773; 1856, 142,342; 1855, 146,233; in 1854, 319,223; 1853, 284,945; 1852, 309,992; 1851, 259,601; 1850, 212,795; total in eleven years, 2,131,437.

Church Membership of Slaves.—The *Educational Journal* of Georgia gives the following summary:

Methodist Church South	260,000
" North, in Va. and Md.	15,000
Baptists, Missionary and Hard Shell	157,000
Old-School Presbyterians	12,000
United Synod, about	6,000
Cumberland Presbyterians	20,000
Protestant Episcopal	7,000
Campbellites and Christians	10,000
All others	20,000
Total colored members South	507,000

Increase of the Ministry.—From the minutes and almanacs of several religious bodies chiefly, and from Wilson's Presbyterian Almanac and a few other sources, all dated 1860 and 1861, we learn that the number of evangelical ministers is 30,838. For several reasons this number is no doubt understated. Only the travelling preachers of the Methodist churches are enumerated; the anti-mission and some other Baptist ministers are not included; the licentiate preachers of the Presbyterian churches are included.

Similar statistics for 1832, 1843, and 1854, may be found in the *Missionary Chronicle*, February, 1844, and the *Foreign Missionary*, April and May, 1855. The comparative results may be thus stated:

	Population.	*Evangelical Ministers.*	*Relative Supply.*
1832	13,713,243	9,587	1431 to 1
1843	18,768,623	17,173	1093 to 1
1854	25,953,600	26,249	998 to 1
1860	31,000,000	31,338	986 to 1

INCREASE PER CENT.

Population, 1832 to 1860, 226 and a fraction over. Evangelical Ministers, 1832 to 1860, 328½.

The following comparative statement is from the *Examiner:*

The Almanacs of the Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and the Baptist denominations, for 1861, give the statistics of their membership and ministers, and contain facts worthy of notice.

The Congregationalists (Orthodox) have, in all North America, 2734 churches, of which 561 are without pastors; male members, 81,453; female members, 157,257. Total number, 260,389. Of these 201,409 are residents of New England.

The Presbyterians are divided into ten or twelve distinct bodies, the largest being the Old-School Presbyterian Church, which has, in the United States, 2,693 ministers, 3,592 churches, 292,857 communicants. A large proportion of its membership is

in the South. The New-School Presbyterian Church is less than one half as large as the Old-School, having 1,527 ministers, 1,483 churches, (a remarkable exception to most Protestant denominations, its ministers being more numerous than its churches), and 134,933 members. They are mainly in the free States. The Cumberland Presbyterians, who, in many respects, have more affinity with the Methodists than with the Presbyterians, are mainly in the South-Western States, and are most numerous in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri. They number 1150 ministers, 1250 churches, and 103,000 members. Next come the United Presbyterian Church, who adhere to many of the forms of the Scotch Church, and are, as a body, strongly opposed to slavery. They are found almost entirely in the Middle States, and have 447 ministers, 674 churches, and 58,781 members. The Reformed Protestant Dutch Church is usually reckoned a Presbyterian body. It too is confined almost entirely to the Middle States, and has 410 ministers, 410 churches, and 50,427 members. The other Presbyterian Churches, the United Synod, two Reformed Synods, one Associate Reformed Synod of the South, the Associate, Associate Reformed, Free Synod, and Covenanters, are small bodies, none of them numbering more than 12,000 members. Together, the entire Presbyterian bodies in the United States number 6,606 ministers, 7,928 churches, and 683,932 members. In British North America there are 465 ministers of the different Presbyterian bodies, 625 churches, and 59,284 members, making the aggregate for North America, 7,071 ministers, 8,553 churches, and 743,216 members.

The regular Baptists number, in the United States, 8,952 ministers, of whom 1,115 are licentiates, 12,371 churches, and 1,020,442 members. Adding to these those in British North America, we have 9,424 ministers, of whom 1,203 are licentiates, 13,046 churches, and 1,091,167 members—being a little more than all the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists combined.

Lutherans.—The first Lutheran Synod (that of Pennsylvania) in this country was formed in 1748, at the suggestion of the Theological Faculty of Halle; the New York Ministerium was organized in 1785. The synods now number 38 in 18 States. The General Synod was organized in 1820. The church had then 103 ministers; in 1833, 337 ministers and 1,017 congregations; in 1853, 900 ministers and 1,750 congregations; in 1860, 1,150 ministers and 2,099 congregations. The Theological Seminary at Hartwick was established in 1816; that at Gettysburg, 1825; the Pennsylvania College in 1832.—*Prof. M. L. Stoever's Brief Sketch.*

Welsh Calvinistic Methodists in the United States: 118 churches, 4,851 members, 53 ordained ministers, and 36 preachers. Ten Associations (*Cymanfa*) for preaching are held each year, 4 in New York, and 2 each in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Wisconsin. In the State of New York are 27 churches (the largest in Utica of 160 members; next in New York City of 143), with 1,416 members. The largest salary paid is $1,000 to Rev. W. Roberts, N. Y. In Ohio, 26 churches and 1,400 members; Pennsylvania, 17 churches, 654 members; Wisconsin, 38 churches; Minnesota, 5 churches.

Roman Catholics:

Years.	*Provinces.*	*Dioceses.*	*Vicariates.*	*Bishops.*	*Priests.*	*Churches.*	*Stations & Chapels.*	*Eccles. Institutions.*
1808	1	1	.	2	68	80	...	2
1830	1	11	.	10	232	230	...	9
1840	1	16	.	17	482	454	356	13
1850	3	27	.	27	1081	1073	505	29
1854	7	41	2	39	1574	1712	746	34
1855	7	41	2	40	1714	1824	978	37
1856	7	41	2	40	1761	1910	895	37
1857	7	41	2	39	1872	2053	629	35
1858	7	43	2	43			...	..
1859	7	43	2	46	2108	2334		..
1860	7	43	3	49	2235	2336	1128	48
1861	7	43	3	45	2317	2517	1278	49

The Mormons. — The number of Mormons in the United States and the British dominions, in 1856, was not less than 65,000, of whom 38,000 were residents in Utah, 5,000 in New York State, 4,000 in California, 5,000 in Nova Scotia and the Canadas, and 9,000 in South America. In Europe there were 36,000, of whom 22,000 were in Great Britain and Ireland, 5,000 in Scandinavia, 2,000 in Germany, Switzerland, and France, and the rest of Europe, 1,000; in Australia and Polynesia, 2,400, in Africa, 100; and on travel, 2,800. To these if we add the different branches, including Sarengites, Rigdonites, and Whiteites, the whole sect was not less than 126,000. In 1857, there appears to have been a decrease in the population of Utah, the number being only 31,022, of which 9,000 were children, about 11,000 women, and 11,000 men capable of bearing arms. There are 2,358 men with eight or more wives, of these, 13 have more than nine wives; 739 men with five wives, 1,100 with four wives, and 2,508 with more than one wife—recapitulation, 4,647 men, with about 16,500 wives. There have been three large immigrations from Europe the present year, amounting to about 2,500 persons, from all parts of Europe.

The anniversaries of the different religious and benevolent Societies held in New York and Boston were well attended. The Reports give, upon the whole, favorable results.

The American Tract Society— Printed during the year, 857,004 volumes, 9,507,904 publications, or 256,343,464 pages. Total in thirty-six years, 16,635,533 volumes, 236,-090,209 publications, or 5852,630,-598 pages.

Gratuitous distribution for the year, in 3,764 distinct grants, 45,083,-951 pages, and 15,137,850 pages to life-members and directors, value upwards of $40,000.

Receipts and Expenditures.—Received in donations $93,926.88, inculding legacies, $25,028.26; and for sales, $213,413.85—making $307,340.-73, or with $51,394.92, balance of insurance money on hand at the beginning of the year, $358,735.61. Expended—manufacturing and issuing, $217,178.56; colportage, $71,-337.60, and eight colporteur agencies and depositories, $27,767.46; foreign cash appropriations, $7,000; agencies for raising funds, $12,367.82; all other expenses, $27,203.75; total, $357,478.91. Total donations and legacies received for the year have been less by $5,000 than the expenditures for the three items of colportage and home and foreign grants.

Foreign Cash Appropriations.— For the Sandwich Islands, $550; China, Episcopal Mission, Shanghai, $300; Southern Baptist Missions, Canton, $100; Shanghai, $100; Assam, $100; Burmah and Karens, $200; Northern India, $1,000; Orissa, $100; Turkey, Armenians, etc., Northern Mission, $1,900; Central Mission, $500; Southern Mission, $500; Italy, $1,000; Germany, American Baptist Mission, $300; New Granada Presbyterian Mission, $350; total, $7,000. The sum of $1,000 has also been transferred from the Mission of the Presbyterian Board in Siam to their mission in China.

Boston Tract Society.—Publications 39,390,104 pages of tracts and books, at a cost of $69,015; sales, $49,677; grants, $16,503; foreign field, $500; sixty-two colporteurs. Receipts, $75,042; debt, $25,647.

American and Foreign Christian Union.—Receipts, $60,569; expenditures, $59,082.

American Bible Society.—The receipts of the year from all sources were $389,551.52, of which $221,-742.33 were for books sold. Books printed at the Bible House 829,000; books issued, 721,878; making an

ate since the formation of the
y of 15,000,759. Gratuitous
have amounted to $41,967.91.

he *Bible Society Record*, 414,-
ave been issued, or 37,951
ly.

nts of Money. — These have
nade for publishing and circu-
the Scriptures in Spanish Ame-
rance, Germany, Italy, Tur-
yria, India, China, Africa, and
ndwich Islands, to the amount
,283.90, aside from the funds
ed in the Bible House in print-
eign versions.

e Missionary Society. — Re-
$183,761.80. Expenditures,
62.70, leaving $13,706.24 still
missionaries for labor per-
; the balance in the trea-
but $20.53.
total of receipts is less by only
37 than that of the year pre-
. The contributions of the
indeed, are greater by $5,177.-
e amount of legacies, $33,226.-
ing $7,131.70 less. In conse-
chiefly of a balance in the
ry, at the beginning of the pre-
year, the expenditures of the
ear have been $8,774.99 less
the year before; and the num-
missionaries is less by forty-

erican Seamen's Friend Soci-
The receipts of the Society,
ies and auxiliaries, last year,
72,997.59.
receipts of the Parent Society
been $23,698.05; last year it
40,711.26. This diminution
en chiefly in the Southern field
ed, there has been a small in-
in the central agency. Owing
state of the times and the re-
ion of the Southern Secretary,
atively little has been collected
South. Operations in the
ern ports, however, have not
abandoned, though in some of
for the want of means, sus-
pended in part for a time; in others
there has been considerable prosper-
ity. The expenditures of the Parent
Society have been $23,942.54. The
floating debt at the close of last year
was about $5,000; it is now $7,000.

American Missionary Association.
—112 missionaries; 145 churches;
4,380 church members—452 added
the last year; 6,250 Sunday-school
scholars.

Baptist Missionary Union.—The
receipts of the year have fallen off
some $12,000. The missions are in
a prosperous condition. The whole
number of missions is 18. In the
Asiatic Missions there are 16 Sta-
tions, and about 365 out-stations; in
the French and German Missions,
860 stations and out-stations. The
number of missionaries, including
those in this country and exclusive
of those in Europe, is 42 males and
44 females; native preachers and
assistants, exclusive of those in Eu-
rope, 380; in Europe, 124. The
number of churches about 360; bap-
tisms during the year, (reports not
full,) 1,950; whole number of mem-
bers about 28,000.

The receipts of the *Southern Bap-
tist Foreign Mission Board*, for the
financial year just closed, were $32,-
826.52; the expenditures, $40,294.-
48; excess of expenditures, $7,467.-
96; balance in treasury, $4,990.39.

The *Christian Index* learns that
the Bible Board "will report to the
coming Convention more work done
and more money received during
1859–61 than during 1857–59. The
Board has applications now for Bibles
and Testaments for the Creek, Cher-
okee, and Choctaw Indians, for the
Chinese, and for Sabbath-schools in
Arkansas, Tennessee, and Texas."

At the 27th Anniversary of the
*Female Guardian Society and Home
for the Friendless*, the annual sermon
was preached by Rev. George L.

Prentiss, D.D. The Receipts were $42,295; expenditures, $38,584.

Missions of the Episcopal Church.—In the Domestic Missionary field, 8 bishops and 137 missionaries are employed; the amount raised $75,230. For the Foreign field, the receipts were $85,389, or $14,087 less than in 1859. In China, 12 missionaries are employed—two being native deacons; in Japan, 2 missionaries and one physician; in Africa 10 missionaries, and 39 assistants; 382 communicants; 683 scholars.

The *General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church* (*N. S.*) met in Syracuse; Dr. Condit, of Auburn, was chosen Moderator.

The Trustees of the *Church Erection Fund* reported the whole amount of the fund as $111,000, and that thirty-two churches had been aided in building during the past year.

The Church Extension Committee.—The funds of this Committee of the N. S. Presbyterian Church have increased to about $22,000, or *fifty* per cent during the year over last year; the number of missionaries to eighty-eight, or more than *one hundred* per cent; legacies reported, but not received, $25,000.

The plan of *Education* was revised. The following are the chief articles:

"ART. III. The General Secretary shall be the Executive officer of the Permanent Committee. It shall be his duty, as far as he can, to visit the Synods, Presbyteries, and churches, for the purpose of awakening their interest and concentrating their energies in this matter; to visit the students aided by the Permanent Committee, and to exercise, as far as possible, a pastoral supervision over them; to present this cause to the churches; to urge upon young men the claims of the ministry; to collect funds as opportunity may be afforded him; to discharge such other duties as may be assigned to him from time to time by the Permanent Committee, in furtherance of the general object of Education for the ministry, and to make a quarterly report, in writing, of his doings to the Permanent Committee.

"ART. IV. The Permanent Committee shall also annually elect a Treasurer, who shall receive all funds intrusted to them, and disburse the same under their direction. At their discretion, this officer may receive a reasonable compensation, and be required to give adequate bonds.

"ART. V. Appropriations to students for the ministry shall be made by the Permanent Committee, according to the rules heretofore approved by the General Assembly (Minutes 1857, p. 390), or such as shall hereafter be approved. Although it is recommended to churches and to donors not to give a specific direction to their contributions, yet in individual cases, and for sufficient reasons, any designation may be given to contributions not inconsistent with the rules of the General Assembly, provided, nevertheless, that all funds passing through the treasury shall bear a due proportion of the expenses of the Committee."

The Committee last year received $8,429; local societies received about $18,000. The number of students aided was 225.

The most important action of the Assembly was in respect to Home Missions, taking the whole work within its bounds under its supervision. The Permanent Committee is assigned to New York, instead of Philadelphia. The chief debate was on allowing Presbyteries to have the control of funds for missionaries within their bounds. The main articles are these:

"ART. IV. They shall undertake the work of aiding such congregations as are unable to support, in whole or in part, the stated preaching of the Gospel, and of sending itinerating or resident missionaries to the destitute in our own land.

"And as it is the design of the General Assembly not to supersede the different ecclesiastical bodies connected with it, but to encourage and give unity and efficiency to their action, so as to bring out the full adaptation and force of the Presbyterian system in Home Missions, the Presbyteries are recommended to appoint Standing Committees on Home Missions to explore their destitutions; to select, and, if they think expedient, to nominate missionaries for their own field; to recommend the amount of their compensation; to secure an annual contribution to the cause from each of their churches; to be a medium of communication between the Presbytery and the Assembly's Committee; and to furnish annually to this Committee, on or before the 15th of April, a detailed statement of the Home Missionary work within their bounds.

"ART. V. The Committee shall appoint and commission the missionaries, taking care to appoint no one unacceptable to the Presbytery within whose bounds he is to labor; they shall give them all needful instruction as to the place and character of their labors, securing, as far as practicable, and regarding, the advice and indorsement of the Presbytery, as to the selection and location of laborers and their remuneration; they shall make the necessary appropriations to agents, exploring and itinerating missionaries, and congregations, it being understood that no appropriation shall be made to any congregation whose application is not indorsed by the Presbytery with which such congregation stands connected, or the Committee of Presbytery; and shall take measures to secure the effective coöperation of the Synods, Presbyteries, and churches, in the work of exploration, in securing missionaries, and in obtaining funds for the common treasury."

The Assembly also passed, unanimously, patriotic resolutions upon the present state of the country. After reciting the facts of secession, the following among other resolves were adopted:

"*Resolved*, 1. That inasmuch as the Presbyterian Church, in her past history, has frequently lifted up her voice against oppression, has shown herself a champion of constitutional liberty, as against both despotism and anarchy, throughout the civilized world, we should be recreant to our high trust were we to withhold our earnest protest against all such unlawful and treasonable acts."

"2. That this Assembly and the churches which it represents, cherish an undiminished attachment to the great principles of civil and religious freedom on which our National Government is based; under the influence of which our fathers prayed, and fought, and bled; which issued in the establishment of our independence, and by the preservation of which we believe that the common interests of evangelical religion and civil liberty will be most effectively sustained."

"6. That in the countenance which many ministers of the Gospel and other professing Christians are now giving to treason and rebellion against the Government, we have great occasion to mourn for the injury thus done to the Kingdom of the Redeemer; and that though we have nothing to add to our former significant and explicit testimonies on the subject of slavery, we yet recommend our people to pray more fervently than ever for the removal of this evil, and all others, both social and political, which lie at the foundation of our present national difficulties."

THE *Presbyterian General Assembly* (O. S.) met in Philadelphia. Only a small part of its Southern representation was present. The Presbytery of South Carolina had previously expressed the Southern feeling in the following resolutions:

"*Whereas*, The President of the United States has declared the Confederate States of America to be in a state of "insurrection," and has

called for an army of 75,000 men to aid the regular army in quelling this pretended insurrection, and has collected a large fleet to make a descent upon our coast, thereby inaugurating civil war: Therefore,

"*Resolved*, That it is inexpedient to appoint any of our members to represent this Presbytery in the General Assembly about to convene in Philadelphia, in the midst of the enemies of our peace and of our rights."

The most important and exciting debate was on the adoption of a resolution, offered by Dr. Spring of New York, professing loyalty to the General Government. Early in the session the whole subject was laid on the table by a vote of 123 to 102. Dr. Spring then proposed a resolution, which, as subsequently slightly modified, reads as follows:

"*Resolved*, 2. That this General Assembly, in the spirit of that Christian patriotism which the Scriptures enjoin, and which has always characterized this Church, do hereby acknowledge and declare our obligation to promote and perpetuate, so far as in us lies, the integrity of these United States, and to strengthen, uphold, and encourage the Federal Government in the exercise of all its functions under our noble Constitution; and to this Constitution, in all its provisions, requirements, and principles, we profess unabated loyalty."

Dr. Hodge, of Princeton, proposed a substitute, affirming, among other things:

"1. The General Assembly is neither a Northern nor a Southern body; it comprehends the entire Presbyterian Church, irrespective of geographical lines or political opinions, and had it met this year, as it does with marked uniformity one half of the time, in some Southern city, no one would have presumed to ask of it a fuller declaration of its views upon this subject than it has embodied in this minute.

"2. Owing to Providential hindrances, nearly one third of our Presbyteries are not represented at our present meeting; they feel that Christian courtesy not only, but common justice requires that we should refrain, except in the presence of some stringent necessity, from adopting measures to bind the consciences of our brethren who are absent, most of them, as we believe, by no fault of their own."

The debate was earnest and protracted; and the advice even of members of the President's Cabinet —contrary to all previous usage— was brought to bear upon the result. The subject was referred to a committee, a majority of whom proposed the following, among other resolves:

"*Resolved*, That the members of this General Assembly, in the spirit of that Christian patriotism which the Scriptures enjoin, and which has always characterized this Church, do hereby acknowledge and declare their obligation, so far as in them lies, to maintain the Constitution of these United States, in the full exercise of all its legitimate powers, to preserve our beloved Union unimpaired, and to restore its inestimable blessings to every portion of the land."

The Southern members objected to any and all resolutions. But the General Assembly, by a decisive vote, 129 to 84, rejected the majority report, and adopted Dr. Spring's resolution as above, with unimportant additions. Dr. Hodge and 45 others presented a Protest, the most important point of which was "the denial of the right of the General Assembly to decide the political question, to what Government the allegiance of Presbyterians as citizens is due, and its right to make that decision a condition of membership in our Church." The answer to this Protest, drawn up by Dr. Thomas, denies that the Assembly has done this, for the reason, that it cannot recognise the Southern Confeder-

acy as a Government, and quotes against Dr. Hodge his own statement in the *Princeton Review*, that disunion "involves a breach of faith, and a violation of the oaths by which that faith was confirmed."

It is a pretty serious question, whether the unity of Presbyterianism is to be more regarded than the claims of patriotism. A church which is unwilling to declare its loyalty to its country does not keep all the commandments of Christ. And the real question is, not whether a church may not have members from different governments, but whether it may not and ought not to declare itself loyal, although some of its members may have become disloyal.

THE *Reformed Protestant Dutch Church* held its annual Synod in Brooklyn in June. The receipts for Foreign Missions were reported at $35,406, an increase of $5,224; Board of Publication, $16,205; Sabbath-school, 5,144; Domestic Missions, $13,546.

THE *United Brethren in Christ* held their 13th Annual Conference in Westerville, Ohio; 56 delegates present. An Address of the three bishops, Glossbrenner, Edwards, and Davis, was read, which contained the following present statistics of the denomination: 5,166 preaching places; 8,900 classes; 94,453 members; 499 itinerant and 417 local preachers; 1,041 meeting-houses; and 1,513 Sabbath-schools; preaching places, 1,275; classes, 1,284; members, 33,054; meeting-houses, 267; Sabbath-schools, 504.

Presbyterians in British Provinces.

	Min.	*Chh.*	*Com.*
Presbyterian Churches in connection with Churches of Scotland,	99	116	12,000
United Presb. in Canada,	70	120	11,000
Presb. Chh. of "	151	187	20,931
" of Lower Prov.,	76	148	9,950
" of Nova Scotia,	20	25	2,000
" of New Brunswick,	29	34	3,400

CANADA—*Upper Canada.*—The Episcopal Church in 1803 had 5 clergymen and one bishop; in 1819, 16 clergymen; in 1839, 16 clergymen; in 1860, ten bishops and about 200 clergymen.

THE Associated *Calvinistic Baptist* Churches of Canada now number over 12,000 members: the net increase the last year was 608.

THE *Wesleyan Methodists* (New Connection) now number 6,984 members and 79 ministers; in 1853 they had 4,446 members.

HAYTI.—The republic of Hayti has a population of 600,000. The national religion is Roman Catholic. A Concordat has been concluded by President Geffrard with Rome. The Roman mission had been interrupted since 1848. But now, Monsignor Monetti, Apostolic Legate, is arranging ecclesiatical affairs under Rome. An archbishop is to be appointed at Port-au-Prince, and bishops at other points. The priests are all white. A Concordat in 18 articles has been adopted, providing for the special protection of the Roman Catholic Church; the President (Geffrard) is to have the nomination of bishops. The legate is accompanied by three priests of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit and the Sacred Heart of Mary (instituted specially for missions among negroes), who will take up this mission, which has been interrupted since 1843.

There are in Hayti about 1400 Protestants; 4 missionary stations of the English Wesleyans, 2 of English Baptists, and one of American; 2 Haytian Protestant churches. It has a system of public free schools, at which 12,000 children attend; 89 primary schools for boys, 21 for girls; 4 high schools for boys, one for girls; law, naval, medical, and painting schools; a National Institute for instruction in Industrial Art. The Republic also supports 50 youth in colleges in France.

JAMAICA. — Rev. Mr. Underhill, Secretary of the English Baptist Missionary Society, who has visited Jamaica, and carefully studied its condition, said in a recent speech in London, that the late slaves in that island have built some 220 chapels. The churches that worship in them, number 53,000 communicants, amounting to one eighth of the total population. The average attendance, in other than the State churches, is 91,000, a fourth of the population. One third of the children (22,000) are in the schools. The blacks voluntarily contribute £22,000 ($110,000) annually for religious purposes. Their landed property exceeds $5,000,000. Valuing their cottages at only $50 each, these amount to $3,000,000. They have nearly $300,000 deposited in the savings banks. The sum total of their property is much above eleven millions of dollars. All this has been accumulated since their emancipation.

The extraordinary revival now in progress attracts the attention of the Christian world. The "ruin" of the colored population in Jamaica by the gift of freedom, is to be estimated in the light of these facts.

DEMERARA.—The population is estimated at 140,000. Last year there were 6,000 immigrants (156 being Chinese women). The population has increased 80,000 since emancipation. Revivals of religion and prayer-meetings are reported.

EUROPE—*Increase of Population.* —In Europe there are 19 monarchies, 27 duchies, 4 principalities, 8 republics; in all, 58 governments. Twenty-five years ago there were 67. In Germany the change has been greatest: 200 years ago it had 350 distinct governments; in 1789 there were 150; in 1814 they were reduced to 38 (now 37).

Mr. J. E. Wappæus has published at Leipsic the first volume of an *Allgemeine Bevölkerung Statistik* (General Statistics of Population), which contains some considerations on the movement of population in the various countries of Europe. He shows that the Malthusian doctrine, that the increase of population is by geometrical progression, is a mistake. In France, for instance, the rate of increase has been steadily decreasing since the peace of 1815, it being as follows:

1821 to 1831,	6.7 per cent.
1831 to 1841,	5.0 per cent.
1841 to 1851,	4.4 per cent.
1851 to 1856,	.7 per cent.

In England, the decrease in the rate of increase has been less:

1811 to 1821,	16.6 per cent.
1821 to 1831,	14.6 per cent.
1831 to 1841,	13.5 per cent.
1841 to 1851,	11.9 per cent.

In Prussia, the annual rate of increase was:

1817 to 1828,	1.71 per cent.
1829 to 1840,	1.35 per cent.
1840 to 1846,	1.27 per cent.
1846 to 1855,	.69 per cent.

In Belgium the annual per centage of increase fell from 1.08 previous to 1846 to .42 from 1846 to 1856; in Holland it fell from .93 previous to 1840 to .69 from 1840 to 1850.

Mr. Wappæus gives the following table of the per centage of annual increase in the countries of Western Europe, and the period required for doubling. It is based on the rate of movement during the last fifteen years:

	Increase.	*Time of Doubling.*
Norway,	1.15	61 years.
Denmark,	0.58	71 "
Sweden,	0.88	79 "
Saxony,	0.84	83 "
Holland,	0.67	103 "
Sardinia,	0.58	119 "
Prussia,	0.53	131 "
Belgium,	0.44	158 "
Great Britain and Ireland,	0.23	302 "
Austria,	0.18	385 "
France,	0.14	495 "
Hanover,	0.02	3152 "

The laws of birth and death are stated by Mr. Wappæus, from sta-

ıbracing about thirty-eight
of births and thirty millions
. They show that in these
the annual average is,
,000 inhabitants, 260 deaths
births, showing an increase
cent, from which, however,
n is to be deducted. From
ral average the figures vary
country and each year, but
tions are considerably less
he births than among the
This is occasioned mainly
famines, and epidemics,
t directly upon the rate of
, and only indirectly on the
birth. The causes of geo-
variation, which, as will
from the table below, are
ısiderable, are exceedingly
o determine. Mr. Wappæus
to show that they are to be
ly to a very limited extent
ferences of climate and race.
however, is undisputed, that
ber of deaths follows very
nd even month by month,
ınt of variation of tempera-
. Wappæus does not consid-
sive the figures which have
d upon to prove a consider-
ease, during the last 500
the mean duration of life.
ble of births and deaths, in
n to the population, in seve-
ries above referred to, is as

Births in proportion to the inhabitants.	*Deaths in proportion to the inhabitants.*
....25.98	86 84
.....26.50	85.70
.....27.82	88.78
.....28.18	80.21
.....29.22	86.01
.....30.00	89.45
....30.06	48.79
.....31.64	55.64
.....32.28	48.71
.....32.39	48.94
....33.56	43.18
.....34.35	42.86
.....37.16	43.56
.....30.49	88.50

BRITAIN.—*Religious Socie-*
e *Record* intimates that the
of nearly all the leading
Societies, made up, as they
re, to the 31st March, show a considerable diminution in the receipts. The Church Missionary Society Committee reports a falling off of nearly £10,000 in the home revenue for the year, while the expenditure has been increased to the extent of £12,000. We are glad to know that no similar deficiency has taken place in the funds of either of the great missionary Societies supported by Dissenters; and we have no reason to believe that the income of any of our Associations has been materially lessened this year; in some we know an increase will be reported.—*Patriot.*

The Convocation of Canterbury.—On Monday, March 14th, in the Lower House, a resolution was adopted, "that this House will always hail with satisfaction *lay. co-operation*, when it can be had without infringing on the rights and privileges of Convocation." Consent to a petition for license to act on Canon 29th was also given, after a long discusion.

On Friday, March 15th, on motion of Dr. McCaul, a joint committee was voted, on promoting the endowment of poor incumbrances. Canon Wordsworth brought forward a motion against the legalizing of marriage with a deceased wife's sister, and expressing the earnest hope that the Bishops would give it their strenuous opposition, if it came up in the House of Lords. Dr. McCaul seems to have been alone in opposing it in the debate; and the motion was carried.

The Convocation of York.—The Convocation of York has also, at last, met for business, for the first time since 1704, in which year an address was voted to Queen Anne by the only *two* persons present, the two commissioners of Archbishop Sharp. No prolocutor has been chosen since 1663. This year, Convocation met on Monday, March 13th, in the Chapter House of York Cathedral. The President (the Archbishop) began by stating, that as license to alter a

canon had been given to the Convocation of Canterbury, a like license should be asked by the Convocation of York.

In the Lower House, the Dean of Ripon moved that the Lower House, consenting to the wish expressed by the Upper House, agree to a petition to the Crown for a license to amend, if thought desirable, the 29th Canon; and that this House is prepared to receive the petition adopted by their Lordships to that effect. After some opposition from Dr. McNeile, the motion was carried.

Anniversary of the Bible Society. — The fifty-seventh anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society was held on Wednesday, May 1st, at Exeter Hall. The President of the Society, the Earl of Shaftesbury, presided. The President's speech was mainly directed against the negative theology of the *Essays and Reviews.* He said of the authors, that "They were antagonistic to the faith which we professed. From this responsibility he would hear of no escape, under the plea that this man did not write that essay, nor the other man such a review. They were all act and part in one conspiracy, and every one of them must take his share of profit or loss, of credit or shame, with all the rest."

The report gives a most cheering account of the progress of the Bible cause in nearly all portions of the immense field occupied by the British and Foreign Bible Society. The reports from Italy, Russia, and China, were particularly satisfactory. In the large cities of Italy the circulation has been large.

In Russia, after a long period of suspended labor, the Synod of the Greek Church had resumed the printing of the Scriptures in modern Russ for general circulation. The translation of the entire Bible was already completed, but as yet only the four Gospels had been issued; of these, 200,000 copies had been circulated. The circulation of the year through the medium of the agency at St. Petersburg, was 17,200 copies of the Scriptures.

In China, the issues in the last year were, at Shanghai, 28,000 copies, at Canton, 6000, and at Hong Kong, 4,300.

The total receipts of the Society from the ordinary sources of income were £167,164 6s. 7d., being £5,143 13s. 2d. more than any former year.

Church Missionary Society.—On Tuesday, April 30, the annual general meeting of the members and friends of this Society was held in Exeter Hall. The Rev. John Venn, D.D., read the Report, which stated that the income of the Society had amounted to £129,182 5s. 4d., including a sum of £4,382 5s. 0d., specially, subscribed for India. The local funds raised in the missions, and expended there upon the operations of the Society, but independently of the general fund, were not included in the above statement. The amount exceeded £20,000, making a grand total from all sources of £149,182.

London Missionary Society.—The Anniversary of this Society was held in Exeter Hall. The whole receipts of the year are £81,563 7s. 3d.; the whole expenditure, £81,199 6s. The ordinary income shows an increase on the year 1859-60, when, however, the aggregate was swelled by the falling in of a reversionary gift of £9,500. The disastrous interruption of the mission to the Makololo tribe forms the only exception to the hopeful and encouraging prospects of the Society; and against that melancholy disappointment may be set the good success of the devoted band sent among the Matabele on the opposite bank of the Zambesi, and the undaunted readiness of poor Helmore's surviving brethren to resume the enterprise cut short by the selfishness, if not the treachery, of King Sekeletu.

Religious Tract Society.—The 62d Annual Anniversary of this Society was held May 3d, at Exeter Hall. Dr. G. H. Davis, the Secretary, read the report. It is stated that the publications issued from the Society's dépôt during the past year amounted to 41,883,921. Of these, 20,870,070 were English tracts, including handbills; 537,729 were foreign tracts; 13,194,155 were periodicals, and the remainder books and miscellaneous productions. If to these were added the probable circulation from foreign dépôts, the numbers would reach 47,000,000, making a total, since the institution of the Society, of 912,000,000. The number of new works published during the year was 289. The grants to Great Britain and Ireland had amounted to 5,762,241 tracts and books, valued at £6,116 14s. 4d.; the grants to France had amounted to £958 1s. 4d. The principal of the other grants were as follows: Holland and Belgium, £290; Russia, Sweden, etc., £387 4s. 1d.; Italy, £524 14s.; Turkey and the Mediterranean, £314; India, £2,196 17s. 6d.; China, £446 11s. 3d. The funds of the Society had considerably improved. The total receipts of the year were given at £103,127 16s. 11d.; the total expenditure, £102,311 14s. 5d., leaving a balance in the hands of the Treasurer of £816 2s. 6d.

The Wesleyan Missionary Society reported the following: Home receipts, £105,898 19s. 1d.; foreign receipts, £34,779 10s. 8d.; total receipts, home and foreign, £140,678 9s. 9d.

From 1855 to 1860, the Wesleyans expended on chapel-building the sum of £374,123. In London they have one minister to every 88,000 of the population.

The *Baptist Missionary Society* received, in the course of the year, nearly £33,000. Rev. A. Wiberg, of Stockholm, Sweden, delivered a remarkable address on the history and prospects of the Baptist body in Sweden. Their history went back but a few years. He was converted in 1842, and a few years later joined the Baptists. About twenty Baptist chapels had been erected in the last four or five years, and about thirty colporteurs or local preachers were employed in evangelical labors in the different villages and provinces of the kingdom. There were altogether at the present time about 120 Baptist churches in Sweden, and upwards of 5,000 persons had been added to their communion within the past six years.

The *Primitive Methodist Mission Society.*—The Report, read by Rev. T. Penrose, stated that the itinerant preachers of the denomination were 675, and the connectional chapels numbered 2,267; the membership is 132,114, and the Sunday-scholars number 167,533. The gross income was £14,858 17s. 8½d. Numerous addresses were made.

Ragged Schools.—The advantages which society has reaped from the establishment of these schools are so great that new ones are being opened daily all over the country. In London alone are 155 ragged schools and 15 refuges, with morning, afternoon, and evening Sabbath-school, and an average attendance of about 26,400 scholars. There are 146 week-day schools, with an average attendance of 15,457. There are 200 week-night schools, averaging over 9,400, and there are 99 industrial classes, averaging close upon 3,750 scholars. There are over 4,300 voluntary teachers, 132 of whom were formerly scholars in ragged schools, and 416 paid teachers. The income is £29,280, and the expenses are £29,252. We add, with regret, that there is a debt of £2,122. 834 boys and 652 girls have been sent to situations from these schools. 76 penny banks are connected with them, in which 25,637 depositors have deposited £8,888; and there are fifty

clothing clubs, to which the scholars and their friends have subscribed £592. These figures speak for themselves.

Italian Mission in England.—A Church of England mission to Italians resident in the metropolis has been opened with the sanction and approval of the Bishop of London, who has nominated Rev. P. Leonini to conduct it. It is said that there are 20,000 Italians residing in the metropolis. An effort will be made to secure one of the city churches for the use of the mission, but no arrangements have yet been completed.

Evangelical Continental Society.—This Society held a meeting April 10th. The Secretary made the following statement as to the objects of the Society:

"The Society did not send out missions to the Continent, but assisted Protestant Missionary Societies in France, Belgium, and Italy. There were ninety laborers in connection with the Society in Italy, including ministers, evangelists, schoolmasters, and mistresses. There were also twenty in connection with the Vaudois Church, eleven at Nice, and five at Geneva. The design of the meeting was to excite the sympathies of British Christians with the objects of the Society. In connection with the Evangelical Society of France and Geneva, there were about one hundred and ten agents laboring in France, besides forty-five students in the School of Theology at Geneva. About thirty-four agents were laboring in connection with the Evangelical Society of Belgium."

The Church-Rate Question.—The House of Commons has once more voted in favor of the abolition of Church-rates, two hundred and eighty-one voting for, and two hundred and sixty-six against the bill. The London *Patriot* has the following remarks on the vote:

"The debate and division was perhaps the most important that has ever taken place on the subject. First of all, there was the fullest House that ever divided on the question—five hundred and fifty-one, including tellers; we believe that on no previous Church-Rate debate have more than five hundred members been present. This was felt to be a great party division, on which the strength of both sides of the House would be pretty well tested, and on which the cohesion and influence of the Liberal party greatly depended."

Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, Sir G. Grey, Sir G. C. Lewis, Sir C. Wood, Right Hon. Mr. Gibson, Mr. Cardwell, Lord Stanley, Sir James Graham, Lord Alfred Hervey, Hon. A. Kinnaird, etc., voted with the majority; and the Right Hon. W. Gladstone, Sir R. Peel, Mr. Frederick Peel, Mr. Pope Hennessy, a leading man among the ultramontanes of Ireland, were among the minority. The Irish Catholic members, for the most part, did not vote.

Quakers.—England and Ireland had about 70,000 Quakers in 1690; now they number about 26,000. In the last 50 years, there have been among them 2,400 more births than deaths.

Roman Catholics in Great Britain.—Priests, 1,342; chapels, 993; monasteries, 47; convents, 155; colleges, 12. The last year, the diocese of Worcester received 31 new priests; Hexham, 8; England, 100; Scotland, 11. In Westminster, 6 new monasteries, and 31 new chapels; 8 new convents. In Liverpool, 9 new convents.

Religious Statistics of Ireland.—The *Irish Times* estimates the present population of Ireland at 5,950,000 souls, and adds: "From various causes emigration has chiefly taken place among the Roman Catholic portion of the people, and the num-

er of those who profess the Roman atholic creed has annually dimin-shed. On the fairest calculation, it ould appear that, of the 5,950,000, ot more than 3,450,000 are Roman atholics, the remaining 2,500,000 eing Episcopalians, Presbyterians, ethodists, etc., all classed under he name of Protestant."

SCOTLAND.—The Endowment Fund or the Established Church, to raise he necessitous district (*quoad sacra*) hurches to parish churches now mounts to half a million: it was he favorite project of the late Dr. obertson, whose Memorial Fund, y the ladies of the Church of Scot-nd, is now in rapid progress. By is fund, 42 churches and 8 par-hes, at an expense of £170,000, ve been secured. Dr. Robertson's heme, in addition, has already sub-riptions to the amount of £156,000; is proposed to increase it to 300,000.

The Cardross Case.—Lord Tervis-ode has decided, that the civil urts have the right to investigate eged irregularities of ecclesiastical ocedure, with a view of reducing annulling ecclesiastical sentences. ie Free Church maintains, that ese sentences being purely ecclesi-tical, can not be revised by the ril courts. The whole Free Church se is thus again reopened. Large eetings have been held in Edin-rgh and Glasgow in reference to e matter.

THE *United Presbyterian Church* ports 536 congregations, 161,669 mmunicants (an increase of 4,622); 4 students; £192,461 raised, of hich £44,377 are for missionary and enevolent uses. The Church of cotland has 1,173 ministers, 1,208 urches; the Free Church, 797 inisters, 875 churches; the Re-rmed Presbyterian Church, 87 min-ters, 90 churches, 10,000 members.

THE *Presbyterians in England* number 88 ministers, 103 churches, 9,500 members; in Ireland, 500 ministers, 650 churches, 57,000 members; the Reformed Presbyterian in Ireland, 45 ministers, 55 churches, 4,000 members; the Presbyterian Church of Victoria, 137 ministers, 150 churches, 57,000 members.

THE *News of the Churches* says: "In Dumfriesshire, and in the Upper ward of Lanarkshire, God has been working marvelously by his Spirit. Mr. Hammond, an American Presbyterian student of divinity, has been the chief human agent employed in the work. His pointed and practical addresses in the town of Dumfries produced a powerful impression; and during most of the past month there have been large public union prayer-meetings in one or other of the churches in the town—the operations of the Spirit having in this, as in most other cases, burst the bonds of sectarian feeling." Mr. Hammond is a graduate of Williams College, and was a member of the Union Theological Seminary in New York.

WALES.—The Wesleyan Methodists have increased in two years 4,549, now numbering 16,388. The Baptist churches have increased 10,000. The Independents, 33,724. The total increase in the different denominations is estimated at 100,000.

FRANCE.—A new census of France is about to be taken. The following figures show the comparative increase of population for the last forty years: In 1821 it was 30,461,875; in 1831, 32,569,223; in 1836, 33,540,910; in 1841, 34,230,178; in 1851, 35,783,170; and in 1856, 36,039,364.

AN interesting document has lately been published in Paris, giving the number of individuals in France at the date of the last census (1856), who were engaged, directly or indirectly, in various professions and trades, from which they derived their

support. The returns include not only adults, but also children, and are thus classed: Agriculture, 19,-064,071; Manufactures, 10,690,961; Commerce, 1,652,331; Professions, 1,462,144; Clergy of all persuasions, 142,705; Persons without any trade or profession, 3,241,457. A comparison between the population returns of 1851 and 1856 shows a sensible diminution in the number of persons engaged in agricultural labor, and an increase in the class following manufacturing pursuits. During the preceding year (1856) the receipts from the *octroi* in Paris were 54 millions of francs, being an increase of 21 millions of francs in ten years; and the total receipts of the metropolis in the same year amounted to 110,306,124 francs; while the expenditure during the same period was 97,720,544 francs.—*Athenæum.*

Education.—Of 310,289 soldiers, only 192,873 can read and write. In all France there are only 4,225 booksellers, of whom only 165 are in the rural communes. Out of 2,250,000 boys, 475,000 go to no school; and of 2,593,000 girls, 533,000. Out of 1,000 criminals, 786 can neither read nor write. Improvement is imperative, and has been so strongly felt by the Government to be so, that the Minister of Public Instruction has offered a first prize of 1,200 francs, and seven inferior ones, to the best papers sent in by schoolmasters in answer to this pointed question: "What are the wants of primary instruction in a rural commune, in the three-fold point of view of the school, the scholars, and the master"? The papers were to be given in on the 3d of February. This, together with the rising of the minimum salary of schoolmasters to 600 francs, which decision benefits 4,405 of them, and sundry pecuniary reliefs given to above 2,000 schools, shows a solicitude called for by a crying evil.

Some of the French *Monasteries* are rapidly increasing. The establishment of Les Petites Sœurs des Pauvres de Paris, which was attended in 1844 by two women occupying a single room, now possesses thirty convents and twenty-five millions of property. The "Sisters of the Holy Union" of Cambrai, started only a very few years ago, and they have now one hundred and thirty houses of their order in France and Belgium.

The trial and condemnation of the Abbé Mallett at Douai for the abduction and conversion of a family of Jewish girls, has produced a painful impression as to the morals of the Catholic convents in France. The oldest girl, seduced by Mallett as well from her virtue as from her religion, was used by him as an instrument to obtain possession of the other sisters; and the better to accomplish his purpose, the girls were carried about from convent to convent, and had their names frequently changed, in order that their parents should lose trace of them. The Bishop of Cambrai, when appealed to by the brother, made the same reply as that made by the Pope when the father of the Mortara boy demanded his son, *Non possumus*—we can do nothing. Fortunately there is justice in France. The Abbé Mallett was condemned to six years' solitary confinement.

The dependence of the French Church on Rome is growing more slight. The Emperor has it in his own hands. He virtually chooses all the bishops and archbishops; he even names the cardinals; and all the clergy are in his pay. The archbishops, 15, receive from $2,000 to $10,000; 64 bishops from $3,000 to $5,000; 669 canons, from $320 to $480; 3,124 parish priests about $300; 29,971 priests of dependent churches, from $200 to $500; 8,053 curates, (vicars,) from $60 to $100. There are in France 208 seminaries for priests, with 27,290 pupils. A million and a half

rancs are annually expended for rch building by the State. The nasteries and nunneries are also ported by the State; they can receive by will from any one rce over 10,000 francs, nor that hout express permission, nor can one leave them more than one rth of his property. There are cloisters for men, with 9,186 nks; 2,000 for women, with 40,391 s; in the cloisters are 1,547 semies, with 5,178 brothers, and 59 sisters. Among the Orders, are enlisted in benevolent works, h 922 monks and 10,189 nuns; other 338, with 2,039 monks and 5 nuns, are devoted merely to itual exercises. There are now in nce 6 vacant bishoprics, which Emperor does not fill, because Pope would not confirm the tion.

The Diocesan Chapter of Troyes tradicts the report that the late hop Coeurs had listened to proals from the Government to be le Patriarch of a Gallican church, case of the separation of France n Rome.

The Address of the Bishop of tiers (M. Pie) to his clergy, "on charges brought against the Sovegn Pontiff and the French clergy the pamphlet called '*Rome, la nce, et l' Italie*,' by M. Laguerone," was published in the *Monde*, which it fills nearly six columns. this Address, the Bishop was demned "for an abuse of authori" by the Council of State. In the dress he compared the Emperor to atius Pilate. The Minister of Jus addressed a circular to the Proator of the Imperial Courts, in the rse of which he intimates that he been made aware that the clergy in the habit of criticising the pol of the Government in their sers. These criticisms tend to cre distrust and reprobation of the peror's action; some outrage even person (comparing him to Pilate), ile others fill weak consciences with alarm. He then reminds his subordinates that such offenses are, by law, punishable by imprisonment for three months or two years, or by banishment from the empire. He says *significantly*, that present circumstances prove the wisdom of such enactments, adding, "It is time that the laws should vindicate their authority."

The Archbishop of Lyons, Cardinal de Bonald, had published a haughty pamphlet against the imposition of a stamp upon pastoral letters treating of political matters. He pronounces the imposition of the stamp humiliating and not to be submitted to by the Bishops. The *Siècle* says of it: "We affirm, with all the energy of our conviction and of our faith, that no government is possible in presence of this clerical omnipotence, which pretends to speak, to act, and to direct in the name of God. Any government which would wish to keep erect in the face of those clerical factions will be placed in the alternative either of humiliating itself before them, or of humbling them before it; either it must submit to their law, or they must submit to its injunctions."

PROTESTANTISM.—The Emperor on Easter Sunday gave 2,000 francs to a Protestant church in Biarritz. There are in Paris thirty Protestant places of worship, in which are held sixty-eight Sunday and twenty-one week-day services, of which the French Reformed Church gives nineteen, the Lutherans fourteen, the Free Churches nineteen, the Methodist six, the Baptist two, the various English churches eighteen, and the German eleven. To these churches are attached fifty-six Protestant day-schools, and between thirty and forty Sunday-schools. The Free Churches have two asylums for the aged, one for the blind, one for orphans; deaconesses take charge of thirty or more invalids, besides sick children, penitent women, and various other cases. A preparatory the-

ological school, and two or three seminaries for our youths, the Protestant Academy, and a few schools for young ladies, together with two excellent normal schools for teachers, secure a good education for the youth of the higher classes. Eleven religious journals (three of which are rationalistic) are published in Paris; and ten Protestant booksellers thrive, where, thirty years ago, a solitary one found it difficult even to vegetate."

The *Central Protestant Society* has 70 missionaries, 118 places of public worship, and 50 stations. Its Preparatory school has educated 80 pupils, of whom 24 are now ministers. The Evangelical Society is employing 80 missionaries. Receipts, 116,849 francs; expenses, 142,220 francs. It is now in its fifteenth year.

The *Missionary Society* met for its thirty-sixth annual festival. Its spheres of labor comprise fourteen stations in South Africa, which are in a prosperous state; China, to which it has sent two missionaries; two more are on the eve of their departure for Hayti, whither as Baptists they have joined the English Society, which sends them out under its auspices. The receipts have been 166,608 francs; and expenses, 167,186 francs.

The *French and Foreign Bible Society* has sold, during its twenty-eighth year, 91,877 Bibles and Testaments; its receipts have been 64,290 francs, and expenses 61,291 francs. To the 91,877 copies of the Scripture sold by this Society, must be added 87,200 sold by the French agents of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

The *Paris Tract Society* has in its thirty-ninth year sold 200,000 copies of its excellent Almanac, circulated 1,500,000 of its different publications. The receipts of the Society amount to 91,283f., and its expenses to 84,443f., but a previous debt gives a deficit of 41,000f. The Society publishes no controversial tracts; it has printed seven new tracts, and four volumes this year.

The *Société Evangélique* held its twenty-eighth anniversary. Paris, and thirty villages around, are evangelized by its agents. The churches in the Haute-Vienne and the Yonne are being consolidated. Some of the places of worship and schools are still closed, however, under the law of 1852. Its receipts have been 157,441f., and its expenses, 131,787f. But a previous debt still leaves 15,000f. deficit.

The *Protestant Bible Society* held its forty-first anniversary. It is the oldest of the Societies. Its supplies extend beyond the frontier to the colonies. 16,575 copies of the Scriptures have been thus circulated during the year. Its receipts are 45,805f., and its expenses, 42,950f.

Italy.—In Italy there are 264 bishops and archbishops; in all the rest of Europe, 314. The whole Roman Catholic world is divided into 1,007 bishoprics, viz., 681 in Europe, 128 in Asia, 29 in Africa, 146 in America, and 23 in Australia.

Population of Italy.—The following is at present the population of the kingdom of Italy: Piedmont, 3,815,637 inhabitants; Sardinia (the Island), 573,115; Lombardy, 2,771,647; Modena, 609,189; Parma, 508,784; Tuscany, 1,779,338; The Legations, the Marches, and Umbria, 1,960,360; Naples, 6,843,965; Sicily, 2,231,020; total, 21,093,005 inhabitants.

Population of Rome.—The population of the "Eternal City" is about one hundred and seventy-five thousand, divided into fifty-four parishes,

with 1,280 priests, 2,092 monks and members of religious orders, 1,590 nuns, and 547 ecclesiastical pupils. Exclusive of Jews, the number of inhabitants not acknowledging the Roman Church is 412.

THERE are at present, in the *Sacred College*, one cardinal named by Leo XII., twenty-one by Gregory XVI., thirty-eight by Pius IX., one reserved *in petto* in the Consistory of 26th June, 1859, and nine hats vacant—total seventy. The oldest of the cardinals is his Eminence Tosti, who is eighty-five, and has worn the purple twenty-four years; the youngest is his Eminence Milesi, forty-three, and has been a cardinal four years.

POPE PIUS IX. erected in 1860 a new see at Fortellezza, in Brazil, an Apostolic Vicariate in California, and two Apostolic Prefectures. He has also reëstablished the ancient bishopric of the Armenian rite, at Neo-Cesarea, in Asia Minor.

THE Pope has delivered an allocution in the Consistory, in reply to those who have asserted that the Papacy is incompatible with civilization, and said, that, on the contrary, the Papacy had always contributed to the diffusion of real civilization. The Pope declared that he was only opposed to that pretended modern civilization which persecutes the Church, imprisons her cardinals, bishops, and priests, suppresses religious orders, despoils the Church, and tramples justice under foot. He deplored that the Concordat had been violated in the Kingdom of Naples. The Pope declared that he would spontaneously have granted concessions, and would have accepted those which have been advised by the Catholic Sovereigns, but that he could not receive the counsels and unjust demands of an usurping government. In conclusion, the Holy Father deplored the subversion of all authority, and promised forgiveness to all who had been misled. He confided, he said, the cause of the Church to God, the avenger of justice and right.

THERE has been established at *Naples*, says the *Gazetta di Turino*, a committee of priests, under the appellation of the "Union of the Ecclesiastics of Southern Italy." Their programme comprises, 1st, the creation of a journal aiming solely to instruct the people, and to propound reforms in discipline; 2d, a uniform system of preaching; 3d, gratuitous instruction in religious and political duties for all classes; 4th, assistance for the sick in the hospitals, and a method of assisting and succoring prisoners.

NAPLES.—The Italian government found 1,847,027 ducats in possession of the Conferenza des Missions, at Naples, and appropriated it as an ecclesiastical fund for future use.

The Jesuits.—The present General of the Order is Peter Beck, the successor of Rothaan. The whole number of the Order, according to recent statistics, published in Rome, is at present 7,144, being 2,292 greater than in the year 1847. One thousand are engaged in foreign missions, and there are 444 in the United States. The largest number is found in France and Italy. They have been expelled from Piedmont, Lombardy, Modena, the Marches, Umbria, Romagna and the two Sicilies. The General of the Order has addressed to Victor Emmanuel a protest against their recent suppression. After speaking of the suppression of the establishments of the Jesuits in 1848 in Piedmont, the General proceeds:

"From the time of the Italian war last year, up to the present day, the Company of Jesus has lost three convents and colleges in Lombardy, six in the Duchy of Modena, eleven in the Pontifical States, nineteen in the kingdom of Naples, and fifteen in Sicily. Every where the company has been deprived of its estates and movables, in the strictest sense of the

word. Its members, about fifteen hundred in number, have been driven from cities and houses; escorted like malefactors by soldiers from one town to another; detained in public prisons, atrociously ill-treated and insulted; even prevented from seeking an asylum in the bosom of some pious family; and in many places not even the white hairs of old age, nor the prostration caused by infirmity, were respected."

Protestantism in Italy.—As far as the influence of Sardinia reaches, religious toleration is insured. The work of evangelization will probably proceed with increased rapidity. The *Neue Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* contains a series of valuable articles on the present state and prospects of this movement. The *Waldenses* in the valleys number about 22,000; the regular Sunday morning attendance on worship is 7,350; average of communicants, partaking of the sacrament, 7,650; 31 Sunday-schools. The station at Pignerol is another position of strength. At Turin there is a congregation of 1,600 Waldenses; MM. Bert and Meille, pastors. The *Buona Novella*, edited by Meille, advocates their views; 31,372 bibles and books circulated. At Alessandria there are two preaching places; in Voghera, 30 Italians held service; there are small bands in Casale, Castelnuova, and Quazzora. At Courmayer, in the Aosta valley, M. Curie preaches to some 75 converted Roman Catholics; he is aided in his work by Mr. Gay. At Genoa, a Waldensian church was built in 1858, ministered to by Bruschi; the congregation number about 160. At Leghorn and Pisa, M. Bibet has collected flourishing congregations; at Leghorn, about 200 attend service. The Waldensian theological school is now established at Florence; it has 6 students. M. Concourde labors in the schools. Noceto and Stephen Malan have preached in Milan. Mazzarella, formerly of Genoa, is one of the ablest and most influential men among these Italian converts; he is a Plymouthite in respect to the church; he is now professor at Bologna. Vastavini, of Bologna, is opposed to him on these questions; he holds service there on Sunday for 30 or 40 persons. Cresy preaches in Reggio and Modena every fortnight. The Gospel is also regularly preached in Asti by Minetti; in Arcola by Dassio; in Novi by Grosso; in Alessandria by Rosetti; in Novara and Fassa by Tealdo; in Nizza by Techi; in La Spinetta by Carlino; to congregations varying from 15 to 50. The Evangelical Italian church at Turin, of about 60 members, is directed by De Sanctis. That at Genoa is under the charge of Larzomarsino, since Mazzarella was transferred to Bologna; it has about 150 members. For three hundred years, since the suppression of the beginnings of reform, the word has not been proclaimed in so many places or to so many persons.

A Madrid paper asserts that thirty thousand tracts and other works defending Protestant doctrines had been printed at London in the Spanish language, and that sixty smugglers had undertaken to introduce them into Spain.

PORTUGAL.—The struggle between this kingdom and Rome fourteen years ago, upon the rights of the crown over the East Indian bishoprics of Goa, Diu, and Damas, has operated against Romanism in the popular mind. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception has called forth protests sustained by citations from the Bible and the Church Fathers. Finally, the effort made three years ago to introduce the Sisters of Mercy, with their Lazarist Father Confessors, failed, and the newly-awakened fear of the Jesuits has led to the formation of a Society which seeks to spread the Scriptures and exhorts to a diligent use of the same as the best means of averting the danger. So says the *N. Evang. Kirchenzeitung.*

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Art. I.—THE HOMERIC DOCTRINE OF THE GODS.*

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Naegelsbach's Homeric Theology has been a standard work ever since it was given to the public in 1840, and it still remains the most systematic and complete treatise on that subject with which we are acquainted. It is only necessary to look over his copious index of seven sections, divided and sub-divided, classified and arranged with the help of all the letters of the Greek and Latin alphabet, as well as the Arabic numerals, to see the exhaustive, *German* fulness and methodicalness with which he has treated the Homeric Olympus. And when we pass from the index to the work itself, we are

* Die Homerische Theologie in ihren Zusammenhange dargestellt von Carl Friedrich Naegelsbach, Professor am K. B. Gymnasium zu Nürnberg. Nürnberg. 1840.

Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age. By the Right Honorable W. E. Gladstone, D.C.L., M.P. for the University of Oxford. In three volumes. Oxford: at the University Press. 1858. Vol II. Olympus: or, the Religion of the Homeric Age.

pleased to find that this large promise is amply fulfilled; that while the classification of topics exhausts the subject, the copious illustrations constitute a complete *resumé* of passages pertaining to the religion of the Greeks in the heroic age.

Mr. Gladstone's *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age* is a more voluminous work, more suggestive, and more practical, but less scientific and complete. Borrowing freely from the German scholar, and readily acknowledging his obligations, the English statesman adds little to the materials, and omits many of the facts with their illustrations, but inquires with more eager curiosity into the origin of the religious ideas and usages of the early Greeks, and with the faith and reverence as well as the practical wisdom befitting a leader of the government in the leading State of Protestant Christendom, looks at every topic in its relations to Christianity and the Bible. Of course, the minute accuracy of the German professor is not to be expected in the Chancellor of the English Exchequer. Still the work of Mr. Gladstone adds another to the many enduring monuments which perpetuate the fame of that country whose greatest statesmen have always been, at the same time, her best classical scholars.

Passing from these authors to the subject of which they treat, it is our purpose to confine our remarks, at present, to the Homeric Doctrine of the Gods, reserving the Doctrine of Sin and Expiation, and the Doctrine of a Future State, for future articles, should time and opportunity permit.

When we speak of the Homeric Theology, or the Homeric Doctrine of the Gods, we do not mean to imply that Homer had any such doctrine, or theology, clearly defined and systematically arranged in his own mind, still less, that his poems were intended to be a catechism or a creed for the instruction of coming generations. Homer never preaches or delivers lectures. As his life and character can only be gathered from his works, so his religious sentiments are nowhere stated in form or didactically inculcated, but are every where presupposed in the plot, implied in the incidents, uttered and acted by his heroes and minor personages. Indeed it is not his own theology or his own opinions on any subject that he has given

us; but, wholly objective, living only in his characters, he has perpetuated the living image of their religious ideas and usages. And these ideas and usages he has *re*-presented to us under all the varieties of individual opinion and experience, with all the self-contradictions that belong to false systems of religion, and with all the contrast between theory and practice, creed and conduct, which imperfect men always exhibit in real life, sometimes further exaggerated by a palpable but not readily measurable difference between the imagination of the poet and the people, and the traditions which they have received from a purer and more primitive age.

To discriminate between these differences, and to reconcile these contradictions, is sometimes not a little difficult. Still, beneath them all there is an underlying system of religious doctrine, which characterizes and more or less controls the men of the Homeric age; and Homer, with all his contradictions, was the Bible of the Greeks for many generations. An eye-witness to events cotemporaneous with the earliest prophets and kings of Israel, a faithful voucher* for manners and customs and a state of society strikingly similar to those which existed among the Hebrew patriarchs, the primeval and in their estimation inspired bard, teacher, and historian of a people second only to the Jews in their influence on the education and development of mankind, Homer, and especially the theology of Homer, cannot but be a study of deep interest to the Christian who, with no narrow or one-sided view, sees one and the same hand, the hand of God, in the history of the whole human race.

1. *Number and Classification of the Gods.*

The reader of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* will discover at once that the doctrine of the Divine Unity, which, according to the Scriptures and according to the most reliable history and the soundest philosophy also, was once universal, has already dis-

* Such F. Schlegel takes to be the meaning of the word Ὅμηρος, a *voucher* for heroic life and times; though, with the inborn skepticism of a German, he still doubts whether any such man as Homer ever lived.

appeared from the Homeric world, and given place to the Polytheistic conception of "Gods many and Lords many." Instead of one omnipresent and infinite spirit, alike present and alike powerful in all places and all ages, which is to us essential to the very idea of God, the divine essence, as conceived by these early Greeks, is already divided into as many classes of so called Divine Beings—all, of course, more or less limited and degraded, as there are departments of divine agency, and some of these classes comprehend an indefinite number of individuals answering to the number and variety of existences in the department. At the same time, there are not wanting evident vestiges of a primitive monotheism in the supremacy of Jupiter, the father of Gods and men, whose will is accomplished in all the changeful and apparently conflicting course of events, (Il. 1, 5,) who sits enthroned on Mount Olympus, weighing the destinies of the combatants, while the inferior deities all engage in the strife of battle (Il. 20, 21, seqq.; 22, 209, seqq.); and who, though gods and men should combine against him, with perfect ease could lift them all and the earth itself up to heaven, or hurl them down to Tartarus at his sovereign pleasure (Il. 8, 5-27). There is also a kind of trinity, or triad, in the manifest and vast superiority of Zeus, Athene, and Apollo—the All-father, the Wisdom that is born of him, and the Son who is his Voice or Word. These three are seldom (never long) at direct variance with each other. In the *Odyssey*, Athene and Apollo are entirely at one with Zeus. In the *Iliad*, there is a temporary and partial alienation between Zeus and Athene, while he is avenging the wrongs of Achilles on the Grecians. With this exception, the son and daughter both act not only in harmony with their father, but in joyful subordination to his will. And the three are addressed together by mortals, as of one mind—almost as if they were one being—in that oft-repeated prayer, "Would that Father Zeus, Athene, and Apollo, etc.," which the heroes of the Trojan war offer whenever they would fain see some work accomplished which is nearly or quite too great or too good to be hoped for (Il. 2, 371; 4, 288; 7, 132; Od. 7, 311; 24, 376, et al.). From the marked peculiarity as well as the manifest

uperiority of these gods, and from the *anomalies* in the functions ascribed to them—which are inexplicable on any theory f natural and homogeneous development—Mr. Gladstone rgues at great length and with much force,* that they are not trictly mythological, but traditional divinities, derived, in the ain features of their character and office, from some earlier nd purer religion, and ultimately from a direct revelation, hough these primitive features are obscured and disfigured y the superstitions of the vulgar and the inventions of the oet.

Besides these first three, there are six other divinities of unuestionably Olympian rank and residence, for whom Hehæstus has built palaces on Mount Olympus (Il. 1, 607), and ho convene in the court of Zeus, as occasion requires, for a ouncil or a feast. These are: Here, sister and wife of Zeus; res, and Hephæstus and Hermes, his sons, and Artemis and phrodite, his daughters. Poseidon and Hades, brothers of eus, also clearly belong to the same rank, though, from the ecessity of their office and province, the one has his ordinary welling in the sea (Il. 13, 21; 20, 13), and the fixed abode of the her is in the invisible world under the earth (Il. 20, 61, seqq.). ades comes to Olympus when he is wounded by Hercules (Il. 5, 98). His wife, Persephone, is never seen there; but her rank in er own right as well as in that of her husband, would entitle her o no inferior place among the Olympic deities. Diana and Lana, though inferior wives of Zeus, are, of course, among those ho "occupy Olympian abodes" (Il. 5, 383; 21, 499). Dionysus Bacchus) and Demeter (Ceres) are deities of high rank and ower; but they seem to have their dwelling, not so much n heaven, as on earth among the sons of men. By adding to ese sixteen principal deities three or four others of doubtful lympian residence, or of a manifestly inferior grade, Mr. Gladstone contrives to make up twenty, answering to the umber of *tripods* which Hephæstus was forging to stand round the wall in the well-built hall, where the gods were ront to assemble (Il. 18, 373). But this is rather too trivial and ncidental a circumstance to support the inference that Homer

* Vol. ii. sec. 2. The Traditive Element of the Homeric Theo-Mythology.

reckoned just twenty members of the Olympic council. Still less can any authority be found in Homer for the *twelve* greater gods as distinguished from the less—the Dii Majores as distinguished from the Dii Minores of the Romans.

About these principal deities cluster several who may be called serving divinities, whose office it is to attend on their superiors. Thus, Zeus, as the guardian of civil and political justice, is assisted by Themis, who convenes assemblies, whether of gods or men, and keeps order in them (Il. 20, 4; Od. 2, 68); Here, as goddess of marriage, by the Eileithyiæ, her daughters (Il. 11, 271); Apollo, by the Muses (Il. 1, 603); Aphrodite, by the Graces. The Hours are the gatekeepers of heaven (Il. 5, 749; 7, 411); Hebe is the cupbearer of the gods (Il. 4, 2), and Asclepius and Paieon are their physicians. Iris, though originally an impersonation of the rainbow, as the name imports (Il. 11, 27), appears in Homer only as the messenger of the Olympian gods, particularly of Zeus (Il. 15, 144, *et passim*).

A second class of quasi-divinities are the allegorical deities, or impersonations of ideas, which are not mere poetical personifications on the one hand, nor, on the other, wholly mythological beings, but fill up, at various intervals, all the space between personality and allegory, though none of them possess such an established divine personality as to have their fixed times and places of worship. These are, for the most part, either military or moral. Among the impersonations of military ideas are Discord (Ἔρις), Din (Ἐννώ), Uproar (Κυδοιμός), Rout (Φόβος), Terror (Δεῖμος), Panic (Φύζα), Rumor (Ὄσσα), etc., of which the first two have quite a fixed personality, while the others approach nearer to allegory, or hover between them. They are all, except Rumor, kindred or companions of Mars (cf. Il. 4, 440; 5, 592; 13, 299; 15, 119; 9, 2). Among the impersonations of moral ideas, or moral powers, are Destiny (Αἶσα, Μοῖρα) and the Fates (Κῆρες, Κατακλῶθες, cf. Il. 20, 127; 19, 410; Od. 7, 197); Death and his brother, Sleep (Θάνατος, Ὕπνος, Il. 14, 231); the Dream-god also (Ὄνειρος Il. 2, 6); the goddess of Moral Blindness (Ἄτη), daughter of Zeus, yet cast out from heaven, and the source of universal mischief on earth (Il. 19, 91, 126); the entreating and reconciling goddesses

(Λιταὶ) who follow after Ate and repair the mischief she has done (Il. 9, 502); and the Furies (Ἐρινύες), who avenge all violations of natural and moral order (Il. 15, 204; 19, 260, 418; Od. 2, 135). These divinities are the subordinate agents of the superior gods, the military being mainly satellites of Ares, and the moral serving as the executioners of Zeus and of Hades (Il. 19, 87; 3, 279, compared with 19, 260).

A third class of subordinate divinities, allied to these last, but having their sphere in the material instead of the moral world, are the impersonations of the elements and powers of nature. Such are the Wind-gods, the River-gods, the gods of the Sea, and the Nymphs of the Fountains, the Groves, and the Meadows (Il. 20, 7; 21, 135, seqq.; 23, 195–200). Occasionally a nymph is specified by name, as the mother of some hero (Il. 6, 22, etc.); but generally they are spoken of as an indefinite and undistinguishable number (Il. 20, 7). Of the Wind-gods, Boreas and Zephyrus are especially prominent. The Nymphs of the Sea, among whom Thetis, mother of Achilles, is prominent, are daughters of the old sea gods, Nereus and Phorkys (Il. 18, 141; Od. 1, 72); Amphitrite is goddess of the *waves* and *monsters* of the deep (Od. 3, 91; 12, 97); and Poseidon presides over the whole realm of the sea, as his brothers Zeus and Hades do over the air and under the earth. There is also a sun-god (Helius) and an earth-goddess (Gæa), who are honored by sacrifices, especially as witnesses to contracts (Il. 3, 103, 276). Eos (East), the goddess of the morning, has a distinct divine personality (Od. 5, 1), but no worship. The river-gods are invested by Homer with great powers and prerogatives (Il. 21, 194; 23, 142); and as Oceanus is the source of all the rivers and fountains, so is he the origin or *genesis* of all the gods (Il. 21, 195; 14, 244).* He, however, comes not to the councils on Olympus (Il. 20, 7), and seems to belong to the gods of olden time. With him is asso-

* Compare the speculations of the Ionian philosophers, so many of whom make *water* the *first principle*. According to the Genesis of the Scriptures, the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the *waters* in the *beginning*, when God created the heavens and the earth. The analogy is interesting; but the contrast is also striking.

ciated Tethys, the all-mother, as he is the all-father (Il. 14, 201). Kronus and Rhea are still more emphatically gods of the olden time. Kronus is not only dethroned, but, with his Titan children, is imprisoned in Tartarus (Il. 14, 274–9), whither they were sent down by Zeus, when he took possession of the government (Ibid. 204). *Kronus*, as the name imports, must have been originally a kind of impersonation of *Time*. Oceanus, the all-surrounding, suggests, in like manner, the idea of all-encompassing space, while his epithets (the deep-flowing, swift-flowing, etc., Il. 21, 194) and his name, perhaps, denote the ceaseless flow of existence in and around that broad and deep channel. But, while the conception of this whole class of divinities doubtless arose from the elemental ideas and powers of nature, as represented in the Homeric poems, they are no longer *identified* with those powers and ideas, nor absolutely confined to an agency within their appropriate spheres. As a general fact, they *preside* over those elements, rather than are identical with them or personifications of them. They convene, with the other gods, in the full assembly of Olympus, and exercise, with more or less freedom, the prerogatives characteristic of Homeric deities. The gods of the early Greeks are far from being mere deifications of the powers of nature. Even the class that approach most nearly to such a system are more or less free and independent of the elements over which they preside; and these same elements are also, at the *same time*, controlled by the superior gods, especially by the above mentioned trinity, or triad (Od. 9, 67; 2, 420; Il. 1, 479; 12, 17–25).

Our enumeration of the Homeric divinities would not be complete without an allusion to Proteus, Atlas, Circe, Calypso, the Sirens, the Cyclopses, and the other prodigies, with whom Ulysses meets in his wanderings over the remote parts of the Mediterranean, and in whose names, relations, and functions, Nägelsbach and Gladstone agree in finding traces of an Egyptian and Phœnician origin. Gladstone finds evidences of Phœnician (and so, perhaps, Eastern) origin and ideas in Poseidon, Hermes, Demeter, Aphrodite, Hephæstus, and Dio-

sus.* The only Olympic deities whose names are common the Greek and Latin languages, are Jupiter, Apollo, Vesta, tona, Proserpina, and Mars. These gods, so far as they ke part in the war, espouse the side of the Trojans; and adstone regards them as peculiarly Pelasgian deities.† The hers he supposes to have come into Greece later, with the ellenic, or Hellic, element of the population. He classifies ir, namely, Athene, Apollo, Latona, and Iris, as deities hav- g their basis and the general outline of their attributes and aracter from tradition; five, namely, Jupiter, Neptune, uto, Diana, and Persephone, as deities of traditional basis, t with development principally mythological or inventive; d the remaining Olympians, as deities of invention or my- ology proper.

2. *Relations of the Gods to each other.*

The Olympus of Homer is not conceived, in the main, ac- rding to any system of physical or metaphysical ideas, but modelled according to the analogies of human life. These alogies are partly domestic and partly political; partly those the family, and partly those of the state.

The principal dwellers on Olympus are the family of Jupi- , consisting of himself, his three wives, his four sons, and three daughters, who are settled down around him, some rried and some in single blessedness; some virtuous and re, others, like himself, unfaithful to their wedded compan- s, and indulging in unrestrained illicit intercourse with the ildren of men. The reader is constantly reminded of the iental monarch and his harem, of the royal family with ir loose morals and manners, and the court with its intrigues d strifes, jealousies and festivities. There is but little differ- ce between the court and royal family of Priam in Troy d those of Jupiter in heaven, and that difference is decid- ly in favor of the earthly sovereign. "It may be laid down a general rule, that the divine life of Olympus, wherever it produces the human, reproduces it in a degraded form

* Vol. ii. sec. 3. † Vol. i. sec. 7.

Enjoyment and indulgence, when carried from earth to heaven, lose that limit of honorable relation to labor which alone make them respectable."*

But a life of ease and sensual pleasure must sometimes give place to the cares of government, even in the court of Jupiter. And then the court becomes a council, and the royal family the councillors. Still, however, they sit with their golden goblets in their hands, and the beautiful Hebe serves them with the delicious nectar, while they look down upon the Trojan city and deliberate on the destinies of the combatants (Il. 4, 1). This ordinary and comparatively informal sitting is called a session (θώκος, Od. 5, 3) or council (βουλή, Hes. Theog. 802), and bears a close analogy to the councils of the *chieftains* in the Grecian camp. But on special occasions, Jupiter convenes, in due form, an *assembly* of all the gods (Il. 8, 1; 20, 4), which is called by the same name (ἀγορά), and answers in every respect to the *agora* of the assembled Greeks, when Agamemnon summons them to consider some question of unusual moment (Il. 2, 51). Themis convenes and dismisses alike the assembly of men and of gods (Od. 2, 69; Il. 20, 4), and, by implication, keeps order in the meeting. In both alike, a few of the aristocracy alone take part in the debate, as Agamemnon, Nestor, Achilles, Ulysses, Diomed, in the Grecian assembly, so Zeus, Here, Poseidon, Athene, and Apollo, in the assembly of the gods (Il. 8, 1 seqq.; 20, 1 seqq.; 24, 32). And as Agamemnon on earth, so Zeus in heaven, not only presides over the *boulé* and the *agora*, but holds the result at his sovereign disposal, and sometimes decides and acts in direct opposition to the wishes of his advisers (Il. 11, 78), but sometimes yields his own preferences to theirs, and *generally* executes and represents, not his own will merely, but the will of the body over whom he presides. Here again, however, the advantage is in favor of the earthly, rather than the heavenly convocation. Zeus swaggers and threatens in a style that would disgrace an Oriental despot (Il. 8, 5–27); the celestials fret and chafe under his tyranny (Il. 4, 20–30); and perchance they settle the diffi-

* Gladstone, vol. ii. p. 334.

culty somewhat as the triumvirate at Rome did, by mutually giving over to destruction their most devoted and faithful worshippers (Il. 4, 51 seq.). It would almost seem as if the assemblies and the battles of the gods were intended for a burlesque on those of mortals, so uniformly comical and ludicrous is the representation. Even the so-called Homeric Hymns wear very much of this aspect of burlesque, so inconsistent are they with all our ideas of worship or even of veneration.

3. *Nature and Essence of the Gods.*

Human analogy does not cease with the mutual relations of the gods. It is the basis of all the Homeric representations of their nature and form. Neither his heroes nor the poet himself seems to have any other conception of the gods than that they are essentially like men. The difference is not in kind, but only in measure and degree. And this *anthropomorphous*, or rather *anthropophuous* representation is not, as it manifestly is in the sacred Scriptures, the language of figure and of accommodation to human weakness. Nor is it merely the offspring of the imagination, the invention of the poet. It seems rather to be the prevailing, popular, fundamental idea of the divine nature. Not only do the gods assume at pleasure the precise form of men and the likeness of particular men, but they converse, face to face, in their own proper form, with their favorite heroes, and enable them to distinguish gods from men (Il. 5, 124; 15, 243; 20, 130); they appear, in their own proper form (*ἐναργεῖς*, Od. 7, 201, cf. 16, 161), and sit at the feasts of the Phœnicians (Od. 7, 203) and the Æthiopians (Od. 1, 26; Il. 1, 424); and in their intercourse with each other, whether in war or in peace, whether on earth or in heaven, they are always conceived of as having the form and all the organs of the human body. Thetis takes hold of the bearded chin of Jupiter on Mount Olympus (Il. 1, 501); Athene smites Ares on the neck, and overthrows him, in the battle of the gods, on the field of Troy (21, 406); Here seizes Diana by the wrists, takes the bow and arrows from her back, and raps her smartly about the ears (21, 489). We have a full-length description of Here at her toilet in heaven (14, 170),

and of Hephæstus at his forge on Olympus (18, 411). The gods are of superhuman size, weight, and beauty. Ares, prostrate on the field of battle, covers seven acres (Il. 21, 407); the axle groans beneath the weight of Athene, when she mounts the chariot by the side of Diomed (Il. 5, 838); and, to say nothing of the epithets applied to the goddesses, and even to such a scapegrace as Ares (Od. 8, 310), Calypso, not exactly an impartial witness it is true, claims that mortals of her own sex cannot compare with immortals in beauty of person (Od. 5, 212). But all this, so far from disproving, only proves, or rather presupposes a human form. Their blood is called by another name (Il. 5, 340); but it flows from their wounded bodies just like the blood of mortals (Il. 5, 416). They do not eat bread nor drink wine (Il. 5, 341), but they are just as dependent on their ambrosia and nectar for nourishment as men are on their daily food and drink (Od. 5, 93, 196–9). The gods are characterized in words as blessed (μάκαρες, Il. 1, 339), living a life of ease and pleasure (ῥεῖα ζώοντες, Il. 6, 138), free from care and sorrow (ἀκηδέες, Il. 24, 526). Yet they are subject to fatigue and exhaustion (Il. 4, 26; 5, 886); they need rest and sleep, Zeus himself not excepted (Il. 1, 609); and wounds and bruises and miseries of every kind are so general among them, that when Aphrodite is wounded, and flees to the bosom of her mother for relief, the mother comforts her heart, on the principle that "misery loves company," with a whole chapter of the woes that other and more powerful deities have suffered at the hands of mortals (Il. 5, 380 seqq.). The three principal gods are ordinarily exempt from such casualties. Yet even Apollo is condemned to serve the King of Troy a year for wages, and when he would fain touch his heart, Poseidon reminds him of the evils which they two suffered in this long and ignominious service (Il. 21, 441). And Zeus himself, assaulted by the other Olympians, is protected by the interposition of the hundred-handed Briareus (Il. 1, 399). Immortality is the only characteristic distinction, which is, with uniform and undeviating consistency, ascribed to the Homeric gods; and when we consider the perpetual sorrows, sufferings, and vexations to which they are subject, we cannot but agree with Longinus,

that such an immortality is a doubtful blessing; that it is, in fact, but immortal misery. So far as we can gather from the Homeric poems, there is no evidence that the Greeks of that age ever conceived the idea, taught by our Saviour to the woman of Samaria, as a first lesson in religious truth, and learned by our children, in answer to the first question in the Catechism, that God is a spirit infinite, self-existent, and unchangeable in his being and perfection. Practically, at any rate, their God was altogether such an one as themselves. And no better definition could be given of the divine nature, as it is habitually represented in the Iliad and Odyssey, than that it is human nature somewhat exalted and exempt from death. The Homeric god is essentially a celestial and immortal man. Accordingly, *Immortals* is their most frequent and characteristic designation.

4. *The Attributes of the Gods.*

The immortality which Homer imputes to his divinities is a very different attribute from the eternity which we ascribe to God. It is only existence without end.* Existence without beginning is an idea which the early Greeks and Trojans never express, and would seem never to have conceived of any of their gods. They trace them back through a series of generations — through Zeus and Kronus (or Old Time) to Oceanus and Tethys, whom they style the all-father and all-mother of the gods; and there they leave the chain unsupported, the mystery of existence as unexplained, as if they had stopped with Zeus himself. Perhaps, in common with the earliest Ionian philosophers, the poet conceived of an eternally existing, ever-flowing chaos (which they call water, and he calls Oceanus), as the source of all existence, celestial as well as terrestrial, divine as well as human.

In theory, the gods know all things (*πάντα ἴσασιν*, Od. 4, 379), and can do all things (*πάντα δύνανται* Od. 10, 306). They know the future as well as the past and the present (Od. 20, 75; 12, 189), and they can act not only near at hand, but they can also

* *Αἰγενέται*, like *αἰὲν ἐόντες*, is simply equivalent to *ἀθάνατοι*.

help and save with perfect ease even at a distance (Od. 3, 231). At the same time, even Zeus is *practically* ignorant of much that is going on, not only in his kingdom among men, but among the gods in his own court (Il. 18, 185: *οὐδ' οἶδε Κρονίδης ὑψίζυγος οὐδέ τις ἄλλος ἀθανάτων*). The grossest deception is practised upon him by his ungoverned and unscrupulous consort; and while he is fast locked in sleep in her embrace, on Mount Olympus, his rebellious brother interferes with the execution of his plans and purposes on the field of battle (Il. 14, 153-400). While he is absent at a feast among the Æthiopians, he is no more capable of attending to the progress of the Trojan war or to the petitions of the inferior deities, than an earthly sovereign can receive the petitions of his courtiers, or regulate the affairs of his kingdom, while he is travelling in a far country (Il. 1, 423). The mockery which Elijah addresses to the worshippers of Baal, is applicable in every particular to the Homeric worshippers of Zeus: "Cry aloud, for he is a god: either he is talking or he is pursuing, or he is in a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awaked" (1 Kings xviii, 27). Zeus leaves Olympus and takes his station on Mount Ida, when he would watch the battle closely and guide its issues. The inferior gods can see farther and move more rapidly than mortals; but their powers differ only in degree, not in kind; it is not omnipresence or omniscience which they possess, but only human vision and locomotion magnified. They still see with their eyes, and move with their feet, and influence the battle only by their personal, bodily presence (Il. 13, 10 seqq.).

The moral character of the gods is even more defective than their natural attributes. "In general, the chief note of deity with Homer is emancipation from the restraints of the moral law. Though the Homeric gods have not yet ceased to be the vindicators of morality upon earth, they have personally ceased to observe its rules either for or among themselves. As compared with men in conduct, they are generally characterized by superior force and intellect, but by inferior morality." Such is the language of Mr. Gladstone. And the instances which he proceeds to adduce, fully justify this severe verdict.

They manifest little love for one another.* In his domestic relations, Zeus is now a fond and doting husband and father (Il. 14, 314; 5, 879), now a tyrannical one (Il. 15, 17; 5, 890; 8, 360, 373). His children envy, hate, and torment each other in heaven (Il. 5, pass.), and encounter each other in fierce conflict in the battles of men (Ibid. et Il. 20, pass.). "Force and terror on the one hand, and fraud and wheedling on the other," are the instruments of his family government, if that can be called family government in which the children govern the parents about as much as the parents govern the children (Il. 1, 568, 500; 14, 300). In all these respects, however, it must be confessed, Mr. Gladstone to the contrary notwithstanding, that royal families on earth have *not* generally improved very much on the example of their illustrious predecessors.

The gods do not love mankind as a race. They envy human prosperity and glory as an encroachment on their own prerogatives (Il. 7, 460; 17, 450; Od. 5, 119), and they cherish almost implacable personal resentments against poor mortals, who, whether intentionally or by accident, may fail to render to them due honor (Il. 9, 537).

On the other hand, they have their earthly favorites, towards whom they cherish a blind attachment. Immortals are sometimes wedded to mortals (Il. 2, 820; 11, 1); and Zeus runs through a long catalogue of his mistresses on earth, that he may set forth his superior love, or rather his present passion, for Here. Athene, Apollo, and Artemis are exceptions;† but as a general fact, chastity is no virtue of Homer's celestials (Od. 5, 119).

Holiness, which is the characteristic attribute of the God of the Bible, and which Æschylus so often ascribes to Jupiter in his epithets (though the conduct of his Jupiter hardly answers to the ascription), is never even predicated of the Homeric gods, and there is nothing in their character or acts to deserve the name.

* In two or three instances, Apollo and Athene (and they *only*) are addressed by Zeus with the epithet φίλε, *dear*. See Gladstone, vol ii. p. 70.

† "The chastity of the traditive deities, Minerva, Diana, Latona, and probably Apollo. I take for one of the noblest and most significant proofs of the high origin of the materials which they respectively embody." Gladstone, ii. p. 356.

The best of them manifest none of that stainless purity which turns away with unutterable loathing from all sin, and looks with impartial favor and unspeakable delight upon rectitude wherever it is found. Impartial love or hatred is a thing quite unknown in the Olympic circle; if it exists anywhere in the poems of Homer, it is in the hero of the Iliad; who hates falsehood as the gates of Hades (Il. 9, 310), and resents robbery and wrong in the commander of the host as keenly as in the lowest of the people (Il. 1, 230–1). For the sake of peace and quietness in his own family, Zeus yields to Here's insatiable anger against the Trojans, and sends Athene to move them to an unprovoked violation of the treaty of peace; moved by Athene, Pandarus lets fly a treacherous arrow and wounds Menelaus; and then not only Pandarus, but the whole city and people of the Trojans must pay the penalty for the crimes of which, by their own acknowledgment as well as in the view of men, the gods were the authors (Il. 4, 64, etc.). Athene, by deception, lures on the patriotic and devoted Hector to destruction (Il. 22, 223, seqq.). Thetis will not trust the word of Zeus, but insists on the confirmation of his irrevocable nod (Il. 1, 514). So the Sleep-god requires an oath of Here (Il. 14, 271); and when Here finds herself in imminent peril of Jove's vengeance, she calls heaven, earth, and hell, and every thing sacred, to witness to an equivocation, if not to a downright falsehood (Il. 15, 36). The gods of the Iliad and Odyssey are any thing but the unchanging standard of truth and rectitude, on earth; in heaven, they seem more like the impersonations of self-will and unrestrained license. In character as well as in mutual relations, the Homeric Olympus is a depraved copy of high life in the Grecian camp and the court of Troy.

5. *The Providence and Government of the Gods.*

According to Homeric representation, nature recognizes the gods, not as creator, but as lord and master.* The inhabitants of the deep know their king and pay him homage, gambolling about the chariot of Poseidon as he rides over the re-

* Cf. Nägelsbach, i. 8.

dicing sea (Il. 13, 27). High Olympus trembles, when Zeus ives his nod of confirmation (Il. 1, 530). And when the ods enter the battle on the plains of Troy, the mountains hake, the earth quakes, and thunders reverberate through the kies (Il. 20, 54). Here and Athene can not only command he thunder, but they can hasten or retard the rising and set- ing of the sun (Il. 18, 239; Od. 23, 347). And all the gods eem to have the power to clothe themselves or to conceal ther persons and things, beneath a covering of cloud (Il. 5, 3, 344; 20, 150; Od. 13, 109, etc.). A preternatural dark- ess and a rain of blood signalize the fall of Jove's son (Il. 16, 59, 567), while on the other hand, flowers of every kind pring up on the instant from the ground and prepare a bed or Zeus and Here on Mount Ida (Il. 14, 347). "In short the upernatural becomes the natural," as Nägelsbach happily emarks, "when it is wrought by a god." It is, however, just hese marvellous phenomena, signalizing special occasions, hat are instanced by the poet, and that because they suit the oetic imagination, while we find few, if any, allusions to the onstant exercise of a wise and benignant divine providence ver the elements and powers of nature. Poseidon, in his un- elenting resentment for the blinding of the Cyclops, perse- utes Ulysses with winds, and waves, and storms, and tempests, espite the pity of all the other deities (Od. 1, 20); and some- mes even the wind-gods dash in pieces a vessel against the ill of their superiors (Od. 12, 290).

Nearly related to power over nature is the power which the ods possess to change and shape at will the human body. his power is exercised with especial frequency by Athene. When Achilles is to reäppear for the first time on the battle- eld, she invests the hero with superhuman grandeur and lory, which, with the accompanying voice of the goddess, rives all the Trojans panic-stricken from the field. And roughout the Odyssey, the same goddess is continually shioning the person of her favorite hero to suit the ever- ifting circumstances of his eventful life, now transforming im to the old and shrivelled beggar who, as his name (*Irus*) nports, was the *messenger* and representative of the god of

the poor and the stranger, and now clothing him with a divine beauty, which his son intuitively refers to some god, who, "coming upon him, easily makes him young or old, as he chooses" (Od. 16, 197); and the father himself explains the marvellous transformation by saying: "This is the work of Athene who makes me just what she pleases (for she has the power), at one time like the poor beggar, at another like a young man in beautiful apparel; for it is easy for the gods who inhabit the spacious heaven either to glorify (beautify) a mortal man, or to harm (disfigure) him" (Ibid. 211).

The gods direct and control the minds of men, also, at their sovereign pleasure. They are continually *putting* thoughts and plans *into the minds* of their favorite heroes (ἐπί φρεσὶ θῆκε Il. 1, 55; Od. 18, 158, et passim), courage and strength into their *hearts* (ἐν σθένος ὦρσεν καρδίῃ, Il. 2, 451; μένος ἐν φρεσὶ θείω, Od. 1, 89, et passim), wisdom and eloquence into their mouths (Od. 1, 384; 24, 260, et al.). In these cases, the divine and the human agency are clearly distinguished from each other, and sometimes they are represented as coördinate and the result is ascribed partly to the one and partly to the other (as in Od. 3, 26, Athene encourages Telemachus with the assurance that some thoughts will occur to his own mind, and the god will suggest others); though, more frequently, the human agency is conceived as subordinate to the divine, and produced, penetrated, pervaded by it (Il. 9, 703; Od. 19, 478, 485; 23, 260). Physical constitution, personal accomplishments, native talents and dispositions, intellectual attainments and moral virtues, all the qualities that distinguish or adorn the individual, are the gift of the gods. Prophecy is the gift of Apollo (Il. 1, 72), hunting of Artemis (5, 51), skill in the arts of Athene (5, 61) and Hephæstus (Od. 6, 234), horsemanship of Zeus and Poseidon (Il. 23, 307), and Zeus allots all gifts to all men as he pleases (Il. 13, 730). The gods gave manly beauty to Bellerophon (Il. 6, 156), seductive charms to Paris (Il. 3, 54), prodigious size and strength to Ajax (Il. 7, 288), to Ulysses wisdom and power of endurance (Od. 14, 216), and to Achilles courage and irresistible might (Il. 1, 178; 9, 254); but they have not given him self-control (9, 255), and to Aga-

memnon Zeus has given the sceptre, but not valor, which is the greatest power (Il. 9, 39). And they not only give or withhold at pleasure, but they also take away at will what they have already given (Il. 6, 234; Od. 18, 180, 251). Especially is wisdom and counsel the gift of the gods (Od. 6, 10), a peerless gift to a favored few for the safety of many (Il. 13, 732); and it is the prerogative of the gods to take away the wisdom of the wisest as well as to impart wisdom to those who are destitute of it (Od. 23, 11, cf. Il. 6, 234.)*

The gods have the absolute disposal of the destinies of men, order their circumstances, and allot to every individual good or evil as they will (ὅπως ἐθέλῃσιν, Od. 6, 188). It is in the exercise of this prerogative, especially, that all power is ascribed to them: "Zeus gives good and evil, now to one, now to another; for he can do all things" (Od. 4, 236; 14, 444). This distributive providence is set forth under the image or symbol of two casks, which stand on Jove's threshold, the one containing evil, and the other good, and from which he distributes to miserable mortals usually a chequered lot, to some unalloyed happiness, and to some nothing but sorrow and calamity.

A noble wife is from the gods (Od. 15, 26).† Children are their gift (Od. 4, 12; 16, 117; Il. 9, 493).‡ Riches, honor, power, sovereignty are suspended on their will (Od. 1, 400; 11, 340; Il. 2, 670). The gods mete out all the dangers, difficulties, deliverances, changes of whatever kind in the changeful life of Ulysses (Od. 1, 195; 3, 388; 24, 401, et passim). The will of Jove is accomplished in all the alternations of victory and defeat, as well as in all the final issues of the Trojan war (Il. 1, 5). He spreads his protecting hand over individuals (Od. 14, 184; Il. 24, 374); and he weighs in the balance the fate of contending armies and nations (Il. 8, 70). *Evil* as well as good proceeds from the gods, as its original source (Il. 6,

* Cf. Prov. 2, 6; 4, 7; Eccl. 9, 15–18; 1 Cor. 1, 19.

† Cf. Prov. 19, 14. The sentiment in the text is uttered by Athene; and yet the *wife* is the main thing there, while in Proverbs, it is the *prudent* wife and the *virtuous* woman.

‡ Ps. 127, 3.

282, 349, 357; Od. 3, 152, 160). Men carry the imputation to such an extreme, as to transfer to them the responsibility of their own follies and crimes (Il. 3, 164, et al.). But Zeus repels the charge and insists, that they bring sorrow on themselves, beyond what is allotted to them, by their own folly and madness (Od. 1, 33). Long life is by divine appointment (Od. 23, 286), and death comes to every individual just when and where Zeus and the other immortal gods bring it upon him (Il. 22, 365). In short, the divine purpose and agency are as universal and all-controlling in the Iliad and Odyssey as they are in the Bible. Nothing can be more alien to the spirit of both, than that atheistic philosophy which excludes God from any immediate concern with the government of this lower world. At the same time, there is no trace in Homer of that all-wise paternal providence, so universal in the Scriptures, which always watches over the good man, and makes all things infallibly work together for his good.

Life and death, good and evil, are represented by Homer as also the allotment of *destiny* (Il. 20, 127; 24, 49, 209; Od. 20, 76); but this destiny is so often, nay, so generally, spoken of as the destiny or allotment of the gods (*μοῖρα θεῶν*, Od. 3, 269), and the very words (*αἶσα*, *μοῖρα*) so naturally suggest the idea of a portion, lot, or allotment, that the presumption certainly is, that they mean the will or appointment of the gods, not without reference, however, it may be, to an eternal law of order and rectitude, which they can indeed transcend (*ὑπέρμορα*, Il. 2, 155; 4, 29; 16, 441–3) and which men are sometimes represented as violating (Od. 1, 35), but which the gods *do* not in fact contravene. There are passages which seem to conflict with this interpretation, yet it accords better than any other with the prevailing language and spirit of the Homeric poems.

6. *Manifestation of the Gods to Men.*

In the early ages of the world, some generations previous to the war of Troy, the gods had frequent and familiar intercourse with men. Minos, king of Cnossus, (four generations before the war), was the bosom companion and counsellor of

great Jove (Od. 19, 179), and Peleus (only one generation previous to the war) was so dear to the heart of the immortals, that Here gave him to wife the goddess Thetis, and the wedding-feast was graced by the presence of all the gods and by the music of Apollo and his lyre (Il. 24, 60). In like manner, Tros and Laomedon, founders of the royal line of Troy, transacted business with the gods (Il. 21, 444); Ganymede, the son of the former, and Tithonus, the son of the latter, were taken up to heaven to dwell with the immortals (Il. 20, 234; 11, 1); and Anchises, the father of Æneas, was (or ought to have been) the husband of the goddess Aphrodite (Il. 2, 820). Many sons of the immortals fought around the city of Troy, the offspring of frequent intercourse between the gods and the daughters of men in the preceding generation. But at the time of the *war*, mortals are honored, or dishonored, by no such familiar intercourse. Only favored races and nations, themselves scarcely human, like the Æthiopians and the Phæacians (the celestials of the heroic age), and a few heroes of rare excellence and special favorites of heaven (and these last only on special occasions), now see the gods face to face (Il. 1, 423; Od. 3, 221; 7, 201–6; 16, 161). And at the time of the *poet* this has already ceased, and mortals now know nothing of these high themes except what poets teach them under the inspiration of the all-knowing Muses. (Il. 2, 484).*

Direct personal intervention in the affairs of men is confined to the inferior deities. Zeus sits on high, overseeing and presiding over all (Il. 20, 21); and if he would issue mandates to gods or men, Athene and Apollo are his representatives, and Iris and Hermes are his messengers.

Besides these personal appearances, which take place under a great variety of forms,† the gods (chiefly Zeus, Here, Athene and Apollo) manifest their presence or their will by signs (σήματα), wonders (τέρατα), auguries (οἰωνοὶ), and prophetic voices (φῆμαι); sometimes preternatural, like the bloody rain at the death of Jove's son (Il. 16, 459), or the frightful appearances that foreboded the slaying of the suitors (Od. 20, 345), but more frequently they are ordinary phenomena, extraordinary

* Cf. Näglesbach, sec. iv. † Cf. Näglesbach, sec. iv.

only in the time and manner of their occurrence; sometimes of natural and obvious self-significance; sometimes requiring interpretation by the mouth of a prophet (Il. 2, 322), and sometimes ambiguous and intended to mislead (Il. 15, 377-9; 12, 200, seqq). Omens are of frequent occurrence in Homer, and are generally trusted and highly prized; yet their practical value is not a little impaired by the possibility of deception, which always attends them; hence Hector thinks, the one best omen is to fight for his country (Il. 12, 243); and he cares not which way the birds fly, right or left, east or west, so long as he acts in obedience to the direct command of Zeus, conveyed to him by the messenger Iris (Il. 12, 239, cf. 11, 186).

Dreams and visions are from Zeus (Il. 2, 63); yet they are sometimes merely natural or accidental, and sometimes deceptive (Il. 2, passim; 19, 547, 560; Od. 24, 12). Presentiments often foreshadow a coming reality, as, for instance, Hector's heart is saddened by prophetic forebodings of the approaching ruin of his country and his family (Il. 6, 447), and the head of Amphinomus is bowed down under gloomy anticipations of destruction to himself and the other suitors (Od. 18, 153). Ideas and rumors of some great event sometimes so mysteriously pervade the minds of a *whole people* in advance of the reality, or, at least, of the intelligence, that they were referred to *Ossa*, as the voice or messenger of Jove (Il. 2, 93; Od. 24, 413). In the hour of death, men often have a prophetic foresight of the future. Thus the dying Patroclus predicts the death of Hector by the hand of Achilles (Il. 16, 851); and the dying Hector forecasts in detail the doom of Achilles at the hand of Paris and Apollo (Il. 22, 358).* Prophets hear the voice of the gods, know their will (Il. 7, 45, 53), and thus are acquainted with the past, the present, and the future (Il. 1, 70). Guided themselves by Zeus and Apollo (Il. 1, 72; Od. 15, 244), they are competent to guide the affairs of men (Il. 1, 71; 6, 438). The oracles at Dodona and Delphi already exist in the Homeric age (Od. 6, 327; 19, 296; Il. 8, 79; 9, 405), and individuals and nations go to them to learn the will of the gods.

* Cf. Plat. Apol. Soc. cap. 30. Compare also the prophetic blessings of the dying patriarchs (Gen. 49, 1; 50, 24; Deut. 33, 1).

In short, the idea of revelation or manifestation of the gods to men, like the idea of providence, is a universal and all-pervading idea with the men and women of the heroic age.

7. *Worship of the Gods.*

The worship of the gods is as universal among men, as the feeling of dependence, from which it springs. This philosophy of worship is expressly stated, though in a practical and incidental way, by the prudent and pious Pisistratus, son of the wise and aged Nestor (Od. 3, 46).

The gods claim, as their especial honor and prerogative, offerings at the hands of men, the food-offering and drink-offering, incense and the smoke of burnt sacrifices (Il. 4, 49). This is, as it were, a *feast* of fat things on their altar (ibid. 48). For this they hunger and thirst; for this they have a keen appetite and a high relish (Il. 20, 405). Those cities and those individuals are most honored and beloved by the several deities, who offer to them, in particular, the most abundant gifts and sacrifices; if any person or place is saved from destruction, this is the motive for sparing it; if any one is reluctantly given up, this is specified as the ground of reluctance (Il. 4, 44; 20, 297; 22, 170; 24, 69). If angry, their anger is to be turned away by offerings and sacrifices (Il. 9, 499). But wo to the individual who intentionally or unintentionally omits to offer the sacrifice, which some god esteems to be his due; some dire calamity will soon befall him (Il. 9, 533).

As this interested, not to say selfish, view is often taken of the gods' delight in sacrifices, so from motives of self-interest, for the express purpose of propitiating the favor of the gods, public and private sacrifices are assiduously offered, on every suitable occasion, by the heroes of Homer's verse. Besides numerous temples, altars, and sacred groves, where offerings are continually made by the priests and priestesses (Il. 2, 549; 6, 88; 9, 405; 8, 48; Od. 8, 363, et passim), who seem to be designated, as individuals, to this office, and not set apart as a sacred caste (Il. 6, 300), the commander-in-chief offers sacrifices at the head of his army (Il. 2, 411; 3, 271); the king in

the assembly of his people (Od. 3, 5), and the father on the altar of the hearth-protecting Jove in his private house (Od. 22, 335). Offerings and sacrifices are accompanied with prayers (Il. 3, 296, et passim). Hence the priest is called a *prayer*, (ἀρητῆρ Il. 1, 11), as well as an offerer of sacrifices. Prayers and sacrifices precede all battles, treaties, embassies, journeys, and all important public or private enterprises, (Il. 2, 402, 411; 3, 271, 275; 9, 174, 182; Od. 2, 431). Not only public festivals but private entertainments begin with libations and offerings of the choicest parts to the gods (Il. 9, 219). The hero must not even drink wine to refresh his thirst and weariness till he has first poured out a libation (Il. 6, 259; cf. Od. 8, 151). Indeed so universal was the custom of hallowing every employment and enjoyment with a previous libation, that *beginning with the cup* came to be a technical expression for this initiatory religious service (Il. 1, 471). It was customary to begin and end the day itself, as well as every important enterprise of the day, with a religious service, usually a libation (Od. 3, 1–5, 334; Il. 9, 712).

As the sacrifices seem to be offered with a single eye, not to the glory of the gods, but to the attainment of some personal end, so the prayers, as Nägelsbach has remarked, consist, for the most part, of *petitions* for some specific object, with comparatively infrequent expressions of thanksgiving and praise, without any such thing as confession of ill-desert, but rather with claims to higher favor, and not unfrequently complaints of unmerited suffering or neglect (Il. 1, 503–516; 3, 351, 365; 8, 236). Vows of future sacrifices, as well as catalogues of past services, are urged by the petitioners as motives for granting their requests (Il. 1, 39; 6, 308). Obedience to the will of the gods is specified by Achilles as a condition of acceptable prayer, or rather (for even this hero looks at the prayer as a means to a personal object rather than as a duty or privilege) he openly proclaims the fact that the gods hear the prayers of those who obey them as his *motive* to obedience (Il. 1, 216). *Formulæ* of prayer, beginning with a reference to the attributes of the god, and continuing with an enumeration of the claims of the petitioner (εἴ ποτε, κ. τ. λ.), are com-

mon (Il. 1, 37; 5, 115); and public prayers are repeated by the whole assembly (Il. 3, 297, 319). Prayer is offered in a standing posture, with uplifted hands (Il. 3, 275, 318), the hands having previously been washed, and the heralds having commanded a sacred silence (Il. 3, 270; 9, 171). The hero, stained with blood and gore, is especially forbidden to worship. When all these preliminaries have been religiously observed, still there is no certainty that the prayer will be heard; the god grants or refuses the request at his sovereign pleasure (Il. 2, 420; 3, 302).

8. *Influence of the Doctrine of the Gods on Human Conduct.*

It is the standing reproach of Christians, frankly and humbly confessed by themselves, as well as imputed to them by their enemies, that their life falls far below the standard of Christian doctrine. This, however, reflects no dishonor on Christianity, but rather sheds lustre on it by showing how lofty that standard is, which towers at such an unattainable height above the highest attainments of the best men that have ever lived. But the conduct of Homer's heroes is better than their creed—better, certainly, than we should have expected to result from such a creed. If, when we read the Christian Scriptures, we wonder, that such a religion should not carry with it, wherever it goes, a higher individual and national life, the only wonder of the readers of Homer is, how any genuine religious faith and practice could survive the influence of such a doctrine and such an *example* of the gods. We should presume that such gods could inspire neither respect, confidence nor affection. Themselves guilty of every vice and crime, it would be strange, indeed, if their worshippers were patterns of virtue and piety. And it is true, that Homer's heroes do not manifest that sacred and awful reverence for their *anthropophuous* gods, which Christians feel towards the infinite and holy One whom they dare not think of as altogether such an one as themselves. It is true, that they do not *love* their gods generally (even as we have seen the gods do not love mankind in general); they do not love them impartially, still less supremely, as Christians are re-

quired to love the Lord their God, with all their heart. Their love is not that reverential, complacential, admiring and adoring affection which all intelligent creatures owe to their all-powerful and all-perfect Creator; but it is more like the personal, partial, mutual, and not altogether unselfish attachment which one human being feels towards another who is greater, but not perhaps better, and not of an essentially higher order of beings than himself. It is not ἀγάπη, but φιλία; it is not so much religious love and devotion, as it is personal friendship or loyalty towards an earthly superior.

This is especially true of the inferior deities, who have their clients and favorites among men, to whom they stand in a relation resembling not a little that of patrons and guardians. Towards these gods, in this relation, their favorite heroes manifest a loving, trusting, obedient spirit. There is much that is beautiful in the language and conduct of such heroes, as Achilles, Diomed and Ulysses towards Athene among the Greeks, and such as Hector and Æneas towards Apollo among the Trojans (Il. 1, 215; 5, 815; 20, 86; Od. passim). But it is the beauty of loyalty and chivalry, rather than that of piety and holiness.

The men and women of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are habitually religious. The language of religion is often on their tongues, as it is ever on the lips of every body in the East at this day. The thought of the gods, and of their providence and government over the world, is a familiar thought. They seem to have an abiding conviction of their dependence on the gods. The result of all human action depends on the will of the gods: it *lies on their knees* (θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται, Od. 1, 267, et passim), is the often repeated and significant expression of this feeling of dependence. Submission to their will is a duty, or rather an expediency growing out of necessity, because their power is supreme (ἐπεὶ πολὺ φέρτεροί εἰσιν, Od. 22, 287, et passim). It is, accordingly, often confessed to be a submission against the will, and not a resignation of the human will itself to the divine (Od. 6, 190; 18, 135). Hence the Grecian chiefs, Agamemnon, Ulysses and others, usually devout men who fear the gods, do not hesitate to utter frequent complaints

of the will and government of Zeus when he frustrates their plans and disappoints their expectations (Il. 2, 116; Od. 17, 424).

The games at the funeral pyre of Patroclus, in the twenty-third book of the Iliad, are from beginning to end an illustration of a prevailing, practical belief in the reality of providence and the efficacy of prayer. In the chariot race, Antilochus, though driving the slowest horses, enters the race relying on the favor of the gods, together with his skill in horsemanship and the wise counsels of his father, Nestor, and he wins the second prize; and the first is borne off by Diomed, the favorite of Athene, through her direct interposition, while Eumelus, whose horses are by far the fleetest, breaks the pole of his chariot and comes in last. In the foot-race, Ulysses is outstripped by Ajax, the Swift, till, as they draw near the goal, he lifts a silent prayer ("in his mind," *ὃν κατὰ θυμόν*, 769) to Athene, when Ajax slips and falls, and Ulysses, with his old limbs all made supple as youth by the goddess, wins the prize. And in the concluding contest with the bow and arrows, the famous archer Teucer, in his proud self-reliance, without a vow or a prayer, lets fly an arrow and only severs the string that ties the bird, but Meriones waits to vow a hecatomb of first-born lambs to the far-shooting Apollo, though the bird the while is flying away at full speed, and he brings her down from an almost sightless elevation among the clouds (859–880). And all the people gazed and wondered, virtually saying, Amen. So in the race and conflict of life, they do not prosper who contend with the gods of heaven (Il. 6, 129; 5, 406), while that man is a match for many who is dear to the heart of Jove (Il. 9, 116). Accordingly the pious Nestor, Menelaus and Ulysses triumph over all obstacles, and sooner or later reach home in safety, while the truce-breaker, Pandarus, falls in the battle which follows the breaking of the truce; the profane braggart Ajax, son of Oileus, perishes by shipwreck on the way home; the proud and sullen Ajax, son of Telamon, goes down to Hades from the plains of Troy; the selfish and reckless Agamemnon is treacherously slain by his own wife and her paramour immediately on his return to his

palace, and his murderer, Ægisthus, in turn, meets the just consequences of his crimes (Od. 1, 42). As a general law, the characters of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* prosper or suffer adversity according to their deserts. As in history, however, so in the Homeric poems, there are exceptions to this rule. Paris, the ravisher of the Grecian Helen, and the cause of all his country's woes, has the honor of slaying Achilles, and survives the war, while the upright, pious and patriotic Hector falls beneath a cruel and irresistible destiny; and Achilles, reverential and obedient to the gods as he is, is envied by them for his brilliant career, like the faultless Bellerophon (Il. 6, 200, cf. 155), and goes down to an early grave on a foreign shore, leaving the enterprise in which he had embarked, still unaccomplished. It is, however, a significant fact, that the protagonists of the two poems, on whom the genius of Homer has shed its brightest glories, are both the special favorites of the goddess of wisdom and of the all-wise, all-powerful Zeus; and this alone is enough to make any man a host (Il. 9, 116).

We find in Homer no trace of that divorcement of morality from piety, which usually distinguishes false systems of religion. The gods are, indeed, peculiarly quick to resent an insult or neglect in the worship of themselves. But they punish also violations of the moral law. They punish poor mortals for crimes of which they themselves are guilty, and reward virtues in men, which they themselves do not practise. They punish with especial severity social and political crimes, such as perjury (Il. 3, 279), oppression of the poor (Od. 17, 475) and unjust judgment in courts of justice (Il. 16, 386). And with all the imperfections of society, government and religion, the poems present us, on the whole, a remarkable picture of primitive simplicity, chastity, justice and practical piety, under the three-fold influence of right moral feeling, mutual respect, and fear of the divine displeasure; such, at least, are the motives to which Telemachus makes his distinct appeal when he endeavors to rouse the assembled people of Ithaca to the performance of their duty (Od. 2, 64).

9. *The Relation of the Homeric Doctrine of the Gods to the Teaching of the Scriptures.*

According to the received chronology, the Trojan War synchronizes with the Scriptural epoch of the Judges. And whatever may have been the precise era of Homer's life, it is admitted, on all hands, that he was a faithful *voucher*, or (to put the statement in a form less objectionable to the advocates of the skeptical theory) the Homeric poems, if not a substantially true history, are at least a faithful representation, of the manners, ideas and traditions of the heroic age, the age of the War. Moreover, according to their own traditions and all ethnological evidence, the original inhabitants both of Greece and Troy came from those same mountainous regions of Western Asia, from which the Hebrews took their origin. It would be strange, then, if we did not find in the Iliad and Odyssey some vestiges at least of the same patriarchal and primitive facts, doctrines and usages, of which we have an inspired record in the Pentateuch and the books of Joshua and Judges. Homer, like Joshua and the book of Judges, makes frequent mention of Sidon, the mother city of the Phœnicians (Il. 6, 290; Od. 13, 285; Josh. 19, 28; Judg. 1, 31); also of Thebes, the ancient capital of the Egyptians (Il. 9, 381), whose "strength" ("and it was infinite") had already been brought low in the days of the prophet Nahum (3, 8–10), that is, as early as the eighth century before the Christian era. The domestic and social manners of the Pentateuch are reproduced almost unchanged in the Homeric poems.* In like manner, not a few of the religious ideas and practices of the Old Testament reäppear in the Iliad and Odyssey. Enoch walked with God; and he was not, for God took him (Gen. 5, 24). So the Homeric gods, particularly Zeus, translate and immortalize their favorites; though beauty of person, and not excellence of character, seems to have been the attraction, and sensuous (not to say sensual) delight, rather than spiritual complacency, was the bond of union (Il. 20, 233; 11, 1). God appears on earth in human form, and converses with

* Cf. Coleridge's Introduction to the Study of the Greek Poets.

the Hebrew patriarchs, face to face (Gen. 18, 17; 32, 30), and he was on terms of still more frequent and familiar intercourse with our first parents in the garden of primeval innocence. So the gods manifest themselves to the heroes in the war of Troy; and they even intermarried with men and women of former generations. The Israelites are a chosen people to whom God reveals himself in a peculiar way; the Phæacians and the Æthiopians are the favorite nations with the Homeric gods, who visit them in their own proper form and person, especially at their feasts. The Lord goes down to the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah in person, or in the person of his angels, to see whether they have done according to the cry that has come up to him, and when he finds them sunk in moral corruption, destroys them from off the earth; so the gods, in the likeness of strangers from foreign lands, often visit cities (ἐπιστρωφῶσι πόλιας) to see the character and conduct of their inhabitants, and reward or punish accordingly (Od. 17, 485). The supreme God of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, as well as the God of the Bible, is the God of the stranger and of the poor (Od. 6, 208). Homer as well as Moses recognizes the principle, that hurricanes and floods may be, and are heaven's vengeance sent upon the earth, when the wickedness and ungodliness of nations and their rulers is very great (Il. 16, 384). The Titans and Giants of Homer are a reproduction of the rebel builders of Babel and of those antediluvian giants, who were the offspring of the sons of God and the daughters of men. Ate, cast out from heaven as a deceiver, and now ever intent upon destroying the children of men, answers in very many particulars to Satan, the great adversary of God and man; while on the other hand, the *Litae*, Jove's daughters, who, with slow and toilful step, follow the adversary to repair the mischief and intercede both with their Father and with the erring sons of men (Il. 9, 502), are a beautiful illustration of the principle, and to some extent also, of the plan of reconciliation through a Mediator; and even the rainbow, the appointed symbol of mercy and peace to the world after the flood, reäppears in Iris, the rainbow goddess and messenger of heaven.

We have already adverted to the traces of a primitive monotheism in the vast supremacy of Jove over all the other gods, and also to a kind of trinity of persons, manifestations, and agencies in Zeus, Athene, and Apollo, who are so often addressed together in prayer in the triune invocation :

Αἲ γὰρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἄπολλον·

These three are worshipped alike by Greeks and barbarians in every part of the world. These three surpass all the gods in moral character,* as much as they do in their providential power and care over the universe. And these three sustain such intimate and endearing relations to each other that they may be said, in general, to "agree in one."

The father of gods and men, in Homer, is, of course, the universal Father of the Scriptures, though sadly defaced and degraded from the infinite Creator and the thrice holy moral governor of the universe, as he is revealed in the Scriptures. Apollo, the son of Jupiter and Latona (who is scarcely known except as the mother of Apollo), is the seed of the woman, the bruiser of the serpent's head, the source of oracles, and inspirer of prophets, the *Logos* or Word of God (Λοξίας), the bright and shining light (Φοῖβος). He is, as his name has been differently explained, both the ἀπέλλων and the ἀπολλύων, at once the healing or averting and the destroying deity, the god of medicine and the god of the bow; but even as god of the bow, what is most characteristic of him is that he inflicts death in such a manner as to take away its sting by his loving and gentle arrows (οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέεσσιν, Od. 15, 411). In the Greek tragedies he enjoys in common with Zeus the title of Saviour (Σρτὴρ, Æsch. Ag. 512). Athene is—at least she resembles and suggests — the personal and divine wisdom, with whom and by whom God founded the earth and prepared the heavens; the spirit of God that brooded upon the face of the original chaos and breathed into it order and beauty; "rejoicing always before him and rejoicing also in the habitable parts

* On this point, and the whole subject of the Homeric trinity or triad, Gladstone is very full and in the main satisfactory. See the second section of his second volume.

of the earth." Her especial "delight is with the sons of men," and her providential care is over them. She is the guide and teacher of wise and good men. In short, she is the executive, on earth, of all the most spiritual functions of the providence and government of the Most High.*

The attributes ascribed to Apollo and Athene cannot be explained as the spontaneous development of nature-worship or hero-worship in the mind of the Greeks, still less as the offspring of pure invention.

"They are such as to bring about cross-divisions and cross-purposes, which the Greek force of imagination and the Greek love of symmetry would have alike eschewed. How could invention have set up Pallas as the goddess at once of peace and its industries, of wisdom, and of war? How again could it have combined in Apollo the offices of destruction, music, poetry, prophecy, archery, and medicine? Again, if he is the god of medicine, why have we Paieon? if of poetry, why have we the Muses? If Minerva be (as she is) goddess of war, why have we Mars; if of the work of the artificer, why have we also Vulcan? if of prudence, and equity, and even craft, why Mercury?"

"It seems to be the distinctive character of Minerva, in the Homeric theo-mythology, that though she is not the sole deity, yet the very flower of the whole office and work of deity is every where reserved for her. . . . The whole conception is therefore fundamentally at variance with the measured and finite organization of an invented system of religion, and by its own incongruities with that system, it proves itself to be an exotic element."

"Apollo, too, has much of that inwardness and universality of function which belongs to Minerva, as well as a diversity of offices peculiarly his own. . . . The tangled thread runs out without knot or break, when we unravel it by primitive Messianic tradition, because it was fundamental to that tradition, that the person who was the subject of it should exhibit this many-sided union of character and function."†

The strange incongruity between the attributes theoretically ascribed to the gods, and their character and conduct as it appears in actual life—an incongruity of which we have already spoken, and which strikes every reader of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*—is perhaps to be explained on the same principle.

* I have taken the liberty to use here a few sentences from a notice of Gladstone's Studies of Homer, which I communicated to another journal.

† Gladstone, vol. ii. sec. ii.

omniscience, the omnipotence, the universal providence,
the absolute sovereignty which, in theory, belong to the
s, seem like an inheritance of truth transmitted from a
er and better age, and preserved, like heir-looms, in the
mory; while the character and conduct which imply such
odlike limitations of knowledge and power, and such gross
elictions, not only from divine, but even from human
dards of moral excellence, are the inventions of the poet,
therefore in harmony, or certainly not at variance, with
taste and imagination of his contemporaries. Or shall we
, that the pure theology is the intuitive and almost uncon-
ous testimony of the reason and conscience of man (wherever
s not wholly smothered by sin) to the truth of God, while
corrupt mythology is the voluntary and conscious inven-
n of an imagination and a heart that does not like to retain
knowledge of the true God, and therefore changes him into
image and likeness of his creatures. Whatever may be
explanation, the contradiction between the theoretical doc-
ne and the practical representation of the Homeric gods,
palpable, and stands out in marked contrast with the har-
ny and consistency of the divine character even in the Old
stament, how much more with the purity, beauty, and glory
that character as it appears in the New.

In conclusion, then, we say, the poems of Homer illustrate
l honor the Bible both by contrast and by resemblance.
ey bear witness, as it were, in spite of themselves (and it is
testimony not of an individual but of an early cultivated
ople in a primitive age), to the unity, trinity, omnipotence,
niscience, universal providence, and absolute sovereignty of
d, and to his frequent special interpositions in human
airs, and his various methods of revealing himself to the
owledge of men. At the same time, they show how little
dition can be trusted to transmit the knowledge of God and
true religion among the most enlightened people; they
rlesque sacred themes, and not only reduce the gods to a
el with men, but even make them objects of pity and of
rision to their worshippers. The more we study the theology
Homer, the less easily can we believe that the theology of
e Bible is the offspring either of tradition or of human
vention.

ART. II.—THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF EMMONS.

By ENOCH POND, D.D., Professor in the Bangor Theol. Seminary.

The Works of NATHANIEL EMMONS, D.D., *late Pastor of the Church in Franklin, Mass.; with a Memoir of his Life.* Second edition. Six volumes. Boston: Congregational Board of Publication. 1861.

THE religious community are under great obligations to the Congregational Board of Publication for this new and enlarged edition of the Works of Dr. Emmons. The former edition, published in 1842, has been for some time exhausted, and the many calls for it, which could not be supplied, made a new issue indispensable. The Works, as now published, are a great improvement on the former edition. In the first place, there is a new and elaborate Memoir of Dr. Emmons, occupying some five hundred pages, from the pen of Professor Park, of Andover; then there is the addition of many Sermons; and the whole is more methodically and scientifically arranged.

In the former edition, the first volume contained a brief autobiography of Dr. Emmons; an "additional Memoir," by his son-in-law, Dr. Ide; and a still further delineation of his character by Prof. Park. These several articles are here embodied in a continuous narrative, and with them a vast amount of other connected matter, including every thing calculated to throw light on the personal history, character, labors, and general influence of Dr. Emmons. First of all, we have an account of his birth-place, church relations, and family connections; then of his collegiate and professional education; and then of his settlement at Franklin, and of his early studies and labors as a pastor. Next we are informed of his first and second marriage; of his particular friends, associates, and correspondents; of his interest in national affairs, and in the polity of the churches; and of his early connection with the

cause of missions and that of education. Following this is a notice of his various publications, and of his theological school, including brief sketches of most of his hundred theological students. We are next presented with an elaborate critique upon Dr. Emmons, as a preacher and pastor, and also upon his system of theology. This part of the memoir will be read with great interest by ministers and other theological men. The whole is concluded with a particular account of his domestic afflictions, of his retirement from the ministry, and of the closing scenes of his long and useful life.

Such is a brief sketch—the briefest possible—of this extended memoir; including a history, not only of Dr. Emmons personally, but of the times in which he lived, and of the numerous incidents, running through almost a hundred years, which went to form and illustrate his character, and set forth the extent of his influence and usefulness. The preparation of such a memoir must have cost the writer a vast amount of research and labor; but it has been labor well bestowed. Prof. Park has erected a monument, more enduring than that of the granite block which rears itself in Franklin, to the memory of his friend, and his father's friend—a monument that will stand, and be studied and admired, in years and generations yet to come.

We have said that this edition of Emmons' Works is an improvement upon the former, in that it contains quite a number of additional discourses, and the whole is more methodically and scientifically arranged. Besides the memoir, the first volume contains twenty sermons, the most of them ordination sermons, and all of them on topics connected, directly or indirectly, with the great subject of preaching. The second and third volumes are occupied with discourses on systematic theology, arranged as before, under twenty-four general heads, but containing more than twenty additional sermons. This will be a great advantage of the second edition over the first. The three last volumes contain some hundred and sixty sermons on miscellaneous topics; some of them upon social and civil duties, some to the afflicted, and all of an experimental and practical character; showing that the author was not, as some have supposed, a mere theologian, but one who faithfully

dealt with the heart and conscience, and applied his theology to the character and life.

In giving a sketch of the life of Dr. Emmons, our limits will not permit us to go minutely into detail. He was born April 20th, old style, in the year 1745, at Millington, a parish of East Haddam, Conn.; the same town which gave birth to David Brainerd and Edward Dorr Griffin. He was the sixth son, and the twelfth and youngest child, of his parents. In his youth he was averse to labor, but loved learning; and after much entreaty, obtained permission of his father to commence the study of languages, at the age of seventeen. He was fitted for Yale College in about ten months; and though his class contained some distinguished scholars, as Dr. Lyman, Dr. Wales, Gov. Treadwell, and Judge Trumbull, yet, in the judgment of his classmates, he was accounted worthy, at the close of his collegiate life, of the most honorable appointment which they had it in their power to confer. Being destitute of property, he engaged, for several months, in the business of teaching; after which he entered upon the study of theology, first with Rev. Mr. Strong, of Coventry, father of the late Dr. Strong, of Hartford, and afterwards with Rev. Dr. Smalley, of Berlin.

Dr. Emmons was blessed with pious parents who, he says, gave him much good instruction, and restrained him from all outward acts of vice and immorality. He was the subject of frequent and deep religious impressions almost from childhood, but seems not to have experienced a change of heart until after he began to study for the ministry. The account which he has left us of his impressions and feelings, preceding and accompanying this most important change, is highly satisfactory, and must be given in his own words:

"It had always been my settled opinion, that saving grace was a necessary qualification for a church-member, and much more for a minister of the Gospel. Accordingly, when I began to read divinity, I began a constant practice of daily reading the Bible, and of praying to God in secret. With such resolutions, I entertained a hope that God would very soon grant me his special grace, and give me satisfactory evidence of this qualification for the ministry. Nor did I ever indulge a thought of preaching, unless I had some good reason to believe that I was the subject of a saving change; for I viewed a graceless minister as a most inconsistent, criminal,

and odious character. All this time, however, I had no sense of the total corruption of my heart, and its perfect opposition to God. But one night there came up a terrible thunder-storm, which gave me such an awful sense of God's displeasure, and of my going into a miserable eternity, as I never had before. I durst not close my eyes in sleep during the whole night, but lay crying for mercy, in great anxiety and distress. This impression continued week after week, and put me upon the serious and diligent use of what I supposed to be the appointed means of grace. In this state of mind I went to Mr. Smalley's, to pursue my theological studies. There I was favored with his plain and instructive preaching, which increased my concern and gave me a more sensible conviction of the plague of my own heart, and of my real opposition to the way of salvation, revealed in the Gospel. My heart rose against the doctrine of Divine Sovereignty, and I felt greatly embarrassed with respect to the use of means. I read certain books which convinced me that the best desires and prayers of sinners are altogether selfish, criminal, and displeasing to God. I knew not what to do, nor where to go for relief. A deep sense of my total depravity of heart, and of the sovereignty of God in having mercy on whom he will have mercy, destroyed my dependence on men and means, and made me almost despair of ever attaining salvation, or becoming fit for any thing but the damnation of hell. But one afternoon, when my hopes were gone, I had a peculiar discovery of the Divine perfections, and of the way of salvation by Jesus Christ, which filled my mind with a joy and serenity to which I had ever before been a perfect stranger. This was followed by a peculiar spirit of benevolence to all my fellow-men, whether friends or foes, and I was transported with the thought of the unspeakable blessedness of the day when benevolence should prevail universally among mankind. I felt a peculiar complacency in good men, but thought they were extremely stupid because they did not appear to be more delighted with the Gospel, and more engaged to promote the cause of Christ. I pitied the deplorable condition of ignorant, stupid sinners, and thought I could preach so plainly as to convince every body of the glory and importance of the Gospel. These were my views and feelings for about eight months before I became a candidate for the ministry."

The religious sentiments of young Emmons, when he entered college, were of an Arminian character, but of these he was thoroughly cured during his collegiate life, by the instructions of a tutor and by reading Edwards on the Will. He left college a Calvinist, of the old school, and put himself under the instruction of Mr. Strong, who was known to be of the same sentiments. He was here directed to the study of Willard's and Ridgeley's Expositions of the Assembly's Catechism, and other books of the like stamp, by which means he became

thoroughly grounded in the old Calvinistic explanations and doctrines.

Dr. Smalley was under the imputation, at this period, of having advanced some novelties in religion; and why Mr. Emmons was induced to exchange the instructions of Mr. Strong for those of the "New Divinity" teacher, does not appear. The kind of intercourse which he held with his new instructor, and the effect which his teachings produced upon him, he has himself described; and the passage is too interesting to be omitted:

"When I first went as a pupil to Dr. Smalley's, I was full of old Calvinism, and thought that I was prepared to meet the Doctor on all the points of his 'New Divinity.' For some time all things went on smoothly; at length, he began to advance some sentiments which were new to me, and opposed to my former views. I contended with him, but he very quietly tripped me up, and there I was at his mercy. I arose and commenced the struggle anew, but before I was aware of it, I was floored again. Thus matters proceeded for some time—he gradually leading me along to the place of light, and I struggling to remain in darkness. He at length succeeded, and I began to see a little light. From that time to the present the light has been increasing; and I feel assured that the great doctrines of grace, which I have preached for fifty years, are in strict accordance with the law and the testimony."

It was while this doctrinal struggle was going on between the teacher and his pupil, that Mr. Emmons was the subject of that deeper spiritual conflict which was above described. The change in his theological opinions, and his supposed change of heart, were very nearly coïncident.

Having become a convert to the views of his instructor, Mr. Emmons was destined soon to encounter another difficulty. In October, 1769, he appeared before the South Ministerial Association in Hartford county, to be examined for license to preach the Gospel; when it appeared that several of the more aged ministers were opposed to his teacher's sentiments, and of course to his. He had a long and critical examination upon the disputed points; and when the question of licensing him was at length put, several of the ministers voted against it; and one remonstrated against it in writing. The difficulty between the ministers was afterwards adjusted;

t the talk and excitement growing out of it served to render ung Emmons (to use his own expression) "a speckled bird." ter preaching as a candidate between three and four years, one evidence, among many, that the most respectable can- lates did not find it easier to obtain settlements in this intry, from fifty to an hundred years ago, than they do w,—he was ordained over the second church in Wrentham, w Franklin) Mass., in April, 1773. His pastoral relation to s people continued, without interruption, to the day of his ath,—a period of sixty-seven years; for more than fifty of ich he discharged personally and statedly the duties of his ice. An eminent example this of the benefits of perma- acy in the pastoral relation; and a strong rebuke of that rit of change, which has been superinduced upon the old ady habits of New England.

It has been often remarked, there is ordinarily little of stir- g, exciting incident to diversify the course of a parish nister, and give interest to the story of his life. His duties of an even, uniform character. They succeed each other, m week to week, and from year to year, in much the same nner; and thus even a long life wears away, not indeed, if he faithful, without great results, but without the occurrence of ny unusual or striking events. This, which is true in neral of parish ministers, is thought to have been specially of Dr. Emmons. His parish, though highly respectable in int of numbers and intelligence, was secluded and quiet. had no change of location, either accomplished or seriously ntemplated, to diversify the scene. His habits, too, were dious and retiring. He was seldom out of town, and but le abroad even among his own people. And yet there *were* idents, in the course of his long life, of a trying and deeply eresting character.

Mr. Emmons was first married in April, 1775, about two rs after his ordination, to Miss Deliverance French of airfree. With this excellent companion he enjoyed much ppiness for the space of about three years, when she was ten from him by consumption; leaving him the father of two rely and (as he thought) too much loved children. "I loved

them," he says, "to excess; and God saw it was not safe, for them or for me, that they should long continue in my hands." They were suddenly seized, one after the other, with dysentery, and died, almost together, of that wasting disease.

"Thus, in one day, all my family prospects were completely blasted. My cup of sorrow was filled to the brim, and I had to drink a full draught of the wormwood and the gall. It is impossible to describe what I felt. I stood a few moments, and viewed the remains of my two darlings, who had gone to their mother, and to their long home, never to return. But I soon found the scene too distressing, and retired to my chamber, to meditate in silence upon my forlorn condition. I thought there was no sorrow like unto my sorrow. I thought my burden was greater than I could bear. I felt as though I could not submit to such a complicated affliction. My heart rose, in all its strength, against the government of God, and then suddenly sunk under its distress, which greatly alarmed me. I sprang up and said to myself: 'I am going into immediate distraction; I must submit, or I am undone for ever.' In a few minutes my burden was removed, and I felt entirely calm and resigned to the will of God. I soon went down, attended to my family concerns, and gave directions respecting the interment of my children. I never enjoyed greater happiness in my life, than I did all that day and the next. My mind was wholly detached from the world, and altogether employed in pleasing contemplations of God and divine things. I felt as though I could follow my wife and children into eternity, with peculiar satisfaction. And for some considerable time after my sore bereavements, I used to look towards the burying-ground, and wish for the time when I might be laid by the side of my departed wife and dear little ones."

This school of crushing affliction was a highly instructive one to Mr. Emmons. It was good for him that he was called to bear the yoke in his youth. So he thought afterwards.

"I learned to moderate my expectations from the world, and especially from the enjoyment of children and earthly friends. I have scarcely ever thought of my present wife and children, without reflecting upon their mortality, and realizing the danger of being bereaved of them. And I have never indulged such high hopes concerning my present family, as I presumptuously indulged with respect to the family I have laid in the dust. I have likewise learned, by past painful experience, to mourn with them who mourn, and to weep with them who weep. I used to think, before I was bereaved, that I heartily sympathized with the afflicted at funerals; but I now know that I never entered into their feelings, and was a stranger to the heart of mourners. I now follow them into their solitary dwellings, and mourn with them, after their friends and relations have left, and forgotten them. Their heaviest burden comes upon them, while they are sitting

alone, and reflecting upon the nature and consequences of their bereavements. This I now know was my case. How many painful hours did I experience in secret! And how many tears did I shed in silence! How dreary did my empty house appear! And how often did its appearance, after I had left it for a time, and returned to it, awaken afresh my past sorrows! The same causes, I am persuaded, have the same effects upon other mourners; and therefore I cannot easily forget them, nor cease to sympathize with them in their solitary hours."

In less than two years after the distressing bereavements above described, Mr. Emmons entered again into the marriage state. His second wife was a daughter of Rev. Chester Williams of Hadley, Mass., and daughter-in-law of Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D.D., the immediate successor of Mr. Williams. This excellent lady was spared to him, to superintend his domestic concerns, and be the partner of his joys and sorrows, for almost fifty years. His family too, like that of Job after his trial, was renewed to him, and more than renewed. He was blessed with six "promising children," two sons and four daughters; three of whom were spared to follow their father to the grave.

During the war of the Revolution, Mr. Emmons, in common with other ministers, and with every other class of citizens, suffered exceedingly. The depreciation of the paper currency rendered his salary little more than nominal; while his debts, and the personal wants of himself and family, were pressing realities. His people also were so much embarrassed with the expenses, labors, and fatigues of the war, that many of them neglected to attend public worship, and became indifferent to every thing of a religious nature. Some, who had been his warm friends, became cold and distant in their behavior towards him, and treated him in particular instances (so, at least, *he* understood it) with marked disrespect. It was in circumstances and under impressions such as these, that, in the beginning of the year 1781, and again in 1784, he asked a dismission from his people. The requests, in both instances, were denied.

Near the close of the year 1784, in the midst of the discouragements above referred to, God began to pour out his Spirit upon the people. A revival of religion commenced,

and continued for more than a year, in the progress of which about seventy professed to find joy and peace in believing. This was a glorious and solemn season. At that day, when revivals were almost unknown, it was a remarkable season. It put a new face upon Mr. Emmons' congregation, and gave him new courage and zeal in the work of the ministry. It attached his people to him, and him to them, and cured most of those evils of which he had before complained.

Early in the year 1794, God was pleased again to pour out his Spirit, though not so richly as on the former occasion. About thirty made a profession of religion, and the church in Franklin became, what it long continued to be, one of the largest in the vicinity.

Dr. Emmons was favored with yet another season of special revival, in the years 1808–9, when about forty were added to the church. Indeed, during the last half of his ministry, there were always those among his people who were deeply and specially interested in the subject of religion. Hopeful conversions and additions to the church were events of common occurrence. In the course of Dr. Emmons' ministry, three hundred and eight persons became members of his church. It is known, also, that many became pious under his ministry, who professed their faith in other places. If it be considered that during the earlier and larger part of his ministry, it was a time of great religious declension throughout the country, when the enemy was coming in like a flood, when French infidelity was fashionable and prevalent, when revivals of religion were unfrequent, and when many of the churches in his vicinity were either overrun or torn asunder by the spread of Unitarianism and its kindred errors, these facts indicate, not only the steadfastness and faithfulness of the man, but a much more than ordinary measure of success, in the conversion of souls. Nor were his efforts and success confined to his labors in the pulpit. Like Moses, he was "faithful in all his house"; and a considerable number of those who lived in his family have acknowledged, that his private conversation with them was made the means of their conversion.

Of the early trials and afflictions of Dr. Emmons we have

ready spoken. These were followed by a long period of omestic comfort, and also of peace and prosperity among his eople. But the fell destroyer at length returned, and with ie exception of three children who had left the paternal roof, l his family were again laid in the dust. His much loved aughter, Deliverance, was taken from him in 1813. His se- ond son, Erastus, on whom he had depended to reside with im, and who was peculiarly qualified to "rock the cradle of is declining years," was next removed, in the spring of 1820. Vithin less than three years from the death of this son, another aughter, Sarah, who had made her aged father the principal bject of her care, began to decline, and was speedily cut own.

It is remarkable, that neither of these children gave evi- ence of piety, until after the commencement of their last ckness; and that they all were brought to rejoice in Christ, efore they left the world. The evidence of a saving change hich they were enabled to furnish in the last days of life, ough of great comfort and value to surviving friends, was ot such as a faithful minister would think it safe to insist pon before his people; and it is interesting to see, in the case f Dr. Emmons, how wisely and cautiously he presented the ubject in the pulpit, and how the feelings of the tender, flicted father were all bowed and merged in the higher sponsibilities of the ambassador of God. At the close of an ppropriate and solemn sermon, preached on the Sabbath fol- wing the death of his son, he spoke of his late bereavement the following words:

"This subject, and the late instance of mortality in this place, call aloud on those, in the midst of their days, to prepare to follow one of their own e into that vast eternity, whither he has gone, never to return. He lived apid, thoughtless and secure in sin, until he was brought to the very ght of death. He was carried away with the vanity of the world and the easing prospects of life, and abused the calls, the mercies, and the patience God; and this gave him pain, self-condemnation, and remorse. He was nstrained to say, *The world has ruined me.* He was brought to give up l his vain hopes and expectations from the world, and to feel the duty and e importance of choosing the one thing needful. But whether he did er heartily renounce the world, and choose God for his supreme portion, nnot be known here. In his own view he did become reconciled to God,

and derived peace and hope from his supposed reconciliation. But it is more than possible that, like others on a sick-bed, he built his hopes upon a sandy foundation. Let his case, however, be what it may, he is dead; called away from his relatives and friends, just as he entered the meridian of life. His death, therefore, speaks with an emphasis to parents, brothers, and sisters, and especially to those of his own age, to be wiser and better than he was, and not delay seeking and serving God to a dying hour."

But God had another trial for his venerable servant, before he should be permitted to enter upon his eternal rest. In the summer of 1829, his faithful wife, on whom he had chiefly depended for the direction of his domestic concerns for almost fifty years, and of whom he used often to say that *she had supported him*, was taken away. This was a solemn and trying event to Dr. Emmons. He felt that a day of calamity had come. The following letter, announcing her death to her half-brother, John Hopkins, Esq., of Northampton, is so touching and pertinent, and withal so strongly characteristic of its author, that we shall be excused in quoting it.

"Dear Brother: The last Sabbath, about four o'clock in the morning, Mrs. Emmons exchanged that day of rest, as I hope and believe, for that rest which remaineth for the people of God. Your loss is great, but mine is irreparable. I am emphatically a pilgrim and stranger on the earth, having neither father nor mother, brother nor sister, uncle nor aunt, living. I am left alone, to bear the heaviest affliction I have ever been called to bear, in an evil time. Though I enjoy usual health, yet the decays of nature and the infirmities of old age render me less able to bear troubles and sorrows than I was in former days, when I was called to suffer breach after breach in my family. Therefore, this last and widest breach seems destined to bring down my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. I sympathize with you, and know you will sympathize with me. *You* knew the excellent character of your sister; but I knew more of her excellence and worth, and of her importance to me. She was, indeed, a rich blessing to me, and to her family, and to her people, among whom, I believe, she never had an enemy. She was eminently an example of patience, meekness, and submission, during a long life of peculiar trials, bodily infirmities, pains, and distresses. She was,—but I forbear.

"Her health was visibly declining through the winter and spring, but we did not view her as immediately in danger, until the Tuesday before she died. She was apparently struck with death on Saturday evening, but did not expire till morning. She retained her senses to the last, and left the world, not in triumph, but in that hope which was an anchor to the soul, sure and steadfast. You and Mrs. Hopkins will, I hope, in your best moments, remember your aged and bereaved brother, Nathaniel Emmons."

by this bereavement—the severest that could possibly have n inflicted on him—Dr. Emmons was left in a very lonely trying situation. His three surviving children were away n him, settled in life; while all those who he had expected ıld be with him, and be the solace and support of his de- ing years, had gone before him — to the grave. Feeling necessity, not only of a companion in his solitude, but ıome one on whose care he might lean, amid the increasing rmities of age, Dr. Emmons entered again into the marriage e in September, 1831. Some of his friends entertained bts as to the propriety of this measure, but the event ved that he judged correctly in regard to it. The excellent r with whom he connected himself was Mrs. Abigail M. ls, widow of the late Rev. Edmund Mills, of Sutton, Mass.; to the care with which she watched over him, and the stancy and kindness with which she ministered to his its, he was greatly indebted for the quietness and comfort ıis remaining days.

Dr. Emmons continued statedly to discharge the duties of ministry until May, 1827, when he experienced a fainting n the pulpit, which was followed by a temporary illness. received this as an intimation, in providence, that it was s for him to retire from the active labors of his office. Ac- lingly he sent a communication to his people, informing n that they must no longer depend on him for the supply he pulpit, or for the performance of any ministerial labor, that he renounced all claims upon them for future minis- al support. He soon recovered from his illness, and was as to preach, probably, for several succeeding years, as he had ı for some of the years previous. Still, he seems never to e regretted the step which he had taken. He was now more ı eighty years of age, and he had a great dread of the mis- s into which some old ministers fall, of protracting his ırs beyond the period of his usefulness. "I always meant etire," said he, "while I had sense enough to do it."

He lived to witness the settlement and dismission of one col- ague, and the settlement of a second; and was exceedingly py in both these connections. We have also the testimony

of his colleagues, that his intercourse with them was such as made them happy. One of them says: "I seriously doubt whether the minister now lives with whom I could spend nine years of such uninterrupted harmony and perfect good will as I did when associated with Dr. Emmons." The other says: "During my connection with Dr. Emmons, his conduct was such as to command my highest respect, my deepest veneration, and my sincere and ardent love. I never saw the man (my own reverend father excepted) whom I so much revered and loved. At the feet of such an one it was delightful to sit and listen to the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth."

From the time when Dr. Emmons retired from the duties of his office, he uniformly declined taking any part in the public services of the sanctuary, or even in private religious meetings. He well knew the attachment of his people to him, and the high value which they set upon his services, and he was determined not to stand in the way of his successor. He feared, too, that should he consent to perform occasional services, he might be led to continue them, until they became tiresome to his people. But though he was no longer, in the active sense of the term, a minister, he was a good parishioner. So long as he had health and strength, he was always in the house of God on the Sabbath, and always ready to do his part to sustain the institutions of religion. It was his constant endeavor to encourage the heart and strengthen the hands of the acting minister, and to promote the peace and prosperity of the people of his charge.

Dr. Emmons was a kind husband, and an indulgent father, refusing no gratification to his children which could be afforded them in consistency with the higher claims of duty. He paid particular attention to the religious instruction of his children, seeking above all things for them, as he did for himself, a personal interest in the Saviour. It was his practice to take them alone, and converse with them freely upon their character and condition as sinners, and upon the necessity and obligation of their immediate repentance and acceptance of Christ. The leisure which he enjoyed in his old age rendered him, in some respects, more companionable than he was

in the midst of the severe studies and labors of his earlier years. On this account, he is said to have been more familiar with his grandchildren than he had been with his children. He insisted upon frequent visits from those of them who were near him, and with those that were at a distance he had occasional correspondence. The memoir before us contains several letters addressed to his grandchildren, and they are admirable specimens of the artlessness, good sense, and genuine affection which this venerable patriarch was accustomed to manifest toward his descendants, when now almost ninety years of age.

Dr. Emmons was always a domestic man. The retirement and quietness of his own dwelling were more congenial to his studious disposition and habits than any exciting scenes abroad. Still, as he had leisure in the last years of his life, and as his health was sufficiently firm to enable him to endure fatigue, he was induced to make several journeys of considerable length, after he had passed the age of ninety. He visited New-York at the anniversaries, in the spring of 1835, and was treated with great respect by the numerous friends to whom he was introduced. He attended most of the public meetings which were held in the daytime, and enjoyed the exercises highly. Two years later he visited his only son, Hon. William Emmons, of Hallowell, Mass., and returned rather benefited than injured by the journey.

During the last few years of his life, however, it was perceived that his health and strength were gradually failing. His memory failed; his flesh wasted; and although he continued to enjoy, for the most part, a brisk flow of spirits, yet at intervals there seemed to be a suspension of his usual vivacity. During a portion of the day, he often appeared heavy, and would sometimes remain for hours in a gentle slumber. He spent much of his time in reading, until he became too weak to endure the exercise. At the age of ninety-two, it is believed that he read as much as most ministers do in the meridian of life. He not only made himself acquainted with the leading periodicals of the day, but encountered many a massive volume. When he became unable to read much himself, he improved every opportunity to hear reading from others.

For several of his last years, Dr. Emmons seems to have lived in the constant expectation of death. He conversed much upon the subject with the members of his family, and with his younger brethren in the ministry. He often dwelt, in his contemplations, upon the glories of heaven, and upon the desirableness of departing to be with Christ, and to join the blest society above.

"I want," said he on one occasion, "to go to heaven. It is an inexpressibly glorious place. The more I think of it the more delightful it appears. I want to see who is there. I want to see brother Sanford, and brother Niles, and brother Spring, and Dr. Hopkins, and Dr. West, and a great many other ministers with whom I have been associated in this world, but who have gone before me. I believe I shall meet them in heaven, and it seems to me that our meeting will be peculiarly interesting. I want to see, too, the old prophets and the apostles. What a society there will be in heaven! There we shall see such men as Moses, Isaiah, and Elijah, Daniel, and Paul. I want to see Paul more than any man I can think of."

In connection with what he said at this time about heaven, he expressed more fully than was usual for him his feelings respecting the Gospel. With great emotion, he said: "I *do* love the Gospel. It appears to me more wonderful and glorious every day. I think I now understand something about the Gospel; but I expect, if I ever get to heaven, to understand a great deal more."

In his last sickness Dr. Emmons was able to say but little. His throat was so filled with phlegm that he could not distinctly articulate. But he had left nothing which need be said in a dying hour. He had given his friends and the world entire satisfaction with regard to his preparation for heaven; and the instruction which he was able to impart he had taken a more favorable opportunity to give. On Wednesday morning, September 23d, 1840, after a night of great distress, occasioned principally by the difficulty of breathing, his spirit took its upward flight.

The sensation occasioned by his death was deep and general, beyond what his immediate connections had anticipated. People of all classes felt that a great and good man had been taken away, and that the whole community had suffered an

irreparable loss. His funeral was the greatest that had been attended in that vicinity for a century. There were present not less than fifty ministers of the Gospel, besides many laymen of distinction, and a vast assemblage of people, all showing, in their countenances and deportment, the sincere affection and profound respect in which this aged divine was held.

In person, Dr. Emmons was not above the middle size, of a light complexion, an erect posture, straight and well proportioned in his limbs, and capable, in early life, of great bodily activity. Indeed, to very advanced age, he excelled most young ministers in the quickness and firmness of his step, and the rapidity of his movements. He had a small, bright blue eye, and a countenance not only beaming with intelligence, but indicating much pleasantry and humor. The engraving in the commencement of these volumes is a good representation of him, as he was some twenty years before his death.

In his constitutional temperament, Dr. Emmons had much vivacity and sprightliness, and a brisk flow of animal spirits. In early life he may have possessed a temper somewhat excitable; but in later years, this had become so much softened by Divine grace, and mellowed by experience, and soothed and subdued under long restraint, that it gave neither himself nor others any trouble.

In his intercourse with all men, Dr. Emmons was courteous and affable, but was specially free and sociable with his friends. No man enjoyed such intercourse more than he; no man was capable of making it more agreeable. In conversation, as in reading, he was not confined to theological subjects, but was able to take a wide range. He knew how to be grave and instructive in his remarks, and he knew how to spice them with all the pungency of attic wit. Few young ministers who visited him escaped without some specimens of his power of retort, which they would be likely to remember. In the memoir before us, Prof. Park has collected numerous anecdotes of Dr. Emmons, and many of his pithy, instructive apothegms, which are well worthy to be recorded. It should be mentioned, however, to the credit of our venerable friend, that he never carried his humor into the pulpit. Among all his writ-

ten discourses, amounting to thousands, there is probably not one facetious expression. Nor did he ever indulge in wit and humor in such ways, or to such an extent, as to lower the dignity of his profession. No man knew better than he how to keep his proper place, and how to keep those around him in their places.

Of Dr. Emmons' mind, the distinguishing trait, perhaps, was *discrimination;* the ability to make nice distinctions, and to discover the peculiar relation which one truth or fact bears to another. He did not treasure up so many facts as some men; but perhaps the man never lived who was able to see with greater clearness the relations between facts, or who actually traced out more important connections between the various truths which his mind had grasped. He was not deficient as to the extent of his reading. Few ministers had read more books than he, and yet he *studied* much more than he read. In the acquisition of new materials of knowledge, the relation which these bore to the knowledge already gained was always a primary object of attention. He not only believed, like every other good man, that all the doctrines of the Gospel are consistent with each other, and that every thing else is consistent with them, but he made it an object to *see* and to *show* this consistency. This was, in fact, the great labor of his life. He spent his days, as he often remarked, in "making joints." How well he made them, those will be best able to judge who most faithfully study and most thoroughly understand his works.

Dr. Emmons was an *independent* thinker. He called no man master. If there ever was an individual who had broken quite away from the trammels of human authority, it was he. Most men *profess* to think for themselves. Few are willing to own that they hold opinions, merely because they are held by great and good men. Still, it is an undeniable fact, that comparatively few think much on religious subjects, without the aid of others. The great majority go as far as they are led, and no farther. But such was not the case with Dr. Emmons. He early "threw away his crutches," being determined to walk without them, or not at all. And what *he* had done in

this respect, he wished others to do. He used to tell his students, and those whom he advised respecting their studies, to think *independently*. "Young ministers feel weak or lame, and think they must use crutches; but if they would ever accomplish anything in the world, they must learn to walk alone."

And Dr. Emmons was as independent in the *expression* of his opinions, as in the formation of them. He would never conceal a doctrine, merely because it was unpopular. He had no fear as to the consequences of *truth*, if exhibited seasonably and scripturally, either to himself, to his hearers, or to the cause of God. This independence of expression extended not only to religious doctrines, but *practice*,—to questions of morality, as well as of theology. It made no difference to him, whether any particular practice among his people, or in the community, was fashionable or unfashionable; or whether its abettors were few or many, high or low, rich or poor, friends or enemies. If the practice was thought to be contrary to the word of God, and of injurious influence upon the souls of men, it was sure to meet with his open, undisguised rebuke. Instances might be mentioned, in which he felt constrained to say and do things which he knew would give offence, not only to men of the world, but to some of his ministerial and Christian brethren. Yet, when his mind was made up, and the case was clear, he never spared. If others stood with him, it was well; but if not, he was able to stand alone.

Dr. Emmons was also an *original* man. There were many who followed him, but he followed nobody. In the formation of his opinions, and the expression of them; in his doctrine, style, mode of sermonizing, and manner of delivery, he was himself, and nobody else. He investigated the same subjects on which other great men had written, but in a manner as truly his own, as though he had never seen their writings.

Another distinguishing trait in the mind and character of Dr. Emmons, was *consistency*. That he was consistent in his reasonings, is admitted by those who are very far from adopting his sentiments. "Give him his premises," said one, "and you cannot resist his conclusions." "I do not believe his doc-

trine," said another, "but I admire his logic." And this same unflinching consistency he carried out in his conduct and life. It was commonly said of him, that "every one knows where to find him;"—knows what he will think of a new measure, or how he will treat an old friend. Whether standing or sitting, at home or abroad, silent or conversing, cheerful or grave, he was just like himself. "He never said that, for it does not sound like him," was good logic as to his conduct; and this was his great distinction above ordinary men.

In all his habits, both of body and mind, Dr. Emmons was characterized by *neatness* and *order*. In every article of his dress, in all the furniture of his house, and more especially of his study,—his books, his papers, his desk, his chairs, even to the hanging of his hat, and the standing of his shovel and tongs,—every thing was in its place. And so it was with respect to his mind. His internal furniture, like that without, was perfectly arranged. Every thing there was in its place, and ready to be brought out of its place, at the bidding of its master.

Another of Dr. Emmons' habits was that of *thoroughness*. Whatever he seriously undertook, he was likely to carry consistently through. In his reading, he was careful to read thoroughly, pondering and digesting what he read, and laying up the results for immediate or future use. When he entered upon the investigation of any topic, he did not run over it, leaving it half studied, but was sure to prosecute it, until he had arrived at some satisfactory issue.

It was this habit of thoroughness which led him to abstract himself so entirely from the business of the world. He early formed the resolution that he would give himself wholly to the work of the ministry; and this qualifying word *wholly* meant something on his lips. He would subject himself, we are told, to no kind of secular labor; not even to harness his horse, or feed his cattle, or bring in his wood. In the commencement of his ministry, when the house was preparing, into which he was to remove with his bride, he never saw the inside of it, till it was finished, although he boarded within sight of it, and passed it almost every day. On one occasion,

when his hay was exposed to be wet by a shower, and his hired man came to him for some assistance in securing it, he kindly but promptly answered: "*No;* I am not going to leave my work to do yours." It may well be questioned whether his notions, on this subject, were not carried to an extreme; but they were strongly indicative of the character of the man, and of those habits of thoroughness and self-control to which he had vigorously trained both his body and his mind.

Dr. Emmons was strictly and uniformly a *temperate* man. He not only abstained almost entirely, through his whole life, from intoxicating drinks, but he was temperate as to the quality and amount of his food. He was not, indeed, squeamish and whimsical on this point, like some at this day, analyzing his milk, and weighing his bread, or limiting himself to a set number of mouthfuls; but he preferred a simple diet, avoided what hurt him, and through life was careful to rise from his meals with an unsated appetite. He retired to rest early, enjoyed quiet sleep, and rose refreshed from one morning to another, to renew his labors. In consequence of his regularity and abstemiousness, he was able to live almost entirely without exercise. He affirmed in his old age, that he never had taken one hour's exercise, merely for the sake of it. "All that a visitor would notice," says Prof. Park, "was, that he rose early in the morning, read his Bible and meditated until the breakfast-table was brought into his room, walked from his study-chair to his repast, afterwards back to his chair, moved again when the dinner-table was set for him, consulted his noon-mark, returned when dinner was over to his chosen seat, repeated these journeyings for the evening meal, and before ten o'clock retired to rest. This seemed to be, and for weeks together it often was, nearly all the muscular exertion made by one who lived almost a hundred years."

In the character of Dr. Emmons, certain qualities were combined, which are often thought to be incompatible; such as true dignity with child-like simplicity, modesty with self-respect, candor with inflexibleness, kindness with severity, quickness in his mental operations with judiciousness and perseverance, and also a truly conservative spirit with the spirit and

habits of a reformer. That Dr. Emmons was, to some extent, an innovator in his theology, and lay strongly under the imputation of "New Divinity," cannot be denied; and yet, in the general tendencies of his mind and character, he was a genuine conservative. He commenced the study of theology a Calvinist of the old school, and was led to modify his views only by hard struggles. He taught the Assembly's Catechism to his own children, till they were grown, and to the children of his parish for more than fifty years. His pronunciation, dress, and manner of delivery were all in the antiquated style. He wore his three-cornered hat as long as he wore any. It is to be attributed to the same trait of character, that he declined adopting some of those measures which are commonly resorted to in modern times, with a view to promote religion in the world. He was accustomed to the old methods, and to him they seemed preferable.

Dr. Emmons' plan of *pastoral* supervision and labor was somewhat different from that which is ordinarily pursued at the present day. Except in cases of sickness or affliction, or when individuals or families manifested a particular desire to see him, he was not in the habit of visiting his people. He encouraged his people to visit him, and to open their minds freely to him on all subjects on which they wished for religious instruction; but he did not ordinarily visit them. He believed that he could do them more good, by laboring for them in his study. This plan of proceeding, however, he adopted for himself, without pretending to decide that it would be best for other ministers. "Some ministers," he said, "have a peculiar talent for conversing with individuals and families on religion, and can do more good in this way than by their preaching. It is important that those who have this talent should know it, and pursue such a course as will enable them to improve it to the best advantage." It should be added, that in seasons of revival, when the feelings of people were interested, and they were desirous to converse on the subject of religion, Dr. Emmons changed his plan of pastoral labor, and sought opportunities for conversation with individuals out of his study.

In estimating the *learning* of Dr. Emmons, we must keep in mind the period and the circumstances under which he was educated, and the class of subjects to which he would naturally be led to confine his attention. As a critic on the original Scriptures, who had waded, with the Germans, through all the mysteries of Hebrew philology, and become deeply versed in Oriental literature, he was not learned. He was educated at a period when these studies were but little valued or attended to in this country, and they could not be expected of him. Nor was he learned in all the minutiæ of Sacred Geography, or Ecclesiastical History, as some are learned at the present day. But if an intimate and extended acquaintance with all those branches of English literature, which stood in any way connected with his profession, gives claim to the reputation of learning, Dr. Emmons was learned. Or if a thorough and profound acquaintance with that noblest of all sciences, which has to do with God, his government, and the destinies of immortal beings—which takes hold alike on the heights of heaven, and the depths of hell, and reaches from eternity to eternity—if this gives claim to the reputation of learning, Dr. Emmons was learned. In the science of theology, from bottom to top, from beginning to end, in all its departments and ramifications, so far as these are laid open to the view of mortals, he was perfectly at home. He had an accuracy and an extent of knowledge here, in comparison with which not a few of our modern critics upon Hebrew points and sacred localities are but pigmies.

Of the theological *opinions* of Dr. Emmons our limits forbid us to go into a prolonged discussion. They are patent in all his writings, and may be easily gathered from the volumes before us. He claimed to be, and he was, a thorough, consistent, supralapsarian Calvinist; although he did not explain his creed in precisely the sense of Calvin, or of the Westminster Confession. He believed in the literal universality of God's purposes and providence; that "he hath foreordained whatsoever comes to pass;" and "worketh all things after the counsel of his own will." He believed, of course, in the doctrines of personal, unconditional, and eternal election and reproba-

tion. He believed that man is a free, accountable agent, under the moral government of God, having all that liberty that he needs, or that a creature can possess. He believed that all sin and holiness are in their nature *actual*, being the properties of voluntary affections and actions only. He believed that sin came into the world, not because God could not exclude or prevent it, but because—evil as it is in its nature—he saw that he could *overrule* its existence for a greater good; and that the plan of redemption was adopted, not merely as a remedy for the evils of the fall, but on account of its own inherent, most excellent character and results, tending to advance the Divine glory in the highest possible degree, and thus promote the greatest possible good of the intelligent universe, as a whole. He believed that, in consequence of the apostacy of our first parents, all men are naturally and totally depraved, so that from the moment of birth to the moment of regeneration, there is nothing of a moral nature in them which a holy God can approve. He believed that the Lord Jesus Christ, the second person in the adorable Trinity, took upon him our nature and flesh, and by his sufferings and death on the cross, made full expiation for the sins of the world. He believed that regeneration is an instantaneous change in the internal exercises and affections of those who experience it, of which the Holy Spirit is the immediate and efficient author, but in which the subject of it is free and active. He believed that pardon or justification is all of grace, the sole ground of which is the atonement of Christ, and the proper condition of which is faith in his name. He believed that, though it is possible for regenerated persons to fall finally away, and in themselves they are in danger of doing it, so that they need motives and warnings against it, yet it is certain that *they never will*, being "kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation." He believed in the resurrection of the body, the general judgment, and a future and endless state of reward for the righteous, and of punishment for the wicked. In point of church-government, Dr. Emmons was a Congregationalist, holding to the independence of individual churches, and disposed to guard their independence with peculiar vigilance.

We have given this brief synopsis of the leading doctrinal sentiments of Dr. Emmons, not for the information of those who have read his works—they need no such information; but to show with how much propriety he claimed to be a Calvinist, and to vindicate him, in the eyes of some who have not read his works, from the charge of dangerous, heretical innovations.*

But it will be asked, Did he make no innovations in theology? Was the charge of "New Divinity," so long and often urged against him, altogether without foundation? These questions may be answered, in part, in his own words:

"I was early and warmly attached to genuine Calvinism, which I believed to be built upon the firm foundation of the Gospel itself. This system, I have thought, and still think, is the very form of sound words, which the apostles and their successors taught, long before Calvin was born. But Calvinism has lost much of its purity and simplicity by passing through so many unskilful hands. This has given great advantage to its enemies, who have clearly discovered and successfully attacked some of its excrescences and protuberances.

"I know that some Calvinists maintain that the first sin of Adam is imputed to his posterity; that the righteousness of Christ is imputed to believers for their justification; that sinners are under a natural inability to turn from sin to holiness; and that Christ made an atonement only for the elect. I grant these are gross absurdities — mere wens and protuberances, which must be pared off from true Calvinism, in order to make it appear consistent with both reason and Scripture."

In theology, Dr. Emmons belonged to the same school, essentially, with the Edwardses, Bellamy, Hopkins, and West; though differing from each and all of them in some of his statements, and placing some important points of doctrine in a clearer light than they.

"If he was not the first that discovered the truth that all sin and holiness consist in action, or in voluntary exercises of the mind, he was the first to make an extensive use of this principle, in explaining the doctrines of the Gospel. By common consent, *the Exercise Scheme* is his. He not only believed, with others, that much of the sin and holiness of men consists in their voluntary affections and actions, but that *all* of it does; and this principle he carried out, in all its bearings, upon the subject of human de-

* [An article on Dr. Emmons's theological system will be published in the next number of this Review.—Ed.]

pravity, the connection of Adam with his posterity, the doctrine of regeneration, the free agency and accountability of man, and the government of God. From this principle it follows that the natural sinfulness of mankind is not a corrupt nature inherent from Adam, but their own voluntary opposition to God; that regeneration consists not in the implantation of a new principle distinct from the affections of the mind, but in a change in the affections themselves from sin to holiness; that God does not require men to change the nature which God has given them, or to make themselves new faculties or powers, but to exercise that holiness of heart for which he has given them the requisite capacity."

The doctrine of the Divine agency or efficiency, especially as exerted in the production of evil, has been often urged as an objection to Dr. Emmons, and it must be confessed that he has used language on this subject, particularly in his sermon on Reprobation,* which is objectionable. It is objectionable, because it is liable to be misunderstood and perverted, and because to common minds it seems to imply more than its author intended. The Divine efficiency, as understood by Dr. Emmons, is no other than that general providential agency,—working by means and in accordance with established laws, and in entire conformity with human freedom—by which he is fulfilling his eternal counsels, and directing and controlling all events—not excepting the existence of evil. Hear him conversing with an inquirer on this very subject.

"'Do you believe that God is the efficient cause of sin?' 'No.' 'Do you believe that sin takes place according to the established laws of nature?' 'Yes.' 'What are the laws of nature, according to Newton?' 'They are the established modes of Divine operation.' 'Do you approve of that definition?' 'Yes.' 'Well, put those things together, and I am satisfied."

Dr. Emmons was always satisfied, if a man would adopt the common definition of the laws of nature, and would believe that sin takes place according to these laws.

Perhaps nothing which Dr. Emmons has written is more strenuously objected to, than his views of unconditional submission. He did hold and teach that, in submitting to God, the sinner must make no conditions or reservation, that he must lay down his weapons and yield himself up to his of-

* Works, vol. ii. p. 392.

fended Sovereign, to be saved or destroyed, as shall seem good in his sight. But this is no more than every consistent Calvinist, and every faithful ambassador from God to men, holds and teaches the world over. All good men do not use the same phraseology in treating of this subject. All might not approve of some of the expressions of Dr. Emmons. But all who have faithfully negotiated between God and men have held and enforced the doctrine of unconditional submission. It is one thing to submit to God on certain conditions of our own proposing, and quite another to submit without any conditions. The latter is the submission which the Gospel inculcates and God accepts: the former is properly no submission at all.

But if the most obnoxious features of Dr. Emmons' theology were so very like what other Calvinists have believed and taught, why were they thought by many to be peculiar to him? And why, in particular instances, did they excite so strong an opposition? This was owing chiefly, we think, to his peculiar manner of setting them forth. In the first place, he delivered all truth, not excepting those doctrines which to the natural man are most unpalatable, with great *clearness* and *directness*. They lay clearly in his own mind, and he brought them out clearly before the minds of others. He studied no circumlocution; he used no soothing, softening, qualifying words; but marched directly up to the point which he wished to exhibit, and made it stand out, in all its inherent offensiveness, to the view of the natural, unreconciled heart. In some few instances, we think that he used stronger expressions than the truth of the case required. He omitted explanations and qualifications, which would have rendered his doctrine more obvious and less objectionable to common minds.

In some instances, owing perhaps to the clearness with which a particular truth lay in his own mind, Dr. Emmons failed to express it, just as he intended to, to the minds of others. The whole was so plain to him, with all the necessary limitations and qualifications, that he failed to use the requisite precautions in the representation of it. We have an instance of this in his sermon entitled, "Forgiveness of sins

only, for Christ's sake."* Most persons would understand from this that men receive no favor, except forgiveness, through Christ, or in consequence of his mediation. But such was not the meaning of the author. He believed, like other Christians, that we "are blessed with *all* spiritual blessings, in heavenly places, in Christ Jesus;" that our very life and breath, the protection we here enjoy, and all the mercies connected with our probation, flow to us through Christ, and as a consequence of his mediation. Still there is a peculiarity attending the blessing of forgiveness. It stands connected with the atonement of Christ as no other divine favor does. To remove the obstacles in the way of forgiveness was the grand object of the atonement. It was to lay a foundation for forgiveness that the atonement was made. Forgiveness or justification may be said to be the only favor which is bestowed directly and strictly for the *sake* of the atonement, while all other blessings, temporal and spiritual, flow to us *consequentially*, through the mediation of the Son of God.

It was owing, perhaps, to the naked, unqualified manner in which Dr. Emmons sometimes expressed his thoughts, that he was charged with opinions which he never held, and with language which he never used. For example, he is charged, and that, too, on high authority, with teaching that the soul of man is not a spiritual subsistence or substance, but merely a succession of ideas and exercises, and yet Dr. Emmons says expressly: "We know that the soul is not a material but a spiritual *substance*." He is also charged with holding that the soul has no natural or acquired *tendencies* or *propensities*, aside from moral exercises. But this again is a mistake. "There are many vices," he says, "to which men are *naturally prone;* and we can easily account for their running into these without being led." Again, Dr. Emmons is charged with holding that God is, in the strictest and most proper sense of the term, the *author of sin*. But this is an unfounded allegation. That the providence of God is somehow concerned in the existence of evil, he certainly did hold. But he believed that every man

* Vol. iii. p. 16.

is the responsible *auctor* or *actor* of his own sin; and the phrase, *God the author of sin*, he never used.

By those who are acquainted with Dr. Emmons only through his publications, and more especially his earlier publications, his character as a *preacher* is liable to be misapprehended. His first volumes of sermons were chiefly of a doctrinal, and to some extent of a metaphysical, character. The subjects required this mode of discussion, and it was with great propriety adopted. Still, the impression was made upon those who knew nothing of the man except from his published sermons, that he was a dry, doctrinal, metaphysical preacher, who dealt only with the understandings of his hearers, but came not nigh their consciences and hearts. That Dr. Emmons was a doctrinal preacher is very true; but he was also *practical*—preeminently practical. That he dealt soundly with the understandings of his hearers is also true; but no man ever dealt more faithfully with their consciences and hearts. No preacher, since the Apostle Paul, ever stirred up more effectually the opposition of the carnal heart, or edified and comforted more satisfactorily the hearts of those who were truly pious. Let any one examine the last three volumes of the works before us, and he will be satisfied as to the practical character of Dr. Emmons' ministry. No important subject of moral duty or religious experience escaped him, but all were unfolded, enforced, and dwelt upon as occasion required.

The *style* of Dr. Emmons was peculiar and inimitable. It seems easy of attainment to the reader or hearer, and many have tried to catch it and make it their own; but in general they have fallen far behind the original. It was *natural* to him; and till another arises to whom it shall be as natural, it will never be successfully imitated. His style may be characterized as neat, pure, flowing, luminous—rising often into the region of elegance and eloquence. But wherever it does rise, it rises without any seeming effort. It is raised and fully sustained by the strong current of emotion and thought.

In his method of sermonizing, Dr. Emmons was generally, though not invariably uniform. What he says of himself in the early part of his ministry was true of him to the end of it:

"I seldom preached textually, but chose my subject in the first place, and then chose a text adapted to it. This enabled me to make my sermons more homogeneal and pointed, while at the same time it served to confine the hearer's attention to one important leading sentiment. Those who preach textually are obliged to follow the text in all its branches, which often lead to very different and unconnected subjects. Hence, by the time the preacher has gone through all the branches of his text, his sermon will become so complicated that no hearer can carry away more than a few striking, unconnected expressions. Whereas, by the opposite mode of preaching, the hearer may be master of a whole discourse, which hangs together like a fleece of wool."

That a sermon planned after Dr. Emmons' usual method may have simplicity, correctness, and general unity, and be admirably adapted to the purpose of instruction, is very obvious; but is it so well adapted to make a single and deep impression? There is a sermon in one of these volumes,* on the declaration of Solomon, "The words of the wise are as goads;" the leading sentiment of which is thus stated: "Every wise preacher will aim to *impress* the minds of his hearers." We regard this as a very just and scriptural sentiment. The words of Peter on the day of Pentecost were as *goads*, with which he pricked three thousand to the heart, and so deeply impressed them, that they cried out together: "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" Every wise preacher will aim to preach as Peter did, and to produce, in his measure, the same results.

Dr. Emmons' sermons, as to the plan and structure of them, have not unfrequently been compared to a tree. And the tree, in order to suit the comparison, must be fair and beautiful, having a straight, comely trunk, with two or three main branches, and a spreading, flourishing top, answering to the several inferences with which his sermons are usually closed. Now, such a tree is a beautiful object, and may be fitted to answer many valuable purposes; but it is not an ox-goad, nor can it be made into one, without a good deal of preparation. It may well be questioned whether a series of inferences, in the last half of a sermon, drawn out legitimately though they may be, but yet touching on a variety of topics, does not detract from that singleness and depth of impression, which it

* Volume i. Sermon 7.

hould be the object of a sermon to make. A sermon contructed after this manner may be highly instructive, and calulated to keep up the interest of a congregation; but will hey be so deeply impressed with the one great truth or subect which the sermon was intended to enforce, as though some f the inferences had been spared, and a more direct, prolongd, and fervid application had been made?

The character of Dr. Emmons' *piety*, like that of his preachng, has been often mistaken; and perhaps from the same ause. By those whose only knowledge of him was derived rom some of his earlier and more doctrinal publications, he vas regarded as possessing a clear head indeed, but rather a old heart; as laying greater stress upon certain metaphysical, loctrinal distinctions, than upon fervency of spirit, and an levated, devotional piety. But these impressions were enirely erroneous. Dr. Emmons had a mind susceptible of trong emotion, and his piety, though uniform, was deep and rdent. To illustrate this, the writer may be indulged in reating an incident which fell under his own personal observaion. While I was a settled minister in the State of Massahusetts, it was my privilege to receive a visit from my venerated instructor. It was a time of general religious interest mong my people. In the course of conversation, I stated to im some particulars respecting the revival, and especially in egard to several young persons who had recently indulged ope. The feelings of the good man were so much moved, hat the tears literally dropped from his face, wetting not merey the collar of his coat, but the floor.

During the whole of his Christian life, Dr. Emmons had his ours of secret meditation and devotion, which he observed with singular exactness and punctuality.

"It was known to all who resided in his family, that at certain times no one could enter his study, unless there was something special to call them here. He made the word of God his constant companion. He studied it, not merely as his text-book, or the source whence to draw his subjects and materials for his sermons, but as the means of purifying and quickening his feelings, and assisting his devotions. He took pains to shut the world out of his heart. He dreaded its intrusion, as he did the most deadly foe; and that it might not exert an undue influence over him, he guarded against the

pressure of its cares and the fascination of its enjoyments. To him the Sabbath was a delight. Its sacred hours he devoted exclusively to the services of religion, and not only taught but required all his household to do the same. He would keep no one in his employ who openly profaned the Sabbath, or neglected the public worship of God, or refused a prompt and respectful attendance upon the devotions of the family."

We have said that the piety of Dr. Emmons was of a *uniform* character. He was not conspicuous for *some* of the Christian virtues, while others of equal importance found no place in his heart. He was not active and faithful in the discharge of his duties for a little season, and then for an equal or longer period negligent and unfaithful. But from week to week, from month to month, and from year to year, he was the same spiritual, devoted, and active minister of the Lord Jesus Christ—the same burning and shining light in the church of God.

In his religion, as in everything else, Dr. Emmons avoided all appearance of *affectation* and *ostentation*. He never did or said anything, for the sake of showing off his piety. He seldom talked much on the subject of his own feelings, and never appeared more serious, more heavenly-minded, or more interested in religion, than he really felt. His views on this subject may be learned from the following advice which he once gave to a new convert: "Maintain a uniform Christian deportment, but never make great *pretensions* to piety. Those who make great pretensions too often become like Peter in the judgment-hall. Their diaries are too often the records of religious vanity."

Dr. Emmons passed the greater part of his ministerial life prior to the establishment of theological seminaries in this country, and was eminently useful as an *instructor in divinity*. His method of instruction was the same which had been pursued by private instructors in New England generally. He furnished his pupils with a full system of theological questions or topics, on each of which they were expected to read and write. The books put into their hands were in general the best on each and every side of the question under consideration. When the dissertations had been prepared, they were

in the hearing of the instructor, and the pupil was favored his remarks. These remarks were not exclusively theological, but extended to style, method, language, manner of ching, and a variety of connected topics. He often cond with his pupils upon pastoral duties, and upon the , difficulties, advantages, and enjoyments of ministerial

ough Dr. Emmons pursued a liberal course with his puplacing in their hands books on opposite sides of nearly y question which came before them, he did not leave them r the impression that he had no opinion of his own, or in t as to what his opinion might be. His mind was made and he gave sufficient indications as to the decision to h he had come; and although he never took it upon him erbear and dogmatise, yet the student was well aware, if werved materially from the faith of his teacher, that he be prepared to answer his objections, and to meet his iny.

r. Doddridge instructed many young ministers; and in the itude of his candor, having drawn out the arguments on sides of important questions, he made no decision of his . The consequence was, that his school was made up of ns, Trinitarians, Arminians, Calvinists, and Antinomians; not many years subsequent to his death, it became a Uni- n school. Dr. Emmons' method of instruction was very rent from this. He had as much candor, perhaps, as dridge. He was frank, open-hearted, kind, conciliating, altogether patient of contradiction. But he was *decided.* lid not press his opinions upon his pupils, except by the of reason and argument; but they all knew what his ions were, and through what a searching examination they t expect to pass, if they rejected them. The effect of Dr. nons' direct, decided manner of teaching upon the minds is pupils was peculiarly happy. It made them *decided men.* ir professional education was restricted indeed, being too usively theological. They had not the advantages which Seminaries now furnish, in Sacred Literature, Homiletics, lesiastical History, etc. But of the hundred ministers, or

more, who pursued their studies under the direction of Dr. Emmons, very few were ever known to swerve from the orthodox faith; and as a body of men, they have not been surpassed, probably, by any of their cotemporaries.

Dr. Emmons was an early and true friend, an earnest and active promoter of Christian missions. "He was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Missionary Society, and one of the leading and most efficient men in its primary operations. He was its first President, its first preacher, and chairman of the committee which prepared its first address to the public. He was one of the editors of the Massachusetts Missionary Magazine, and an able contributor to its pages. How much he did for the diffusion of the Gospel and the salvation of men, by his connection with this Society cannot be ascertained, until the disclosures of the great day."

From the Massachusetts Missionary Society proceeded naturally and obviously, in due course of time, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which is now spreading the light and blessings of the Gospel in every quarter of the world. Of this latter body, Dr. Emmons was an honorary member. He contributed liberally to the funds of the Board, was deeply interested in its various operations, and devoutly rejoiced in its success.

Like most of the great and good among whom he lived, Dr. Emmons was a devoted friend and patron of the American Education Society. He was one of the original members of the Society, and sustained the office of an honorary Vice-President, till his death. The volumes before us contain his very able and instructive sermon, preached before the Norfolk Branch of the American Education Society, in the year 1817.* The Report of the American Education Society for the year 1841—the year following Dr. Emmons' death, contains the following tribute to his memory:

"His friendship for this cause remained to the last. His desire that a pious, learned, and able ministry should be perpetuated in our country—an object to which, after the manner of his day, he had eminently devoted the energies and resources of his great mind—continued undiminished during the

* Volume i. Sermon 20.

g and tranquil period of his retirement and decline. Like a ruling pas-
n, most worthy of its sublime object, it appeared strong in him, even in
ath."

Dr. Emmons was particularly interested in the operations of e American Home Missionary Society. As soon as he heard its organization, he sent on thirty dollars to make himself a e-member; and he continued to contribute to it as long as lived. Indeed, Dr. Emmons was a member of most of the nevolent associations of the day. It is known already, and ill yet be known more and more, that he lived not in vain, in spect to the great cause of Christian benevolence.

The publications of Dr. Emmons are very numerous. Be-les the discourses and essays contained in these six heavy lumes, the editor gives the titles of half as many more hich were issued during the author's life. Among his first blications was "a Dissertation on the Qualifications for ristian Communion," in answer to Rev. Dr. Hemmenway, Wells, Me., which appeared in 1793. To this Dr. Hem-enway replied; and Dr. Emmons published a rejoinder 1795. As this was the first, so it seems to have been nost, if not quite, the last of his public controversial orts. The subject of this controversy was one of great terest in our churches from sixty to a hundred years o. The pamphlets of Dr. Emmons contain a very thorough amination of it, and did much good at the time of their blication. They are also a rare specimen of Christian ndor and courtesy towards an opponent; and we regret at room has not been found for them in this new edition the author's works.

The various publications of Dr. Emmons have been ex-ting an influence, strong and good, for more than half a ntury. They do not, therefore, come before the public this time under the disadvantage of an experiment. The periment has already been made, and made satisfactorily. great many persons, clergymen and others, have publicly knowledged their indebtedness to the works of Dr. Emmons. much larger number, probably, have felt their indebted-ss without the formality of acknowledging it.

Though Dr. Emmons was not indifferent to the good opinion of others, yet he was the farthest of all men from *seeking* popularity, and making sacrifices of principle in order to gain it. He preferred, beyond every thing, the favor of God, and the approbation of his own conscience; and in order to secure these, he was often constrained to say and do things which he knew would render him unpopular with the world. And yet few men have been so highly honored in view of the world as he. God turned the reproaches of his enemies into blessings. They were led, in many instances, to admire and praise him for the very things which had been the objects of their dislike and condemnation.

Few men, in their old age, have excited so much attention, and been the objects of so much respect, as he. Clergymen of all denominations, and gentlemen of every profession, far and near, for some reason, manifested a peculiar interest in him. Strangers of distinction called upon him, solicited his acquaintance by letter, invited him to visit them at their expense, and seemed to vie with his particular friends in efforts to promote his honor and happiness. And when he was dead, the mourning was like that of Israel for Moses and Aaron. The respect heaped upon his memory was spontaneous and universal. In him, therefore, was verified most signally the declaration of God, "Them that honor me, I will honor." He was an eminent example beford all men, of the contempt of that popularity which is run after, and of the possession of that respect and esteem which are called forth in view of strict consistency, unbending integrity, and high moral worth, sustained amid all the vicissitudes and temptations of a tried and laborious life.

Prominent among the sources of interest in Dr. Emmons towards the close of life, was the fact, that he stood before the present generation, as the representative of choice men among the ancient clergy of New England.

"There has ever been a melancholy and sombre interest flung over such a man, staying so long behind his time, and watching over the fourth generation of his successors. He has been likened to a bird that lingers

the northern hemisphere long after its companions have sought a more nial clime; or to the oak that stands solitary after the surround- g forest has fallen, stretching out its stiffened arms as if to implore ercy from the winds and the storm. But our venerable friend has me; numbered at last with the friends of his youth; allowed to join the company from which he had been so long separated. The st of our patriarchs has left us; and men whom he baptized in in- ncy, wept at his funeral, when they had well nigh reached their seven- sth year. Nothing was more affecting, said one who witnessed his ob- quies, than to see those old men weeping over the corpse of their ther."

In remarking upon the volumes before us, we have not ought it necessary to go into a critical examination of articular discourses. This would be an almost endless, s it would be altogether a superfluous labor. These dis- ourses, or the most of them, have been long before the ublic. They have been extensively and attentively read undreds and thousands have reviewed them, each one r himself, and formed a judgment, and reaped the benefit. Nor have we thought it necessary to remark upon every oint, whether of metaphysics or theology, in which the ntiments or language of the author may be regarded as pen to objection, or susceptible of improvement. To do is would lead to a length of discussion, altogether incom- atible with our present limits and design. But we have ndeavored faithfully to exhibit *the man* as he appears to s in his memoirs and his publications, and as he did uni- rmly appear to us during a long and intimate acquaint- nce. We have endeavored that our readers should have ne means of understanding his *character;* his intellectual, oral, and religious character; his character as a student, pastor, an instructor in theology, and a minister of Christ. hat his works have had many readers, the ready sale of ne first edition in seven thick octavo volumes, declares; nd that they will have many readers in this new and im- roved edition there can be no doubt.

The one class of persons to whom, above all others, we ould recommend the works of Dr. Emmons, consists of ir young ministers, and those who are studying with a

view to the ministry. The older evangelical clergy, more especially in the Northern and Middle States, are already familiar, to some extent, with his writings. They have read them, pondered them, and been profited by them. But to the younger portion of the clergy, to candidates, and theological students, these writings will be, in great measure, new. Nor should it be any objection to the reading of Emmons, that individuals do not adopt his sentiments. No matter (so far as the question of reading is concerned) whether you receive them or not. No matter whether on all points of disagreement, you shall be convinced or not. The interest, the pleasure, the profit of reading him will not depend materially on this circumstance. Even if you reject many of his conclusions, you will "admire his logic." You will find yourselves more than repaid for the perusal of his works, by the force and ingenuity of his reasoning, by the originality and comprehensiveness of his views, by the peculiarity and freshness of his thoughts, by the example of his flowing, pellucid style, and the clearness of his method. He will suggest ideas, considerations, arguments, which never occurred to you before. He will put you upon new topics of interesting study, and open before you fields of inquiry, which you may enter and explore for yourselves. Again, then, we say to the class of persons here addressed, *By all means, read Emmons.* And be not satisfied with reading the volumes once, and then dismissing them, but have them on your study-table, or somewhere within reach of your hand. They require to be not only read, but *studied.* They are among the few books, poured forth from the teeming modern press, which will bear study, and repay it.

ART. III.—THE WILL IN ITS NORMAL AND ABNORMAL STATES.

By Rev. J. R. HERRICK, Malone, N. Y.

IT is hardly too much to affirm that our conception of the human will is fundamental in theology. For this conception is our guide in the application of religious truth, and our criterion in interpreting many of the great doctrines of the Christian system. As we apprehend redemption, so we regard the person and work of Christ, and the necessity of the Divine Spirit to renew and sanctify the individual soul, and to save the world; and our view of depravity, of man's original nature and of his need of redemption, depends upon our view of the nature of sin. But our estimate of sin is inseparably connected with our conception of the human will. What we want to know is the actual condition of the will as affected by sin; what it can and what it cannot do; whether it is still fitted, and if not, how it may become fitted, to meet all the obligations which rest upon us in our fallen condition.

The problem of human ability, on which we offer the following thoughts, stands inseparably connected with responsibility and a need of redemption. And as this subject has always been central, so at the present time it seems likely to assume for the theologian and reformer greater importance than ever.

The actual and abnormal state of the will implies a *normal* or ideal state; and this, if possible, should be rightly apprehended, before we look at the condition of the will as affected by sin.

In order to keep to the proper sphere of inquiry, it seems needful, first of all, to distinguish between *nature* and *spirit*. Among the many true things spoken by Coleridge, notwithstanding his want of system, is this, in his Aids to Reflection: "If there be aught spiritual in man, the will must be such;

if there be a will, there must be a spirituality in man." We seem almost as little disposed, in thinking, as in living, to step over into the spirit-world, so long as we can retain a foothold in the material (as Robert Hall charged upon Macknight); and when we make the attempt, we are liable to confound the sensible and the spiritual; and all the more so, because we are so much inclined to carry our sense-begotten *conceptions* along with the terms we must borrow from the world of sense to express spiritual truth. Though it may not be easy to make the distinction, we will attempt to indicate it.

It is very obvious that mind and matter are not the same. Though we cannot tell what is the essence of the former, any more than of the latter, still we see clearly that it has not in itself a power of *action*. On the contrary, it is the great opposer of all activity. And however there may be *in* nature a law counterworking that of inertia, still the laws and vital forces manifested in the material world are not *from* nature, but derive their existence from a spiritual source. But we cannot conceive of spirit otherwise than as *activity*. It is thus we know the Infinite Spirit from his activity. Thus, too, we know ourselves as spiritual, by the quickening and internal motion of our own spirits. In this sense the *cogito ergo sum* has force. Let us say first, then, that spirit is activity.

But again, spiritual activity is *life* and not *mechanism*. In nature, and within the sphere of the material, we find action and reäction. There is pushing and pulling, *i. e.* mechanical action. But this takes its start from, and owes its impulse to, something without. On the other hand, spirit starts its own action, originates it from within. It may be suggested, perhaps, that the seed is said to "have life in itself." True, the life-germ of the plant is in the seed; but its law of life can hardly be said to be its own, as we shall soon see is true of rational, spiritual life, Still, while we speak of activity and life as characteristics of spirit, and hold that this gives to nature all the activity and life it manifests, we do not claim them as the distinguishing characteristics of spirit. These follow.

Spirit, then, has further, *self-consciousness*, while nature is estitute of it. Though life appears in nature, yet with all

the irritability of plants, the sensitivity, locomotion and perception of animals, neither vegetable nor animal life is conscious, at least not *self*-conscious. It knows not its own acts and processes, much less these as distinct from every thing else and belonging to itself. But the rational spirit knows itself, and recognizes its perceptions, intellections, feelings, volitions, as its own, and distinct from those of every other being. And through these, moreover, it finds a *permanent self*. Self-consciousness is possible only with the possession of reason. It belongs wholly to the domain of spirit. Let it be observed also that it is an essential condition of freedom: spirit must know itself that it may act for itself.

But spirit is not only self-conscious; its sphere is likewise that of *freedom* and not of necessity. This is its other distinguishing characteristic. Within the sphere of nature, if there is action, it is action according to some necessary law; if there is life, it is only a development from an original germ, from whose law it cannot deviate. Know the law, and you already know what will and must result therefrom. Not so with spirit. Very true, since rational, it cannot be lawless. Nor does the law of freedom imply that the Creator does not prescribe laws for the finite spirit. And yet it is not so bound by its constituent idea, or by any prescribed law, that it *cannot* deviate therefrom. Not only can it know itself and what is demanded of it; it can also embrace or reject the demand. *Spirituality is determined, not from without, but from within.* And the difference here between nature and spirit is not one in degree, but in kind. The line that divides them divides the universe.*

Our field of inquiry, then, is that of spirit rather than nature. Before we come directly to the distinctive nature and action of the will, or rather in order that we may come directly to the central idea, we should know how we are to proceed in our inquiry, understand how the criterion is to be applied, and fix the method of investigation. If we know where we are going, we must keep the way clear that leads to it.

In all our knowledge derived from sense and experience,

* See Shedd's Address on "Method of Theol. Studies." Also Jacobi, "Von den göttlichen Dingen.'

réason must come in as our test and guide. And what knowledge is there, in reference to which the ultimate appeal is not to reason? Let even revealed truth be the subject of investigation, and then, whether there can be, and is a revelation from God to men, and whether it is consistent for the finite reason to be taught by infinite reason and put itself always under the light and guidance of revelation; these questions reason must, at last, decide, and virtually does in all cases, answer for itself. So, too, must the rational soul be the test and criterion of its own intuitions, principles, and laws of action. But since the will is the centre of both morals and religion, our test here cannot be simply the pure reason, but the practical reason, or moral consciousness, which takes cognizance of the action of conscience and all the voluntary agencies. In mathematics, what reason sees, it recognizes at once as true. It distinguishes sharply as well as immediately between the true and the false. But in the moral sphere, we do not come so readily to positive and trustworthy results. Our moral intuitions are more obscure and less ready to come out into distinct consciousness. Hence the importance of separating our inward convictions from all the "idols" of head and heart, and relying upon what will stand the test by virtue of being universal.

And logic, though necessary, may lead us astray; not because we use it too rigorously in our deductions, and to probe our theories; but mainly because it is a chain that draws along only that to which we fasten it. "Logic is not an instrument for the discovery of *new* truth. Its proper and only office is, to eliminate what *is* and what *is not* involved in certain assumed data. Existing truth, truth already contained in the premises, it can detect and expose. But with this its function ceases. If the premises be *true*, the strictly logical inferences and deductions from them cannot be assailed. But even when the premises are strictly true, *that* may be also true which goes far beyond them."* When sure that our reasoning process is correct, then we need to compare our result with the moral sense, to see that it does not conflict with it. And, moreover, if we

* Young's "Province of Reason," p. 236.

would gain the truth, we must embrace all the elements connected with the subject of inquiry. These elements are very apt to lie, some of them, outside of our logical series, and when included may essentially modify the result. But a true method in the investigation of spiritual truth demands that each should be allowed its proper place and bearing. To do this will very likely require us to break the chain of logic. Possibly the subject before us, like other investigations in the department of spiritual truth, might have been the gainer if such breaks had been more often made, to give room for all the elements which should appear in the result.*

It is essential that we keep to the proper sphere and method of inquiry, if we would gain a true conception of free-will. For we really gain our object of pursuit here rather by clearing the way to it, and then beholding it, than by any process of formal reasoning. And to gain a clear conception of the will in its normal action, is a work, it must be confessed, not less difficult than important. But if it is by virtue of the spiritual in man that he possesses will, then obviously we must look for it in the spirit's activity. And how can a philosophy that derives all its elements from sense, compass it? If Hobbes is more bold, he is likewise more consistent than many mere *sense*-philosophers when he affirms that "the *will* is also, as well as every thing else, *caused* by other things whereof it disposeth not," and that "*voluntary* actions have all of them *necessary* causes, and are, therefore, necessitated."† It is true, better men than Hobbes, with his premises, have tried to avoid his conclusions—we need not here undertake to say whether successfully or not.

At the same time, unless the will possesses a power beyond that of outward choice or executive volition, our "liberty"

* "Das ist ächte Philosophie, welche die Wahrheit unbedingt höher schätzt als die wissenschaftliche Form, welche entschlossen ist, jede Methode zu zerbrechen und den Bau einer neuen zu beginnen, sowie sie sich überzeugt, dasz jene in ihrer ganzen Anlage zu eng ist, um die Wirklichkeit zu fassen."—Müller's Christl. Lehre von der Sünde, vol. i. p. 8.

† See Hobbes on Liberty and Necessity. Fol. ed. London. 1750. Pp. 483–4.

becomes very nearly identical with "necessity." For this outward choice may exist in a mere system of nature. To some extent, animals exercise it as well as men; it is determined by the greatest apparent good; it acts upon the judgments of the understanding, as drawn from experience; it is according to the feelings and state of the heart, and is simply an index of character, since it rules in outward action. But in addition to this, let us ask, does not the free being possess that which is found in the domain of spiritual activity alone, and only in rational beings? Does he not possess that which ultimately determines what to him shall be the greatest apparent good—that which acts upon the convictions of the moral consciousness, gives tone to the feelings and the heart, and is itself the seat, as it is the originator, of character?

Still, though we deem it needful to make the above distinction and to get at that in voluntary action which lies deeper than outward choice, it is not at all to be supposed that the will is arbitrary in its decisions, that it creates its own contents, or acts without the presence of its object. It were surely wrong to suppose that the will acts irrespective of conditions, and with no reference to motives; or that the judgments of the understanding and the feelings of the heart sustain no relation to its action. Action which is simply arbitrary is no better than that which is necessitated. But yet, when we free ourselves from materialism and a system of mere nature, we are not compelled to resort to either alternative. We may still hold, in perfect consistency with the idea of spiritual activity, that the *ground* of action or personal determination is *in the will itself*, and not out of it; or if it be preferred, *in the personal agent*, and not in any of the outward conditions or motives which belong to the object. "Man in perfection of nature, being made in the likeness of his Maker," says Hooker, "resembleth him also in the manner of working: so that whatsoever we work as men the same do we willingly work, and freely; neither are we according to the manner of natural agents any way so tied but that it is in our power to leave the things we do undone. Actions which proceed from

the disposition of the will are in the power thereof to be performed or stayed."*

May we not then say, that *will* is that by virtue of which one object or class of objects receives its preference in the view of a free being? But here we must carefully distinguish between the *cause* and the *condition* of free choice. For we are liable to fall into error, as Henry More says, by "not warily enough distinguishing betwixt *extrinsical occasions* and adequate or *principal causes* of things"—and nowhere more than here. The condition of my seeing any object of sense is, that my opened eye be directed to that object; but the cause is the power of vision belonging organically to the eye itself. To produce high tides, it is necessary that sun and moon be in the same (or in an opposite) direction from the earth, but the cause is their united attractive force acting in right lines. Their being in conjunction is the condition. It may be as necessary as the cause itself to produce the result, but it is not that cause. Take the case of the temptation in the Garden of Eden. This was not the cause of the original apostasy. Suppose Eve had said no, instead of yes, to the suggestion, then the devil might have been present and plied the temptation with all the wiles of which he was capable, but the result would not have followed. That was only the condition. The responsible will was the cause. Here the purpose was formed. It was this that uttered the fearful *yes*, when it might have uttered the determined *no*.

Again, free determination is inseparably connected with the agencies both of knowing and feeling. In these, so to speak, motives operate. Thus, in the case just referred to, the serpent tried to make Eve understand that she should be wise and godlike; he tried also to awaken her emotions by placing before her that which was "good for food and pleasant to the eyes." Thus, through these avenues he came as near the source of free determination as possible. Now, to omit much

* Eccl. Pol. B. I. § 7. "Before it (the will) acted, it might have *chosen* whether it would have acted so or no; but it did determine itself, and in this sense it is said to be a *free agent*, and not a necessary one."—More, Im. of Soul. B. II. ch. 3, § 11.

that might be said on this point, it is clear that the light to guide us must be set up on the domain of knowledge, where it should be kept trimmed and burning by a proper use of our cognitive faculties. But it is the conscience that binds us to this obligation, and requires us to be what our best knowledge shows to be possible. And the question is, can we do this? Have we, in our original constitution, a central power capable of holding in abeyance the desires and longings of the lower nature, making them subordinate and keeping them in subjection to the higher law of spiritual life within us? But however we may employ our minds, and whatever knowledge we may gain, and however clearly we may see the practical bearings of truth, all this does not constitute or necessitate a personal application of the truth; and, moreover, though the conscience may press home the obligation, and though the moral sometimes may be awakened to the highest degree, still the obligation may be refused; and why, if not because the will refuses to act? The demand must be either accepted or rejected. And is not the cause the same in the one alternative as in the other? But neither reason seeing the right, nor conscience feeling the obligation, causes the action or determination. It is the "*I will*," on the one hand, or the "*I will not*," on the other.

Motives, we know, are brought to bear on the will through the intellect and the feelings; and the important question here is, whether the ground of action is in these or in the will itself. For if motives (through the feelings or the intellect) cause action, then no distinction can be made between will and desire; then will is only the last link in a chain of influences which the soul itself has no power to break. We must pass by the declaration of Hobbes and the implication of Edwards,* that the two are identical, that we may find a little space before passing to the second part of our subject, to say more explicitly *why* we are compelled to place the ground of moral action in the will itself.

And, in the first place, the capability of human progress gives intimation of freedom. Each successive product in the

* Hobbes Lib. and Nec., p. 483, and Edwards on Freedom of Will, Part I. Sec. 1, and Part II. Sec. 10.

vegetable or animal kingdom is simply the repetition of what precedes; and the species makes no advance from age to age. Not so human development, which, indeed, is peculiar to itself. With all the repetition of similar elements, there is ever manifest the possibility of a deviation from the normal type, and also a possibility of progress—of each as an individual, and of the race as a whole. But under the working of organic, mechanical, and necessary laws this could not be. Nor could the highest knowledge alone secure such development, without a law of freedom belonging essentially to the human mind, and working through all the knowledge and spontaneous agencies of the soul, if it were not for an inherent power which enables us, not simply to propose an end, but also to direct our efforts toward the attainment of that end. This gives the possibility of progress, both in kind and degree, and is necessary to account for the various and strange phenomena in human development.

Further, the consciousness of freedom declares its existence. It is of no avail for logic to make out that an inherent power that can *start* an action or state of character is absurd or inconceivable, and to look back in search of some cause that goes before. Logic can never find for us even a first cause. What we need to find is the instinctive conviction in regard to freedom. Hence, all have an original presentiment which develops into a conviction of freedom. If so, must we not take this as indicative of a power of voluntary action in the higher sense of the term? The idea seems rooted in every unsophisticated mind. "Every man does, in fact, believe himself possessed of freedom in the higher sense of self-determination."

And, thirdly, the ineradicable sense of *responsibility* demands an original capacity of self-activity, such as to render one's inward character his own. If bound by the law of action and reäction, so that we act inwardly only as we are acted upon outwardly, we are nothing better than a mere complicated piece of machinery. And if we are not constituted with a power that enables us to rise above, resist, or control the lower forces and agencies that act upon us, what is man but a higher species of animal? But if man is not morally free, despite all

the physical restraints with which he is surrounded, what shall be said of his ever-present sense of accountability, unknown to the lower animals, however they may differ from each other in degree? If we really have free will, by which we can rise above the external law of cause and effect, while they cannot because they have it not, here we find, and here only, a satisfactory explanation.

And, finally, if not constituted free, whence arises a sense of *remorse** and of self approbation? This last is very different from self-flattery. It is that inward approbation, warm and radiant as sun-light, which we experience in the way of well-doing; as when, for instance, we stand up for the right single-handed and opposed by the multitude. But on the other hand, when we violate a sense of duty, however the multitude may approve, we feel an inward shame and self-degradation; we feel condemnation and remorse. And how, we ask, shall we explain these original, spontaneous, but strong and irresistible, feelings, if we possess not with them, and deeper even than they, a *personal will*, an original power by which we do not merely see or feel, but by which we *adopt* or *refuse* the right? "We are conscious to ourselves of that faculty which the Greeks call *αὐτεξούσιον*, or a *power in ourselves*, notwithstanding any outward assaults or importunate temptations, to cleave to that which is virtuous and honest, or to yield to pleasures and other vile advantages. That we have this liberty and freedom in ourselves, and that we refuse the good and choose the evil, when we might have done otherwise, that natural sense of remorse of conscience is an evidence and undeniable witness of."†

We must then hold to free will as an original gift of God to man, which, though it may determine in view of motives, itself, and not the desire or motive for it, makes the ultimate decision. Such power has the human will in its *normal* state. We now pass over to the other side, that we may consider it in its *abnormal* state.

* The *fact of sin* is proof of free will, but in the second part of our subject we shall have occasion to speak of the origin of sin as connected with the will, and, therefore, omit this proof here.

† More's Immortality of the Soul, Book II. Chap. 2, § 11.

The abnormal state of the will is *sin*. And that which here claims our first attention is, that *sin originates in the finite will*. Three assumptions may be made, but only one of them can be maintained.

First, that *there is no sin*. This is the bold but necessary assumption of pantheism, which, denying a personal God against whom sin can be committed, and a personal agent capable of committing it, must, to be logically consistent, hold that there is no such thing in the universe as sin. And certainly it is not more difficult to shut one's eyes to the fact of sin than to the actual existence of a personal God.

Or, secondly, *God originates sin*. We will not dwell upon the notion of dualism and the existence of an original evil principle. None who receive the Scriptures or believe in the divine unity can admit this. And none who believe in the divine perfections would directly and willingly affirm that the one holy God is the author of sin. Nor have we any right to adopt a theory that shall imply this. But f we give to the will, in its normal state, no power to stand against colliding influences, if we compel it to act as it is acted upon, if we say that man is so "made and placed," that he must sin; in short, if to suit any theory, we deny to the normal will a power morally self-originant, it is very difficult, to say the least, to maintain consistency, and not make God the author of sin.

But though He originated the *system* in which sin exists; though he made free agents capable of sinning; though he permits the awful evil to start into being; still we cannot say that God is the cause of sin, as he is of every thing else. He must connect with free finite beings the possibility of sinning, but this, turn it over as we may, is not even the germ of sin *as such*. Nor can we refer sin to our original constitution, as this came from the formative idea in the Divine Mind. Nor yet, can we charge sin to the motive, or to the outward temptation, or any thing by which our Maker has surrounded us. "We ought to lay it down as a certain principle, from which nothing shall induce us to depart, that God is not the author of sin, that he does not

will sin, nor approve of sin, nor impel the wills of others to choose sin; but that he is truly and awfully opposed to sin."*

This brings us to the third, and as we think, only tenable hypothesis, namely, that *sin originates in the finite will.* As Melancthon so positively affirms: "The true cause of sin is the will of the devil and the will of man, which freely apostatized from God, who neither willed nor approved their disobedience."† Sin must be in its nature spiritual. However the occasion of it may lie in the physical and earthly, and however it may bring forth its bitter fruit in the sphere of sense, nevertheless, *as sin*, it originates in the spiritual activity of the creature. The will of God is now and ever one with his eternal reason, so that no evil influence can come between them; he cannot be tempted with evil. Moreover, since in Him all fulness dwells, he can have, as he needs no development, in order to fix his will unchangeably in the right; it is fixed there already without the possibility of change. Not so with man. He is finite, hence mutable; hence in him a development, a moral development, is necessary. And hence, man is capable of seeking his good and the perfection of his being in God, where alone it can be found, and where he knows he ought to seek it; but capable likewise of refusing to do this, by placing his end and seeking his good in himself. The former is obedience to reason and God; the latter subjection to self and a fall from God: the former is holiness; the latter is sin. And it is in the power of the finite will to originate this latter state. Without this possibility how could man be free? Without trial and temptation, how could his moral character be developed, brought to light, tested? But, be it observed, it is not the mind seeing what is wrong, or the sensibilities desiring what is wrong, but the *will decreeing* what is wrong, in which sin originates. The will is perverse before the sensibilities are perverted, and before the reason is beclouded,

* Melancthon on "Nature of Sin," in Princ. Theol. Essays, I. p. 518.

† Ibid. pp. 218, 219.

although both perverted sensibilities and beclouded intellect in their worst form, result from the fall of the will. And if a cause, adequate to start a sinful character or course of sin, be demanded, this adequate cause must be sought, not in any thing without, but wholly within, the finite spirit, left free in its determinations while held meantime responsible for them.*

Our *consciousness of guilt* requires the adoption of this view. For the conscience never suggests for our relief, that we are "so made," or "so placed," or "so circumstanced," that we certainly shall sin, and are hence not much to blame. It makes no pretence that we cannot help it, but brings us in as guilty of the crime of apostacy. "The consciousness of sin and guilt," says Neander, "which answers to the need of redemption, itself presupposes something akin to God, elevated above natural necessity, something of a free self-determination of the spirit, without which sin and guilt can have no existence."

Scripture, also, reëchoes this consciousness, and affirms that God made man upright, but that he has destroyed himself. The abundant teaching of the Bible on this point is given substantially by Olshausen, (Com. on Rom. ix, 1). "We see it to be the doctrine of Scripture that God does not work evil as evil, it being the melancholy privilege of the creature, in virtue of the free will created within him, to be able to generate evil."

The free will originates sin; but *can the* FALLEN *will beget holiness?* We are not to suppose that by mere definition and the use of the terms, natural and moral ability and inability and the like, that we remove all the difficulty here. We must still seek for the reality, and this in its proper sphere and no where else, whatever terms we may employ to express it. It may be, as already intimated, in his relation to a system of nature that the creature sins; it may be at

* "We ought not at all to doubt that of such good things as relate to us there is none other cause than the goodness of God: but the cause of things evil is the will of a being mutably good—first that of an angel, then of man." Augustine, Lib. of Fathers (Ox. ed. 1847), pp. 101, 102.

the point of meeting between the physical and spiritual, and in man in whom they so wonderfully meet, that the fact of sin is manifest; and the will, when brought into bondage, may be held by sense and a system of nature: but yet, however the lower and physical agencies may be affected by sin, still this as such inheres in that which is spiritual; and in that which is spiritual must also holiness be begotten, if begotten at all.

To affirm that moral powers, conscience, reason, volition, remain to man in his fallen condition is not enough. To affirm that he is naturally able, but morally unable, to make himself holy, we conceive to be insufficient and unsatisfactory. For the question awaiting solution is, not whether fallen man is *capable* of holiness, but whether his moral condition is such, that we can best express this condition by the word *ability*, borrowing this word, as we must some one, from the sphere of nature, to express as accurately as possible a reality in the spiritual or moral sphere.

It is one thing to say, that the fallen being is *capable* of holiness; it is quite another to say, that he is *able to make himself* holy. It is this last, and not the first, that forms here the subject of inquiry; Can the will, in its fallen state, take itself back into a state of holiness? In fact, unless compelled to answer this question in the negative, we have no occasion to speak of an abnormal state of will at all. It remains free and has still as much power as ever.

But to find the truth and get at the only valid ground of a difference of opinion at this point, *an analysis of the will as spiritual*, is, as we think, essential. Such an analysis Dr. Hickok has given us under the idea of Personality. There can be no personality, according to this view, except in the possession of a will. "And a pure will is in its very conception self-action, self-directed; spontaneity in autonomy." "The perfect harmony of self-action with self-law gives liberty, and these are the elements of all personality."* Now, under this analysis a very important question

* Rational Psychology, pp. 576, 604 (1st ed).

may arise, namely; whether the *fallen* being can still act spontaneously according to pure law, and thus retake its lost liberty at pleasure? Or, in other words, are the elements of personality so one under the generic term of reason, that they can only be distinguished, but *never separated, even in the fall?* We do not mean to say, that this is the view of Dr. Hickok in respect to the will in its abnormal state; nor do we desire to criticise the conception of this deep thinker, in respect to pure personality and the idea of the normal will, which he has treated with so much ability; but the analysis above given—and it is for this reason we refer to it—shows on what plane we must differ from those who do maintain that the will loses nothing of its original power in the fall. It may enable us to see best also how, and at what point, the will became affected by sin. It was, as we conceive, at the very point of harmony between self-action and pure law, that sin made its attack; or rather, it was in the *separation* of the two that sin had its birth. And the fact of sin, surely, is proof that self-action may oppose, and be separated from, self-law and from the law of the highest reason!

And what follows when this is done? Reason *as law* still remains, but reason *as self-generative power to holiness,* i. e. free-will, with it pure liberty, is gone. "Sin is freedom destroying itself." By its very act of transgression, its normal strength is broken, its power to regain its former state is lost. "Man using evilly his free-will hath lost both himself and it. For in like manner as he who kills himself, assuredly by living kills himself, but lives not by killing himself, nor will be able to raise himself up again after he has killed himself; so when through free will sin was committed, sin being conqueror, free will was lost."*

This illustration of Augustine seems indeed severe. And yet, the Bible represents the sinner's condition to be one of death *by* sin as well as death *in* sin. And doubtless there must be good reason why Infinite Wisdom has made use of

* "Lib. of Fathers" (Short Treatises), pp. 104–5.

this term to express the reality. Though when we are said to be *by nature* children of wrath, the first thought conveyed may be that we are under a condemnation which must be removed before we can live unto God, at the same time, the sinner's determination to evil, as opposed to the divine will, is that which causes the wrath; and this continues to hold him in a death of holiness, till the drawing of the Father. The WILL *not* is essentially a CAN *not*. (Com. Jn. 5 : 40, and 6 : 44.)

Once a sinner always a sinner, unless God makes man a saint; this we must hold. For a life in holiness for the sinner is attributed, and that from its first germ, to grace, not less than redemption from sin and its cause. And why this, unless because the will is so in bondage that it cannot extricate itself? and because the first germ of the new life must be implanted in the soul by the Holy One? To be sure, "there still remains," as Calvin says, "the faculty of will, which with the strongest propensity is inclined to and rushes into sin; for when man subjected himself to this necessity, he was not deprived of his will, but of soundness of will." "The *voluntarium* remains," says Müller, "the *liberum* is lost."

No doubt, in some sense it might be affirmed that the sinner is still free, though not able to regain his original moral rectitude. For freedom is so one's own that no other being does or can take it away; and yet one may by his voluntary determination, give up his own essential freedom—and this he verily does in sinning, and not be able of himself to go back to his former state. He cannot do the things he would, but must be delivered from his bondage by the good pleasure of God and through the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus (Com. Rom. 7 : 17, 18 and 8 : 2).*

* Anselm (in his Dialog. de Libero Arbitrio, cap. xi.) speaks thus: "Quando non habet praefatum rectitudinem, sine repugnantia et servus, et liber. Nunquam enim est ejus potestatis, rectitudinem capere, cum non habet; sed semper est ejus potestatis servare cum habet. Per hoc, quia redire non potest à peccato, servus est; et per hoc, quia abstrahi non potest à rectitudine, liber est. Sed à peccato et ejus servitute non nisi per alium reverti: à rectitudine vero, non nisi per se potest averti; et à libertate sua nec per se, nec per alium potest privari."

But it may be asked, since the will in determining itself to sin takes a fixed character, which prevents it from returning of itself to holiness, must we then hold, should the finite being first choose virtue, that he becomes thereby so fixed in character, as to be henceforth incapable of sinning? We believe God to be immutably holy, so that he cannot sin. And the devil we suppose to be immutably sinful, so that he cannot become holy. Why then does not a determination to holiness establish man in rectitude? The proper answer to this question we conceive to be this: evil as such does not originate with God but with the creature; while good as such does not originate with the creature but with God. And hence the holy as well as the redeemed are kept from falling by the grace of God.

Another question very properly arises here; namely, how are we to regard the action of the will before, or in the act of, regeneration? Is the sinner's coöperation in the work of grace—for in the moral sphere and in order to a moral result there must be coöperation—but is this efficient or not? Does the sinner convert himself *in order* to regeneration, or is he converted in the very act of regeneration? He may be required to work out *his own* salvation (Phil. 2 : 12, 13), but this not merely *while* God works in him, but *because* (γαρ) God works in him to will and to do, in his moral nature, in his will both to change it and to give efficiency. The radical purpose does not change itself, any more than the main current of a river reverses itself and runs the other way. Eddies and cross-currents there may be in abundance, but nothing more. "Thou canst do nothing but sin, do as thou willest; all which thou settest about is sin and abideth sin, let it show as fine as it may: beginning, furthering, and finishing is all God's."*

* Luther, as quoted by Olshausen, who himself says (in his Comment. on Rom. 7 : 15–20): "The willing of good before regeneration can only be considered as the free will gradually developing itself as *disposition* to true freedom, as mere *velleitas*. For this θέλειν can only express itself negatively in as far as it checks the outbreak of sin into the gross act; but as soon as the man becomes conscious that the evil desire as such is sin, he feels that mere willing is not sufficient to remove it, even as it is incapable of calling forth in the heart holy emotions and desire for holiness."

Doubtless the Spirit of God in the soul makes the sinner *willing*. Thus Bernard says: "If efficacious grace (gratia efficax) is but imparted to man, it draws, though without violence, the free will with such force, that it follows without resistance, as if impelled by an inner necessity."*

But we must come to the point of *responsibility as connected with the sinner's inability*. And here it is worth our while first to note more particularly the character of that freedom which still remains. In his fallen condition man evidently retains a sense of freedom. Sin does not take away or wholly obliterate the idea of his original birth-right. A *formal* freedom remains when an actual freedom or liberty of indifference to good or evil is gone. And there is left, moreover, an *actual* choice among sinful objects.† The eagle whose wings are clipped, so long as he only cares to walk about upon the earth, can go one way as well as another, and may feel free to soar as high as the sun. It is only when he gazes upward and longs to be in his proper element scorning the earth, that he spreads his feeble wings in vain, and to find, though made for and feeling capable of flight, that he cannot rise. So man can take his choice among the things of earth and sense; and as long as he loves and chooses these things only, he may seem to himself free as the eagle to rise, not conscious that his wings are clipped and cannot bear him up to his proper home in reason and God. Only in a deep sense of sin, attended by a sincere desire to escape from it, is a genuine sense of inability awakened. But since the illustration above given may imply that some external force has taken away man's ability, we will change our illustration a little, and at least suppose true what has been affirmed of the bird of Paradise—that if it once alight upon the earth, it can never, without aid, raise itself again therefrom. In this condition it cannot start an upward motion, though it

* Torrey's Neander, vol. iv. p. 516.

† "Though in the corrupt nature, there is no liberty of indifference to good and evil, yet there is a liberty of delight in evil; and though the will in its natural capacity may choose good, yet 'tis morally determined by its love of evil. 'Inter caetera mortalitatis incommoda, hoc est, errandi necessitas, et erroris amor.'" Bates, and Seneca, as quoted by B. Wks. vol ii. p. 97. (Fol. ed. Lond. 1723.)

was made to keep above the earth, and however it feels it would, or imagines it may fly. Responsibility, of course, could not strictly be applied here. But to man, once the *Bird of Paradise*—but now that bird, fallen to the earth by his own sinful act, it does fitly apply. *Obligation attaches to the original moral constitution of the human soul*, and is according to its design. Nor is it changed, though man perverts his design, clips his own wings, and voluntarily takes his position on the ground, from which he cannot raise himself. He feels responsible for all he might have been, had he not sinned and fallen.* Nor does the Bible let down at all the sinner's responsibility, however much it may pity his condition, and although it provides a remedy for his weakness and gives him strength to rise.

We have no right to allow that the sinner's ability is the measure of his obligation. *Capability*, which relates to man's ideal or normal state, may be; but not *ability* which relates to his abnormal and actual state. *Duty*, strictly speaking, is the correlative of law, and obligation is its binding moral force. In man's unfallen condition, his ability was equal to his obligation, and the two might exactly measure each other. The law given him he might know and fully obey. This law is man's still, retaining all its original force, and demanding nothing less than a perfect subordination of all our lower powers to the service, first of the higher, and then with these higher to the service of the Highest himself, with all that nobility of intellect,

* The extent of obligation is thus strongly expressed by Bishop Pearson: "Whatsoever is done by man, or is in man, having any contrariety or opposition to the law of God, is sin. Every action, every word, every thought, against the law of God is a sin of commission, as it is terminated to an object dissonant from, and contrary to, the prohibition of the law as a negative precept. Every omission of a duty required of us is a sin, as being contrary to the commanding part of the law or an affirmative precept. Every evil habit contracted in the soul of man by the actions committed against the law of God is a sin constituting a man truly a sinner, even then when he actually sinneth not. Any corruption or inclination in the soul to do that which God forbiddeth, and to omit that which God commandeth, however such corruption and evil inclination came into the soul, whether by an act of his own will, or by the act of the will of another, is a sin, as being something dissonant and repugnant to the law of God." Pearson on the Creed, Art. X.

largeness of heart, and strength of purpose, which would have been found in man had sin never entered to blind the mind, defile the heart, and paralyze the will.

And why should not responsibility remain, since the sinner himself is the guilty *cause* of his own weakness? No power out of the will has taken away his freedom; he has sold his native birth-right, and has nothing with which to buy it back.

The bondage is voluntary, therefore culpable. "Even if a man refrained wholly from sin," says Anselm, "he would in all this be only doing his duty. But at present he is not capable even of that; and his inability is still no excuse, since this very inability is his fault."*

An explanation of the bondage of the will by sin, is the hard problem which is always about to be, but never is solved; and since sin, in its very nature, is against reason, it can never receive a rational solution. Still meeting and treating it as a *fact* we are compelled to recognise it as an apostasy of the *Race*, as well as of the individual, in which all in some way participate. And it would seem we must recognize ourselves as at once both *generic* and *individual*. Do we not express, in a measure at least, the distinction by the Hebrew words אָדָם and אִישׁ, by the Greek ἄνθρωπος and ἀνήρ, the Latin *homo* and *vir*, and the English *man* and *a man?* Every one has generic elements which belong to him in common with all others. He is part of the sum total of humanity. Of course each one has specific individual characteristics; but he has also what we may call race characteristics; the former are changeable, the latter permanent. It is on this generic basis that the individual character is formed. And though the generic elements are flexible enough to allow of every type of individual character, yet in no case can the individual change the common nature.

Now whence comes this common or generic nature? It is

* Torrey's Neander v. iv. 499. "The will being, by I know not what corrupt and surprising means, changed for the worse, is itself the author of the necessity to which it is subject; so that neither necessity, being voluntary, can excuse the will, nor the will being fascinated can exclude necessity." Bernard, as quoted by Calvin, Ins. B. II. chap. 3, § 5.

transmitted age after age from parents to children. And must we not include in this transmitted nature a *moral* element, by virtue of which all individuals participate alike in the common sin of the race? It is the doctrine of Paul, that all were constituted (*κατεστάθησαν*, Rom. 5 : 19) sinners in Adam's disobedience. And verily it is easier to impute *sin* to Adam's posterity, to say that they sinned in him, than to impute the *consequence* of sin to a *sinless* offspring, so that *they* shall suffer the penalty of disobedience from generation to generation! Why has death passed *upon all*, but because *all have sinned?* If all die in Adam, shall we not say that all are responsible, not for *his* sin, but for the sin of the race in him? Such an organic unity exists among all the individuals of the race that we can, and do, feel responsible for more than our individual acts. This is seen in the family and in the nation. Illustrations of this truth our space will not permit us to give; we can only briefly say, that there are many facts that indicate a close moral connection between parents and children; and that we seem justified in placing the ground of a universal bondage to sin in the organic unity of the race.

Does not this view throw light on the complex struggle of the individual soul for its emancipation—on the seeming contradiction in consciousness between the soul's freedom and its inability? So long as the sinner falls in with the current, and indorses, in his own personal determination, the character that belongs to a common fallen nature, there is no struggle, and he feels no sense of bondage. But when convicted of his guilt, and while seeing the right and struggling to reach it, then it is that he feels he *cannot* do the things he would, and, in a profound sense of his real bondage, he cries out: O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death? He is comprehended in a bondage from which his formal freedom cannot liberate him, but which, spite all his struggling, seems to hold him more firmly in its grasp. *Human nature itself must be liberated before the individual sinner can be set free.* This was enslaved in Adam; it is set free in Christ. And since there is a possibility and hope of deliverance through the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus,

the sinner, longing to be free, but conscious of being without strength, receives the grace of God.

The fallen will is not one with the law of reason, nor can they become one except through an act of faith, however wishfully they may look each other in the face. But faith is only receptive; it is not creative of a new state. He who works in us to will and to do, begets this synthesis of reason and will through faith. For by grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God. (Eph. 2: 8.)

But as intimated before, however explanations may help to remove some of the difficulties that gather round the doctrine of sin, and prepare us to receive what really appertains to the fact of sin as it exists in human nature, they cannot give its origin and the reason for it.* There is no better solution of the problem than that which the Bible gives—that human sinfulness had its origin in man, in Adam. A preëxistent state cannot help us at all, or give the rationale for sin, which, in its very nature, is *un*reason. As redemption is a mystery, so is sin, which lies over against it, a great mystery. We must accept both as facts. And we need to thoroughly apprehend and receive the fact of sin, so far as it can be known, that we may thus be prepared to appreciate and receive the other great fact, the mystery of godliness.

Before we close this article we desire to say something of two important practical bearings of our subject. The one is in the direction of an uncompromising *responsibility for character* as well as conduct. The pantheistic tendency of the present day, coupled with the rationalism which puts human wisdom above revelation, and the infidelity which bows reluctantly, if at all, to a positive revelation, has done much to introduce a system (if such it can be called) that makes man no more accountable than any object of nature controlled by necessary laws. Sin in the race is first converted into a necessary evil; next personal guilt finds many apologies. Under

* A suggestive remark, which we have not room to insert, is made by Neander (Ch. Hist. vol. 1, 374) on the necessity of taking sin as a *fact* without trying to *explain* it.

the circumstances of his condition, and surrounded by such moulding influences, it could hardly be expected that man should be other than he is. And if it be intimated that he has brought himself by sin into bondage, the sin is lost sight of in the bondage; and henceforth he is released from all bonds of accountability. It must be admitted that "the feeling of thinking lightly of sin is one which belongs to our times," whether or not it is "one of the evils which seem to accompany naturally a high state of civilization." And how shall this false tendency be met, if not by insisting with greater emphasis on a genuine responsibility for character and conduct, both on the negative and on the positive side, as this is attested by the moral consciousness, and reïterated in the Word of God? This, if any thing, must awaken a thorough sense of sin, and place its guilt where it belongs. And "in a deep sense of sin," as Arnold says, "more, perhaps, than in any thing else, abides a saving knowledge of God."

But again—and this is the other deeply practical bearing of our subject—as there is no radical reform for fallen humanity but the grace of God, so must we work on this foundation in order to success. Human nature cannot develop itself into perfection, whatever assertions and theories of modern reformers it may have to help it forward and to affirm that it is nearing the goal. The "fourth beast" (in Dan. 7) might be wiser than the preceding, and assume to speak with wisdom equal to that of the Most High, and yet be worse than all that preceded it. So modern civilization may be more refined and sagacious than that of the ancients, and yet, on its moral and religious side, no purer, but less so. Advance in civilization, as observation shows, is not incompatible with self-deification and a substitution of the dictates of finite reason for that wisdom which is from above. It seems rather in itself to favor the attempt to bring the race to perfection through its own efforts.

And it is certainly worthy of candid thought, whether an over-zealous effort to maintain for the will, even in the fall, an independent power of holiness, has not given countenance to

the growing tendency to deny practically the need of a superhuman power to save the individual or the world.*

But we know that all such attempts must fail in time to come as they have failed in time past; and this, not merely because the God of heaven has declared it, though of course he has declared it only because is true, but, on the human side, because it is not in the unrenewed will to rise and free itself from the bondage of fallen humanity. Till man is morally elevated, all such vain attempts will only hinder the world's emancipation, and teach millions of the enslaved to dream of liberty, only to awake and find themselves in bondage still! However far we may wander about, and whatever schemes we may try, we must come round, last of all, to the plan and method of grace, or we shall find no system that can work out the real emancipation of the enslaved.

We have here, then, the test of our efforts. *Do they rest on a divine and supernatural power to renew the soul of fallen man?* If so, they will succeed; if not, they must fail.

And who are to declare the need of the grace of God against all the man-devised schemes of reform, invented or revised in these modern times, if not they who are authorized to proclaim a positive revelation, whose declaration is, that there is salvation only in Jesus of Nazareth, who is able to save because the Son of God? And what but a thorough presentation of the doctrines of *sin* and *redemption*, applied as they need now to be applied, can serve as an antidote to the strong and dangerous tendency of the present time to a secret unbelief or an open infidelity? That theology is most practical which is most profound, just as philosophy is more practical the truer it is. And that preaching has always been most successful which has been most uncompromising with the leading errors of the times. Let the pulpit then make these fundamental doctrines stand out in bold relief, that they may bear true witness of the fact of sin and the need of redemption.

* "The fundamental principle of Pelagianism would necessarily lead to the theory of a complete development of humanity in harmony with nature within the sphere of its laws, and to a denial of all interposition on the part of God; but Pelagius and his friends ever remained strangers to this further extension of their principles." Torrey's Neander, vol. ii. 612.

ART. IV. — THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE SUNDAY LAWS.

[THE most important case, bearing upon the constitutionality of the Laws for the due Observance of Sunday, is that of Lindenmuller *vs.* The People, lately decided by the Supreme Court of the State of New-York, upon appeal in error from the Court of Oyer and Terminer of the City and County of New-York. Only an abstract of the elaborate opinion of Judge Allen has as yet been published. At the request of many friends, we here give the opinion in full.]

THE constitutionality of the law under which Lindenmuller was indicted and convicted does not depend upon the question whether or not Christianity is a part of the common law of this State. Were that the only question involved, it would not be difficult to show that it was so, in a qualified sense— not to the extent that would authorize a compulsory conformity, in faith and practice, to the creed and formula of worship of any sect or denomination, or even in those matters of doctrine and worship common to all denominations styling themselves Christian, but to the extent that entitles the Christian religion and its ordinances to respect and protection, as the acknowledged religion of the people. Individual consciences may not be enforced; but men of every opinion and creed may be restrained from acts which interfere with Christian worship, and which tend to revile religion and bring it into contempt. The belief of no man can be constrained, and the proper expression of religious belief is guarantied to all; but this right, like every other right, must be exercised with strict regard to the equal rights of others; and when religious belief or unbelief leads to acts which interfere with the religious worship, and rights of conscience of those who represent the religion of the country, as established, not by law, but by the consent and usage of the community, and existing before the organization of the government, their acts may be restrained by legislation, even if they are not indictable at common law.

Christianity is not the legal relation of the State, as established by law. If it were, it would be a civil or political institution, which it is not; but this is not inconsistent with the idea that it is in fact, and ever has been, the religion of the people. This fact is every where prominent in all our civil and political history, and has been, from the first, recognised and acted upon by the people, as well as by constiutional conventions, by legislatures, and by courts of justice.

It is not disputed that Christianity is a part of the common law of England; and in *Rex* v. *Woolston* (*Str.* 834), the Court of King's Bench would not suffer it to be debated, whether to write against Christianity in general was not an offence punishable in the temporal courts at common law. The common law, as it was in force on the 20th day of April, 1777, subject to such alterations as have been made, from time to time, by the Legislature, and except such parts of it as are repugnant to the Constitution, is, and ever has been, a part of the law of the State. (*Const. of* 1846, *art.* 1, § 17; *Const. of* 1821, *art.* 7, § 13; *Const. of* 1777, § 25.) The claim is, that the constitutional guaranties for the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship are inconsistent with and repugnant to the recognition of Christianity, as the religion of the people, entitled to, and within the protection of, the law. It would be strange that a people, Christian in doctrine and worship, many of whom, or whose forefathers, had sought these shores for the privilege of worshipping God in simplicity and purity of faith, and who regarded religion as the basis of their civil liberty, and the foundation of their rights, should, in their zeal to secure to all the freedom of conscience which they valued so highly, solemnly repudiate and put beyond the pale of the law, the religion which was dear to them as life, and dethrone the God who, they openly and avowedly professed to believe, had been their protector and guide as a people. Unless they were hypocrites, which will hardly be charged, they would not have dared, even if their consciences would have suffered them, to do so. Religious tolerance is entirely consistent with a recognised religion. Christianity may be conceded to be the established religion, to the qualified extent

mentioned, while perfect civil and political equality, with freedom of conscience and religious preference, is secured to individuals of every other creed and profession. To a very moderate and qualified extent, religious toleration was secured to the people of the colony, by the charter of liberties and privileges, granted by his royal highness to the inhabitants of New York and its dependencies in 1683 (2 *R. L. app. No.* 2), but was more amply provided for in the Constitution of 1777. It was then placed substantially upon the same footing on which it now stands. The Constitution of 1777, § 38, ordained that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, should for ever hereafter be allowed, *provided* that the liberty of conscience hereby guarantied should not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of the State. The same provision was incorporated in the Constitution of 1821, art 7, § 3, and in that of 1846, art. 1, § 3. The Convention that framed the Constitution of 1777 ratified and approved the Declaration of Independence, and prefixed it to the Constitution as a part of the preamble; and in that instrument a direct and solemn appeal is made "to the Supreme Judge of the world," and a "firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence" for the support of the Declaration is deliberately professed. The people, in adopting the Constitution of 1821, expressly acknowledged with "gratitude the grace and beneficence of God," in permitting them to make choice of their form of government; and in ratifying the Constitution of 1846, declare themselves "grateful to Almighty God" for their freedom. The first two constitutions of the State, reciting that "ministers of the gospel are by their profession dedicated to the service of God and the cure of souls, and ought not to be diverted from the great duties of their function," declared that no "minister of the gospel or priest of any denomination whatsoever should be eligible to or hold any civil or military office within the State;" and each of the constitutions has required an oath of office from all except some of the inferior officers taking office under it.

These provisions and recitals very clearly recognise some of the fundamental principles of the Christian religion, and are certainly very far from ignoring God as the supreme Ruler and Judge of the universe, and the Christian religion as the religion of the people, embodying the common faith of the community, with its ministers and ordinances, existing without the aid of, or political connection with the State, but as intimately connected with a good government, and the only sure basis of sound morals.

The several constitutional conventions also recognise the Christian religion as the religion of the State, by opening their daily sessions with prayer, by themselves observing the Christian Sabbath, and by excepting that day from the time allowed to the Governor for returning bills to the Legislature.

Different denominations of Christians are recognised, but this does not detract from the force of the recognition of God as the only proper object of religious worship, and the Christian religion as the religion of the people, which it was not intended to destroy, but to maintain. The intent was to prevent the unnatural connection between Church and State, which had proved as corrupting and detrimental to the cause of pure religion as it had been oppressive to the conscience of the individual. The founders of the government and the framers of our constitutions believed that Christianity would thrive better, that purity in the Church would be promoted, and the interests of religion advanced, by leaving the individual conscience free and untrammelled, precisely in accordance with the "benevolent principles of rational liberty," which guarded against "spiritual oppression and intolerance;" and "wisdom is justified of her children" in the experiment, which could hardly be said, if blasphemy, Sabbath-breaking, incest, polygamy, and the like, were protected by the Constitution. They did, therefore, prohibit the establishment of a state religion, with its enabling and disabling statutes, its test oaths and ecclesiastical courts, and all the pains and penalties of non-conformity, which are only snares to the conscience, and every man is left free to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, or not to worship him at all, as he pleases.

But they did not suppose they had abolished the Sabbath as a day of rest for all, and of Christian worship for those who were disposed to engage in it, or had deprived themselves of the power to protect their God from blasphemy and revilings, or their religious worship from unseemly interruptions. Compulsory worship of God in any form is prohibited, and every man's opinion on matters of religion, as in other matters, is beyond the reach of law. No man can be compelled to perform any act or omit any act as a duty to God; but this liberty of conscience in matters of faith and practice is entirely consistent with the existence, in fact, of the Christian religion, entitled to and enjoying the protection of the law, as the religion of the people of the State, and as furnishing the best sanctions of moral and social obligations. The public peace and public welfare are greatly dependent upon the protection of the religion of the country, and the preventing or punishing of offences against it, and acts wantonly committed subversive of it. The claim of the defence, carried to its necessary sequence, is that the Bible and religion, with all its ordinances, including the Sabbath, are as effectually abolished as they were in France during the Revolution, and so effectually abolished that duties may not be enforced as duties to the State, because they have been heretofore associated with acts of religious worship, or connected with religious duties. A provision similar to ours is found in the Constitution of Pennsylvania; and in *Vidal* v. *Girard's Executors* (2 *How.* 127), the question was discussed whether the Christian religion was a part of the common law of that State; and Justice Story, in giving judgment, at page 198, after referring to the qualifications in the Constitution, says: "So that we are compelled to admit, that although Christianity be a part of the common law of the State, yet it is so in this qualified sense, that its divine origin and truth are admitted, and therefore it is not to be maliciously and openly reviled and blasphemed against, to the annoyance of believers or the injury of the public." The same principle was decided by the State Court, in *Updegraph* v. *Commonwealth* (11 *S. & R.* 394). The same is held in Arkansas (*Show* v. *State*, 5 *Eng.* 259). In our own State, in

People v. *Ruggles* (8 *John.* 291), the Court held that blasphemy against God, and contumelious reproach and profane ridicule of Christ or the Holy Scriptures, were offences punishable at the common law in this State, as public offences. Chief-Justice Kent says, that to revile the religion professed by almost the whole community is an abuse of the right of religious opinion and free discussion, secured by the Constitution, and that the Constitution does not secure the same regard to the religion of Mohammed or of the Grand Lama, as to that of our Saviour, for the plain reason that we are a Christian people, and the morality of the country is deeply engrafted upon Christianity. He says, further, that the Constitution "will be fully satisfied by a free and universal toleration, without any of the tests, disabilities, or discriminations incident to a religious establishment. To construe it as breaking down the common law barriers against licentious, wanton and impious attacks upon Christianity itself, would be an enormous perversion of its meaning."

This decision gives a practical construction to the "toleration" clause in the State Constitution, and limits its effect to a prohibition of a church establishment by the state, and of all "discrimination or preference" among the several sects and denominations in the "free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship." It does not, as interpreted by this decision, prohibit the courts or the Legislature from regarding the Christian religion as the religion of the people, as distinguished from the false religions of the world. This judicial interpretation has received the sanction of the constitutional Convention of 1821, and of the people of the State in the ratification of that Constitution, and again in adopting the Constitution of 1846.

It was conceded in the Convention of 1821 that the court in *People* v. *Ruggles* did decide that the Christian religion was the law of the land, in the sense that it was preferred over all other religions, and entitled to the recognition and protection of the temporal courts by the common law of the State; and the decision was commented on with severity by those who regarded it as a violation of the freedom of conscience and equality

among religionists secured by the Constitution. Mr. Root proposed an amendment to obviate that decision, alleged by him to be against the letter and spirit of the Constitution, to the effect that the judiciary should not declare any particular religion to be the law of the land. The decision was vindicated as a just exponent of the Constitution and the relation of the Christian religion to the State; and the amendment was opposed by Chancellor Kent, Daniel D. Tompkins, Col. Young, Mr. Van Buren, Rufus King, and Chief-Justice Spencer, and rejected by a large majority, and the former provision retained, with the judicial construction in *People* v. *Ruggles* fully recognised. (*N. Y. State Conv. of* 1821, 462, 574.) It is true that the gentlemen differed in their views as to the effect and extent of the decision, and as to the legal status of the Christian religion in the State. One class, including Chief-Justice Spencer and Mr. King, regarded Christianity—the Christian religion as distinguished from Mohamedanism, etc.—as a part of the common law adopted by the Constitution; while another class, in which were included Chancellor Kent and Mr. Van Buren, were of the opinion that the decision was right, not because Christianity was established by law, but because Christianity was in fact the religion of the country, the rule of our faith and practice, and the basis of public morals. According to their views, as the recognised religion of the country, "the duties and injunctions of the Christian religion" were interwoven with the law of the land, and were part and parcel of the common law, and that "maliciously to revile it is a public grievance, and as much so as any other public outrage upon common decency and decorum." (*Per Ch. Kent, in debate, page* 576.) This difference in views is in no sense material, as it leads to no difference in practical results and conclusions. All agreed that the Christian religion was engrafted upon the law, and entitled to protection as the basis of our morals and the strength of our government, but for reasons differing in terms and in words rather than in substance. Within the principle of the decision of *The People* v. *Ruggles*, as thus interpreted and approved and made a part of the fundamental law of the land by the rejection of the proposed amendment, every act done maliciously, tending to bring

religion into contempt, may be punished at common law, and the Christian Sabbath, as one of the institutions of that religion, may be protected from desecration by such laws as the Legislature, in their wisdom, may deem necessary to secure to the community the privilege of undisturbed worship, and to the day itself that outward respect and observance which may be deemed essential to the peace and good order of society, and to preserve religion and its ordinances from open reviling and contempt—and this not as a duty to God, but as a duty to society and to the State. Upon this ground the law in question could be sustained, for the Legislature are the sole judges of the acts proper to be prohibited, with a view to the public peace, and as obstructing religious worship, and bringing into contempt the religious institutions of the people.

But as a civil and political institution, the establishment and regulation of a Sabbath is within the just powers of the civil government. With us, the Sabbath, as a civil institution, is older than the government. The framers of the first Constitution found it in existence; they recognised it in their acts, and they did not abolish it, or alter it, or lessen its sanctions or the obligations of the people to observe it. But if this had not been so, the civil government might have established it. It is a law of our nature that one day in seven must be observed as a day of relaxation and refreshment, if not for public worship. Experience has shown that the observance of one day in seven as a day of rest "is of admirable service to a state, considered merely as a civil institution." (4 *Bl. Com.* 63.) We are so constituted, physically, that the precise portion of time indicated by the decalogue must be observed as a day of rest and relaxation, and nature, in the punishment inflicted for a violation of our physical laws, adds her sanction to the positive law promulgated at Sinai. The stability of government, the welfare of the subject and the interests of society, have made it necessary that the day of rest observed by the people of a nation should be uniform, and that its observance should be to some extent compulsory, not by way of enforcing the conscience of those upon whom the law operates, but by way of protection to those who desire and are entitled to the day. The necessity

and value of the Sabbath is acknowledged by those not professing Christianity. In December, 1841, in the French Chamber of Deputies, an Israelite expressed his respect for the institution of the Lord's day, and opposed a change of law which would deprive a class of children of the benefit of it; and in 1844, the consistory general of the Israelites, at Paris, decided to transfer the Sabbath of the Jews to Sunday. A similar disposition was manifested in Germany. (*Baylee's Hist. of Sab.* 187.) As a civil institution, the selection of the day is at the option of the legislature; but for a Christian people, it is highly fit and proper that the day observed should be that which is regarded as the Christian Sabbath, and it does not detract from the moral or legal sanction of the law of the State that it conforms to the law of God, as that law is recognised by the great majority of the people. In this State the Sabbath exists as a day of rest by the common law, and without the necessity of legislative action to establish it; and all that the Legislature attempt to do in the "Sabbath laws" is to regulate its observance. The body of the Constitution recognised Sunday as a day of rest, and an institution to be respected by not counting it as a part of the time allowed to the governor for examining bills submitted for his approval. A contract, the day of the performance of which falls on Sunday, must, in the case of instruments on which days of grace are allowed, be performed on the Saturday preceding, and in all other cases on Monday. (*Salter* v. *Burt*, 20 *Wend.* 205. *Avery* v. *Stewart*, 2 *Conn. R.* 69.) Compulsory performance on the Sabbath cannot be required, but the law prescribes a substituted day. Redemption of land, the last day for which falls on Sunday, must be made the day before. (*People* v. *Luther*, 1 *Wend.* 42.) No judicial act can be performed on the Sabbath, except as allowed by statute, while ministerial acts not prohibited are not illegal. (*Sayles* v. *Smith*, 12 *Wend.* 57. *Butler* v. *Kelsey*, 15, *John.* 177. *Field* v. *Park*, 20 *id.* 140.) Work done on a Sunday cannot be recovered for, there being no pretence that the parties keep the last day of the week, and the work not being a work of necessity and charity. (*Watts* v. *Van Ness*, 1 *Hill*, 76. *Palmer* v. *City of New York*, 2 *Sand.* 318. *Smith* v.

Wilcox, 19 *Barb.* 581; *S. C.* 25 *id.* 341.) The Christian Sabbath is then one of the civil institutions of the State, and to which the business and duties of life are, by the common law, made to conform and adapt themselves. The same cannot be said of the Jewish Sabbath, or the day observed by the followers of any other religion. The respect paid to such days, other than that voluntarily paid by those observing them as days of worship, is in obedience to positive law. There is no ground of complaint in the respect paid to the religious feeling of those who conscientiously observe the seventh rather than the first day of the week, as a day of rest, by the legislation upon that subject, and exempting them from certain public duties and from the service of process on their Sabbath, and excepting them from the operation of certain other statutes regulating the observance of the first day of the week. (1 *R. S.* 675, § 70. *Laws of* 1847, *ch.* 349.) It is not an infringement of the right of conscience, or an interference with the free religious worship of others, that sabbatarians are exempted from the service of civil process and protected in the exercise of their religion on their Sabbath. Still less is it a violation of the rights of conscience of any that the Sabbath of the people, the day set apart by common consent and usage from the first settlement of the land as a day of rest, and recognised by the common law of the State as such, and expressly recognised in the Constitution as an existing institution, should be respected by the law-making power, and provision made to prevent its desecration by interrupting the worship or interfering with the rights of conscience, in any way, of the public as a Christian people. The existence of the Sabbath day as a civil institution being conceded, as it must be, the right of the Legislature to control and regulate it and its observance is a necessary sequence. If precedents were necessary to establish the right to legislate upon the subject, they could be cited from the statutes and ordinances of every government really or nominally Christian, and from the earliest period. In England, as early as the reign of Athelstan, all merchandising on the Lord's day was forbidden under severe penalties; and from that time very many statutes have been passed in different reigns regulating the keeping of

the Sabbath, prohibiting fairs and markets, the sale of goods, assemblies or concourse of the people for any sports and pastimes whatsoever, worldly labor, the opening of a house or room for public entertainment or amusement, the sale of beer, wine, spirits, etc., and other like acts on that day. There are other acts which are designed to compel attendance at church and religious worship, which would be prohibited by the Constitution of this State as infringements upon the right to the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship. But the acts referred to do not relate to religious profession or worship, but to the civil obligations and duties of the subject. They have respect to his duties to the state, and not to God, and as such are within the proper limits of legislative power. There have been times in the history of the English government, when the day was greatly profaned, and practices tolerated at court and throughout the realm, on the Sabbath and on other days, which would meet at this time with little public favor either there or here. But these exceptional instances do not detract from the force of the long series of acts of the British parliament, representing in legislation the sentiment of the British nation, as precedents and as a testimony in favor of the necessity and propriety of a legislative regulation of the Sabbath. Our attention is called to the fact that James I. wrote a "Book of Sports," in which he declared that certain games and pastimes were lawful upon Sunday. The book was published in 1618, and by it he permitted the "lawful recreations" named, "after the end of divine service" on Sundays, "so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of divine service." The permission is thus qualified: "But withall we doe here account still as prohibited all unlawfull games to be used on Sundayes only, as beare and bull baitings, *interludes* and at all times in the meaner sort of people prohibited, bowling." (*Baylee's Hist. Sabbath*, 157.) Lindenmuller's theatre would have been prohibited even by King James's Book of Sports.

In most, if not all the States of the Union, laws have been passed against Sabbath-breaking, and prohibiting the prosecution of secular pursuits upon that day; and in none of the States, to my knowledge, except in California, have such laws

been held by the courts to be repugnant to the free exercise of religious profession and worship, or a violation of the rights of conscience, or an excess or abuse of the legislative power, while in most States the legislation has been upheld by the courts and sustained by well-reasoned and able opinions. (*Updegraph* v. *The Commonwealth*, 11 *S. & R.* 394. *Show* v. *State of Arkansas*, 5 *Eng.* (*Ark.*) 259. *Bloom* v. *Richards*, 2 *Ohio R.* 387. *Warne* v. *Smith*, 8 *Conn. R.* 14. *Johnston* v. *Com.* 10 *Harris*, 102. *State v. Ambs*, 20 *Mis.* 214. *Story* v. *Elliot*, 8 *Cowen*, 27.)

As the Sabbath is older than our State government, was a part of the laws of the colony, and its observance regulated by colonial laws, state legislation upon the subject of its observance was almost coëval with the formation of the State government. If there were any doubt about the meaning of the Constitution securing freedom in religion, the contemporaneous and continued acts of the Legislature under it would be very good evidence of the intent and understanding of its framers, and of the people who adopted it as their fundamental law. As early as 1788, travelling, work, labor and exposing of goods to sale on that day were prohibited. (2 *Greenl.* 89.) In 1789 the sale of spirituous liquors was prohibited (*Andrews*, 467); and from that time statutes have been in force to prevent Sabbath desecration, and prohibiting acts upon that day which would be lawful on other days of the week. Early in the history of the State government, the objections taken to the act under consideration were taken before the council of revision, to an act to amend the act entitled, "An act for suppressing immorality," which undertook to regulate Sabbath observance, because the provisions as was claimed militated against the Constitution, by giving a preference to one class of Christians and oppressing others; because it in some manner prescribed the mode of keeping the Sabbath; and because it was expedient to impose obligations on the conscience of men in matters of opinion. The counsel, consisting of Governor Jay, Chief-Justice Lansing, and Judges Lewis and Benson, overruled the objections and held them not well taken. (*Street's*

N. Y. Council of Rev. 422.) I have not access to the California case referred to (*Ex parte Newman*, 9 *Cal.* 502), but with all respect for the court pronouncing the decision, as authority in this State, the opinion of the council of revision thus constituted, and deliberately pronounced, should outweigh it. If the court in California rest their decision upon a want of power in the Legislature to compel religious observances, I should not dissent from the position, and the only question would be whether the act did thus trench on the inviolable rights of the citizen. If it merely restrained the people from secular pursuits and from practices which the Legislature deemed hurtful to the morals and good order of society, it would not go beyond the proper limits of legislation. The act complained of here compels no religious observance, and offences against it are punishable not as sins against God, but as injurious to and having a malignant influence on society. It rests upon the same foundation as a multitude of other laws upon our statute-book, such as those against gambling, lotteries, keeping disorderly houses, polygamy, horse-racing, profane cursing and swearing, disturbance of religious meetings, selling of intoxicating liquor on election days within a given distance of the polls, etc. All these and many others do to some extent restrain the citizen and deprive him of some of his natural rights; but the Legislature have the right to prohibit acts injurious to the public and subversive of the government, or which tend to the destruction of the morals of the people and disturb the peace and good order of society. It is exclusively for the Legislature to determine what acts should be prohibited as dangerous to the community. The laws of every civilized State embrace a long list of offences which are such merely as *mala prohibita*, as distinguished from those which are *mala in se*. If the argument in behalf of the plaintiff in error is sound, I see no way in saving the class of *mala prohibita*. Give every one his natural rights, or what are claimed as natural rights, and the list of civil offences will be confined to those acts which are *mala in se*, and a man may go naked through the streets, establish houses of prostitution *ad libitum* and keep a faro-bank on every corner. This would be repugnant to every idea of a

civilized government. It is the right of the citizen to be protected from offences against decency, and against acts which tend to corrupt the morals, and debase the moral sense of the community. Regarding the Sabbath as a civil institution, well established, it is the right of the citizen that it should be kept and observed in a way not inconsistent with its purpose and the necessity out of which it grew, as a day of rest, rather than as a day of riot and disorder, which would be effectually to overthrow it, and render it curse rather than a blessing.

Woodward, J. in *Johnston* v. *Com.* (10 *Harris*, 102) says: "The right to rear a family with a becoming regard to the institutions of Christianity, and without compelling them to witness the hourly infractions of one of its fundamental laws; the right to enjoy the peace and good order of society, and the increased securities of life and property which result from a decent observance of the Sabbath; the right of the poor to rest from labor without diminution of wages;" the right of beasts to the rest which nature calls for—are real, substantial rights, and as much the subject of governmental protection as any other right of person or property. But it is urged that it is the right of the citizen to regard the Sabbath as a day of recreation and amusement, rather than as a day of rest and religious worship, and that he has a right to act upon that belief and engage in innocent amusements and recreations. This position it is not necessary to gainsay. But who is to judge and decide what amusements and pastimes are innocent, as having no direct or indirect baneful influence upon community, as not in any way disturbing the peace and quiet of the public, as not unnecessarily interfering with the equally sacred rights of conscience of others? May not the Legislature, following the example of James I., which was cited to us as a precedent, declare what recreations are lawful, and what are not lawful as tending to a breach of the peace or a corruption of the morals of the people? That is not innocent which may operate injuriously upon the morals of the old or young, which tends to interrupt the peaceable and quiet worship of the Sabbath, and which grievously offends the moral sense of the community, and thus tends to a breach

of the peace. It may well be that the Legislature, in its wisdom, thought that a theatre was eminently calculated to attract all classes, and the young especially, on a day when they were released from the confinement incident to the duties of the other days of the week, away from the house of worship and other places of proper rest, relaxation and instruction, and bring them under influence not tending to elevate their morals, and to subject them to temptation to other vices entirely inconsistent with the safety of society. The gathering of a crowd on a Sunday at a theatre, with its drinking-saloons, and its usual, if not necessary, facilities for and inducements to licentiousness and other kindred vices, the Legislature might well say was not consistent with the peace, good order and safety of the city. They might well be of the opinion that such a place would be "a nursery of vice, a school of preparation to qualify young men for the gallows and young women for the brothel." But whatever the reasons may have been, it was a matter within the legislative discretion and power, and their will must stand as the reason of the law.

We could not, if we would, review their discretion and sit in judgment upon the expediency of their acts. We cannot declare that innocent which they have adjudged baneful and have prohibited as such. The act in substance declares a Sunday theatre to be a nuisance, and deals with it as such. The Constitution makes provision for this case by providing that the liberty of conscience secured by it "shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace and safety of the State." The Legislature have declared that Sunday theatres are of this character, and come within the description of acts and practices which are not protected by the Constitution, and they are the sole judges. The act is clearly constitutional, as dealing with and having respect to the Sabbath as a civil and political institution, and not affecting to interfere with religious belief or worship, faith or practice.

It was conceded upon the argument that the Legislature could entirely suppress theatres and prohibit theatrical exhibi-

tions. This, I think, yields the whole argument, for as the whole includes all its parts and the greater includes the lesser, the power of total suppression includes the power of regulation and partial suppression. If they can determine what circumstances justify a total prohibition, they can determine under what circumstances the exhibitions may be innocuous, and under what circumstances and at what times they may be baneful, so as to justify a prohibition.

The other points made and argued are of less general importance, as they only affect this particular case, and notwithstanding they were ably and ingeniously argued, I have been unable to appreciate the views taken by the learned counsel for the plaintiff in error.

The law does not touch private property or impair its value. The possession and use of it, except for a single purpose and upon a given day, and the right to the possession and use, is as absolute to the plaintiff in error as it was the day before the passage of the law. The restraint upon the use of the property is incidental to the exercise of a power vested in the Legislature to legislate for the whole State. The ownership and enjoyment of property cannot be absolute in the sense that incidentally the right may not be controlled or affected by public legislation. Public safety requires that powder-magazines should not be kept in a populous neighborhood; public health requires that certain trades and manufactures should not be carried on in crowded localities; public interest requires that certain callings should be exercised by a limited number of persons and at a limited number of places; and legislative promotion of these objects necessarily qualifies the absolute ownership of property to the extent that it prohibits the use of it in the manner and for the purpose deemed inconsistent with the public good, but that deprives no man of his property or impairs its legal value. The fact that the plaintiff in error leased the property with a view to its occupancy for the purpose of a Sunday theatre does not vary the question. He might have bought it for the same purpose, but that would by no means lessen the power of the Legislature, or give him an indefeasible right to use it for the purpose intended, or to establish or per-

petuate a public nuisance. The power of the Legislature cannot thus be crippled or taken from them. As lessee he is *pro hac vice* the owner. He took his lease as every man takes any estate, subject to the right of the legislature to control the use of it so far as the public safety requires.

The contract with the performers, if one exists, for their services on the Sabbath, stands upon the same footing, and is also subject to another answer, to wit, that the contract for Sabbath work was void without the law of 1860. (*Smith* v. *Wilcox*, *Watts* v. *Van Ness*, *Palmer* v. *New York*, *supra.*) The sovereign power must, in many cases, prescribe the manner of exercising individual rights over property. The general good requires it, and to this extent the natural rights of individuals are surrendered. Every public regulation in a city does in some sense limit and restrict the absolute right of the individual owner of property. But this is not a legal injury. If compensation were wanted, it is found in the protection which the owner derives from the government, and perhaps from some other restraint upon his neighbor in the use of his property. It is not a destruction or an appropriation of the property, and it is not within any constitutional inhibition. (*Vanderbilt* v. *Adams*, 7 *Cowen*, 349. *People* v. *Walbridge*, 6 *id.* 512. *Mayor &c. of New York* v. *Miln*, 11 *Peters*, 102. 3 *Story's Const. Law*, 163.)

The conviction was right and the judgment must be affirmed.

The summary of the points established by this decision is as follows:

GUSTAV LINDENMULLER, plaintiff in error, *vs.* THE PEOPLE, defendants in error.

Every act done maliciously, tending to bring religion into contempt, may be punished at common law; and the Christian Sabbath, as one of the institutions of that religion, may be protected from desecration by such laws as the Legislature, in their wisdom, may deem necessary to secure to the community the privilege of undisturbed worship, and to the day itself that outward respect and observance which may be deemed essential to the peace and good order of society and to preserve religion and its ordinances from open reviling and contempt.

Upon this ground the "Act to preserve the public peace and order on the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday," passed April 17, 1860, prohibiting exhibitions or dramatic performances on Sunday, can be sustained; the Legislature being the sole judges of the acts proper to be prohibited, with a view to the public peace, and as obstructing religious worship, and bringing into contempt the religious institutions of the people.

That act is clearly *constitutional*, as dealing with and having respect to the Sabbath as a civil and political institution, and not affecting to interfere with religious belief or worship, faith or practice.

In the State of New York the Sabbath exists as a day of rest by the common law, and without the necessity of legislative action to establish it; and all that the Legislature attempt to do in the "Sabbath laws," is to regulate its observance.

ART. V.—THE MORAL ASPECTS OF THE PRESENT STRUGGLE.

THE United States are at this moment in the midst of a contest which, for the magnitude of its proportions, and the momentous character of its issues, is unsurpassed in the history of Christendom. We have ourselves not more than half waked up to an appreciation of its importance. It has already not only arrested the attention, but tasked the political sagacity, and seriously, if not vitally, affected the interests of the world. Foreign journals are declaring in the most confident terms, the utter impracticability of the task with which the government has charged itself, and, arrogantly pronouncing the great American Republic already hopelessly destroyed, call upon us in the name of a professed humanity, to make peace at once with rebellion and save the effusion of blood and the waste of hundreds of millions of treasure. Nor can we disguise from ourselves the fact, however sanguine we may be, that history has on record no example of an insurrection comparable to this, either in extent of territory or apparent popular unanimity and resoluteness of purpose, that has ever been effectually quelled. The cost in blood has not been great thus far. But the expenditure of a million a day, the actual enlistment, on

the one side and the other, of more than half a million of men, armed to a great extent with the most recent improvements in offensive and defensive weapons, the suspension and utter derangement of business from one end of the land to the other, the possibility that foreign nations may presently embroil themselves in the contest, the almost sure expectation of a bloody collision of arms to begin at any moment and end, God only can tell when and where, and the manifest probability of serious changes in the policy of the government, if not in the constitution of society, as the result of the war, combine to show us that the enterprise is one encompassed with difficulties and pregnant with most momentous consequences. It is a life and death-struggle of a mighty nation.

It is a matter of comparatively small moment, as respects the result of this struggle, what opinions foreign nations entertain in regard to it. We have wasted altogether too much time and sensibility over the question, what will England think, and what will this or that interested English journal or flippant correspondent of the English press say of our proceedings? It is high time we were weaned. If we respect ourselves, foreign nations, petulant and jealous old England among the rest, will be compelled to respect us. They should be carefully watched, and their designs promptly met if they show the slightest disposition to interfere. They should never be insulted by angry defiance, and all their rights should be religiously respected. But it is not the opinion of European nations that is going to determine this contest. We have nothing to expect from any of them, so long as it remains doubtful. If we fail, either in arms or statesmanship, be sure they will be against us. If we succeed, they will be for us, but it will then be of very little importance whether they are for us or not. The responsibility is ours. The merits of the cause and the course which duty demands of us we have to determine for ourselves. If the cause be good, we must *make* it respected, and carry it through by such means as are within our command. With a careful avoidance of every wrong measure, and a wise and liberal use of our abundant resources; with a

single eye to the single end which is the best good of this great people, South and North, we have to depend under God solely upon our own *right arm*.

But let it not be inferred that, even as an element of success, the intrinsic merit of the cause is a matter of indifference. We cannot afford to brave public opinion unless we can appeal from it to a better informed public opinion to arise in the future. Besides, "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind" has been recognised as due by this nation from the beginning. And for our own sakes and that of our posterity, for the respect we owe to our history, for the influence and standing we desire to maintain among the nations as a wise, upright and humane, as well as brave and strong people, above all, in view of our relations to the great King of kings, who, we must never forget, sitteth on the throne judging righteously, it becomes us carefully to examine the wisdom and rectitude of so momentous an enterprise, and set the reasons which actuate us clearly before our own minds and those of our fellow-men. If this contest be, on our part, one of revenge, of ambition, of empty national pride, of sectional aggrandisement, or of self-interest; if it be not a matter of high and sacred duty in the discharge of a responsibility solemnly imposed upon us by the authority of God and the claims of humanity, the "fratricidal war," as it is contemptuously called by some who wish no good to either party, is, it must be owned, as disgraceful to us as it might then be expected to prove futile and ruinous.

It is not our purpose at present to discuss at large the merits of the question at issue, but only to present a few of its most obvious moral features, thereby to strengthen the purposes and animate the hopes of the defenders of the right, and put ourselves and our associates on our guard against such misapprehensions of the end to be aimed at, as might divert our efforts into a false channel.

One of the first questions to be asked is, how came we into this contest? For more than three quarters of a century we have been a united people. The *Union* has been our boast South and North. Our fathers exerted their utmost wisdom to form and perfect it, and we had received it as our best na-

tional birthright from the Madisons, Masons, Pinckneys, Jays, Hamiltons, Shermans and Franklins of the revolutionary period. Ay, it had been committed to us, in his dying charge, as a trust for our posterity by the immortal Washington. Under it we had prospered and grown great as no other nation ever did. Our progress in all that constitutes the prosperity of a people, intellectual, moral, and religious, as well as material, had been the admiration of the world. Even they who did not like us feared to interfere with our affairs or put themselves in the way of our rapid and almost irresistible advancement. Nowhere in the world was there such universal comfort, such general intelligence, such scope for the exercise of all sorts of talent, such unmolested enjoyment of religious privileges. We had our political squabbles, but they were soon settled, and in all parts of the country, South and North, the great mass of the people, Whig or Democrat, Federalist or Republican, felt in their hearts that under any administration the privileges to be enjoyed far surpassed the burdens and grievances to be endured.

It lies upon the face of the recent outbreak that it had its origin exclusively among the population of the Southern States. Not that the people of those States are all involved in it, much less responsible for its occurrence; but it originated among them. The North had its supposed grievances, and at times had smarted keenly under them. Its hardy and industrious population, dependent on their own efforts and accustomed to form their own judgments, felt that their rights were trifled with and their moral and religious sentiments abused by the ever-restless, arrogant, and aspiring leaders of Southern opinion and policy. Southern politicians had monopolized a large share of the offices, and, by dexterous management with Northern parties, had controlled disadvantageously to the most substantial interests of the North, the policy of the country. But the North had sought its redress, not in revolution, nor even in threats of dismemberment, but through the legitimate channels of the press, the ballot-box, and the legislative arena. And it is worthy of note, that whenever the attempt has been made to fix on any portion of that section the charge

of *disunion* sentiments or purposes, it has been necessary to have recourse to ambiguous expressions uttered in the heat of some party contest years ago, as far back as the Hartford Convention or the Annexation of Texas. The North has had its faults, no doubt. It may have contributed its full share to the causes of the present deplorable rupture. But it cannot be disputed, and history will affirm it with an unwavering decision, that the North as a body has always been firmly loyal to the American Union.

In looking for the causes which have brought so large a portion of the Southern people to the position they have assumed, we must go back to a very early period of our country's history. The present posture of affairs is not a mere matter of accident; it is the result of no transient and easily avoidable influences. The seeds of the mischief lay deeply imbedded in the very soil on which our institutions were erected. We may wonder that Divine Providence should have permitted it—but so it is. The evil egg was deposited in the very flower of the nation's prime, and was sure from the beginning to break out into a consuming worm in the summer and fruitage of its prosperous maturity. We need not undertake to unravel the vast net-work of causes which have acted and reäcted upon each other during three quarters of a century. The intricate lock has too many permutations and combinations to enable us to fix the exact numbers corresponding to the last movement of the bolts. But we may perhaps furnish from the obvious history of the country one or two master-keys, which, with slight adjustments, may serve for the most practical purposes.

The root of the difficulty is not to be found in an opposition of interests. The interests of the South are scarcely more at variance with those of the North than are those of the East with those of the West. Individual States, lying side by side, have a certain diversity of interest, and may be rivals with each other in determining the industrial policy of the country. The mine and the factory, the field and the ocean, the mart and the plantation have no doubt their particular facilities and opportunities, and in particular cases the advantage of the one

perates to the disadvantage of the other. But on the whole t may be affirmed with confidence, that what is for the interst of the South is likewise for that of the North and West. There never was a great people better adapted in this respect o play into the hands of each other, and to flourish by free interchange and coöperation. If the South were to become independent to-day, they would be obliged for their own sakes o form relations either with the North or some foreign country requiring equal if not greater concessions than those they ave been accustomed to make in the national Union.

Nor is the source of the rupture to be looked for, as some ave foolishly pretended, in a difference of race. In fact there s no such difference of race. All over the land, it is true, here is a mixture of elements; and every nation of the earth, ew and Gentile, Celt and Teuton, Anglo-Saxon and Latin, ave contributed their quota. The South may have a few nore of the Scotch-Irish, and the North of the more aborigial race of the Green Isle; the South more of the descendants f the Cavaliers, and the North of those of the Puritans. But vith different proportions in the mixture, both communities re of the same stock or stocks. Indeed, not a few of those vho are now most loud-mouthed in their clamor for Southern ights and Southern honor are themselves either emigrants rom the Northern States or of Northern origin through one r both parents. As was beautifully said by one of the noblest and most chivalrous Southrons of them all, himself of Northern birth: "The sons of New England are found in very State of the broad Republic. In the East, the South, nd the unbounded West their blood mingles freely with every indred current. In the veins of our children flow Northern nd Southern blood; how shall it be separated?" This process f mingling and commingling has been going on through our ntire history, and at the present moment there are few Northrners or Southerners who have not relatives either by blood r affinity in the other section of the country.

Nor again is the cause to be looked for in a difference of olitical or religious institutions. The governments of these tates were all founded on the same Republican basis; and

the same general ideas lie at the foundation of all their constitutions and laws. If we except the single State of Louisiana, every one of them, old and new, are on the same old platform of the common law of England. In the sphere of religion we have precisely the same denominations, and till recently have claimed connection with the same national churches. With few exceptions, we are all Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians, and Congregationalists or Presbyterians. And the fundamental ideas of our worship, doctrine, and discipline present no marks of difference by which one section could be distinguished from the other.

Nor again has there been, on the part of the North, any such alienation of feeling as to justify the notion that the two sections might not live together in national harmony. No doubt there has been gaining ground at the South, for a considerable time, a hostile feeling. And at the North, it must be owned, there has been from the beginning, a deep-seated and almost universal disapproval of certain features of Southern society. But that the feeling has ever, in the great body of the Northern people, transcended the bounds of a friendly difference of opinion, or been the occasion of personal animosities towards the people of the South in general, we confidently deny. Indeed, if we are not mistaken in our observation, there has prevailed among us, to a great extent, a sentiment of partiality, so that in almost any company, the introduction of your friend as a gentleman or lady from the South, has been the passport to peculiar attentions.

We have alluded to "certain features of Southern society." But this is no time to talk gingerly or resort to euphuistic and indirect phrases. The *root* and *mother* of this whole difficulty, the subject matter of it and the pre-disposing cause, is SLAVERY. It has developed traits of character in the Southern population, which alone could have made such a result possible.* It has brought about what we are compelled to admit has been and is an *irrepressible conflict*. Many of us

* The opinions above expressed are fortified by that of that shrewd and philosophical observer of our country, De Tocqueville, uttered a quarter of a century

would fain have repressed it. We were willing to make all sorts of concessions, consistent with the plainest duty, in order to repress it. But it has proved itself too strong for the most powerful and determined pacificators.

This strange anomaly in our free institutions has had a home among them from the very beginning. Our fathers treated it as an existing fact, and as such, protected its interests, but regarding it as an anomaly, and expecting it to be but temporary, made little or no calculation for the contingency of its permanence. Jefferson's views on the subject are well known; so are Madison's, the father, if any one might be called such, of the Federal Constitution. The very words *slave* and *slavery* were excluded from the instrument, because the thing itself was not expected to continue. But, in the providence of God, and by the working of unforeseen causes, the event has been just the opposite of the expectation. Slavery, which soon died out in the Northern States, has taken deep root in the South, and grown to vast proportions. It has been elevated to the dignity of an *institution*, and, from being regarded as an unavoidable evil, has come to be lauded as the true basis of the best possible form of society. It has formed and governed the habits of thought, and fixed, in a great measure, the relative social standing of the people. It has assumed to be the ruling interest of the South, to which all others must consent to be subordinate. It has put rigid restrictions on the expression of opinion and the circulation of literature. It has assailed with fierce denunciations and epithets of contempt whoever has dared question either its authority or its excellence.

ago. "The dangers which threaten the American Union," he says, "do not originate in diversity of interests or opinions, but in the various characters and passions of the Americans. The men who inhabit the vast territory of the United States are almost all the issue of a common stock, but the effects of climate, and more especially of slavery, have gradually introduced very striking differences between the British settler of the Southern States and the British settler of the North. In Europe it is generally believed that slavery has rendered the *interests* of one part contrary to those of another part; but I by no means remarked this to be the case. Slavery has not created interests in the South contrary to those of the North, but it has modified the *character* and changed the *habits* of the natives of the South."

It has expelled Southern men from their homes for opposition to its assumed prerogatives. It has demanded recognition by the Northern people, not as a local but a *national* institution. It has aspired to rule, and to a surprising extent has succeeded in ruling the policy of the nation. It has even bound itself by an awful oath never to suffer a man opposed to its pretensions to occupy the chair of President of the United States of America.

We state these things simply as matters of fact, and not for the purpose of throwing reproach upon an entire community. We would not be unjust, even amidst the fearful evils which have recently been precipitated upon us. No person has a higher esteem for a very large portion of the people of the Southern States. Nowhere do we find men more honorable and religious—nowhere women more pure, refined, beneficent, and self-sacrificing. And as respects the unfortunate and dependent race whose relations are the occasion of this collision, we believe few Northern men or women would have half the patience with them, or bestow upon them half the self-sacrificing attentions, sick or well, living or dying, which not a few of them now receive from those who claim to hold them under the laws in the character of property. Indeed, with all the abuses to which the system is manifestly liable, and the immense irresponsible power which it puts into individual hands, we think it creditable to the Southern people, as a body, that the race is so well cared for as it is, and so few aggravated wrongs are actually suffered. Nor with all our deep convictions of the intrinsic evil of the system, social, moral, and religious, as well as political, would we cast indiscriminate censure upon the Southern people for its existence among them, or demand, even as a moral obligation, its *immediate* and *unconditional* abolition. It is a question no doubt encompassed with difficulties, and, for ourselves, we are quite disposed to leave to them the responsibility.

But while we say this, and would urge it as we have ever done on the consideration of the North, we must affirm with equal emphasis, that the North is not, on any right view of the case, to be blamed for entertaining and expressing a deep seated and irreconcilable aversion to the system of slavery. That

aversion has been ingrained in the very texture of their institutions and education. Many of them, and we think justly, regard their favorite doctrine of *liberty and equality*—the doctrine which stands emblazoned on the very front of the Declaration of Independence—as just as applicable to men of a dark skin as those of a white one. Their fathers abolished slavery, not because it was unprofitable, but because they believed it incompatible with the principles of liberty, political and religious. They regard it, with a few exceptions, as an enormous evil. This is not the opinion only of a few wild fanatics. The mildest, coolest, most considerate and thoughtful men, accustomed to judge deliberately and look on all sides of a subject, have long since been settled in that conclusion. This doctrine, held as we have said by the fathers of the Republic, was till recently that of three fourths of the wisest men in the Southern States. Witness the resolutions of the Presbyterian Church in 1818, passed with the concurrence of the great body of the Southern members. No large assembly of Christians has passed as decisive resolutions in recent times. "I am not very old," said a distinguished member of the Mississippi bar a few months since, "and yet I can remember when intelligent men at the South not only doubted whether slavery were right, but there was a *general feeling* that it ought ultimately to be abolished. This feeling in Kentucky and Virginia in 1832–33, almost culminated into emancipation, and even in this State the Supreme Court decided that it was an unnatural and unjust relation, and that all presumptions should be indulged against it."* If the South has got new light recently, it cannot be deemed an offence that the North, seeing no reason to change their opinions, should still insist upon the lessons which the South itself formerly taught them. Till it can be shown at least that the system is compatible with as much intellectual improvement as the race or individuals in it, are capable of; till the law of marriage, and the sacred command of the Saviour, "What God hath joined together let not man put asunder," shall cease to be a nullity in the case of

* Speech of Wm. C. Smedes, Esq., Vicksburgh, Oct. 1860.

four millions of human beings made in God's image, thinking men out of the immediate influence of the system will not be likely to regard it otherwise than as an enormous evil. And not merely because we are members of the same body politic, but because we are of a common human family, most men will be likely to regard themselves as under obligations both to God and man, to speak out freely their opinions on the subject, and use their utmost influence to change the opposite opinions of their Southern neighbors.

It is no part of our present design to discuss the merits of the slavery question. We wish only to show how it lies among the leading causes of the existing rupture. It was not in the nature of things that the North should yield, while they had strength to resist, to the new claims of the South in behalf of this system. To all the guarantees of the Constitution, the South was, no doubt, entitled. The great body of the North, a few radical men only excepted, constantly declared them to be so. They acquiesced while territory after territory, purchased with the money, or won by the arms of the whole Union, had been given over to slavery. They joined the South in passing what were called the compromises of 1850, affording new guarantees against the escape of slaves, and which at the time all parties said should be a finality. But when they saw claim after claim preferred successfully, and the old compromise, which secured the Northern territories to freedom, swept recklessly away; when the doctrine was asserted and on the point to be enforced, that the Constitution itself, *proprio vigore*, carries the offensive system into every territory of the country; nay, that on the principles of natural right, slavery is the rule and freedom only the exception, they could not, without stultifying themselves and consenting to be bound hand and foot to the car of slavery, refrain from vigorous moral and political resistance.

Had the new doctrines been confined to the political arena, the case would have been less aggravated. But they had taken deep root in the Church; and ministers of the Gospel, as if to prove, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that they had freed themselves from the scruples entertained by their fathers,

ran great lengths before the more sober civilians, proving out of the Bible, the excellence of the cherished institution, and denouncing as *infidels* every man who presumed to call it in question. It was thus that the New School Presbyterian Assembly was ruptured. And the ground recently taken by Dr. Palmer, of New Orleans, of the Old School, does but give a public voice to what not a few of his brethren are well known at this moment to maintain. What would the Assembly of 1818 have said to such language as the following: "A nation often has a character as well-defined and intense as that of the individual. However derived, this individuality of character alone makes any people truly historic, competent to work out its own specific mission, and to become a factor in the world's progress. The particular trust assigned to such a people becomes the pledge of the divine protection, and their fidelity to it determines the fate by which it is finally overtaken. If then the South is such a people, what, at this juncture, is their providential trust? I answer, that it is *to conserve and to perpetuate the institution of domestic slavery as now existing.*" The italics are his own, as we extract the passage from his printed sermon now lying before us; to *conserve* and to *perpetuate* the institution of domestic slavery as *now existing!* And again, he says: "Without determining the question of duty for future generations, I simply say that, for us, as now situated, the duty is plain, of conserving and *transmitting* the system of slavery, *with the freest scope for its national development and extension.*"

Could the freemen of the North, brought up in the doctrine expressed by the General Assemby of 1818, consent to be silent under such startling assertions? Could the Church, for the sake of union and good-fellowship, consent to hold her peace? Could she continue to give letters of recommendation indiscriminately, and that for the occupation of Northern pulpits and theological professorships, with such doctrines boldly maintained in her midst, and say nothing about the matter?

The North was bound by the most sacred obligations, both to discuss the question freely in the moral and religious arena,

and debate and resist the new claim in the department of politics. No doubt, some have been intemperate and discourteous in their manner of discussion. With that we have been ourselves sufficiently disgusted. But that is only what occurs on all subjects exciting in a high degree the public mind. We are amazed, or should be, if any thing could amaze us from that quarter, to hear such a man as Bishop Eliot laying the chief stress, in his assertion of Southern grievances, on the fact that Northern newspapers, pamphlets, lecture-rooms, pulpits, senate-chambers, etc., in common with those of Europe, have "systematically" "slandered and traduced," "as incompatible with civilization and Christianity," the institution of slavery. We have always been accustomed to believe an institution which would not bear to be discussed *roughly*, could not have in it much inherent goodness or strength. And yet, if we have rightly judged, the North, as a body, have never been disposed to discuss the question of slavery in a particularly bold manner. We venture to say, the question cannot be named, involving as high moral and religious considerations, which has been handled as cautiously and almost nervously, if we except the discussions of the abolition party, as the question of slavery. And, as to political movements, although, of course, every party will be likely to see most vividly its own grievances, we think it may be asserted without reasonable question, that by far the majority of Northern men, in all parties, up to the moment of the present outbreak, and never more so than at that moment, were agreed in giving to the South every right which they believed could be claimed by them under the Federal Constitution. While, therefore, we assert, as before, that slavery is the grand predisposing cause of the existing rupture, we cannot regard it, *or the course which has been pursued in respect to it*, as in the slightest degree a justifying cause. Nor do we believe such a result as we now witness could have been brought about, but for the working of another cause, which has made use of this as its most effective instrument.

That cause, to which we now call special attention, is the *unscrupulous ambition* of political partisans. There is the

most satisfactory reason to believe that, for more than thirty years, there has existed, in some parts of the South, a deep-laid plot to dismember the National Union. Its first open demonstration was in the famous Nullification movement, which culminated and was defeated in its plans in the spring of 1833, and which took that shape, partly because the people were not prepared for open and avowed rebellion, and partly because Mr. Calhoun was not yet willing to forego his hopes of attaining to the Presidency of the United States. We well remember listening to a conversation, during the spring of that year, between a Southern gentleman of some political distinction, and one of the largest manufacturers of the city of Boston. After discussing, for some time, the then recent Nullification excitement, and the bearing of Mr. Clay's Compromise Bill, which had so modified the Tariff as to pacify the Nullifiers, the Southern gentleman observed: "After all, sir, you have not got hold of the secret of the difficulty. It is not the Tariff that these men are concerned about. It is the separation of the Union. I know them all," said he, mentioning names then perfectly familiar to the public ear; "they are my friends, and they are good fellows; but they have got it into their heads it would be a good thing to have a Southern Republic, and they mean to bring it about." The old dream of a Confederacy or Republic inclosing in its circuit the Gulf of Mexico, and possessing the mouths of all the principal rivers, which they imagined would give them the key of power and prosperity—the dream which is supposed to have turned the head of Aaron Burr, and almost brought that head to the gallows—was even then stirring in the ambitious brains of Southern aspirants. The plot was at that time confined chiefly to South Carolina and Virginia, in the development of which the South Carolinians acted openly, and the Virginians, standing in fear of the immense loyal majority among the citizens of that State, sympathized and assisted beneath a cover.

This disunion project, it is well known, South Carolina has never relinquished. She has lost no opportunity of gaining partisans, or making movements for its accomplishment. In 1850, she actually passed an ordinance of secession, but re-

pealed it because a new compromise prevented other States from following her example. And it serves to identify her last and successful effort with the first, that Mr. Rhett, immediately after the act of secession, last December, declared in the Convention: "We have only accomplished what our fathers taught us to do, thirty years ago."

In the first effort, the question of slavery seems to have performed no prominent part, except through the traits of character which the system had contributed to form. In the *Partisan Leader*, a work of fiction, said to have been written in 1836, by a professor in a Virginia institution, and a friend of Mr. Calhoun, in which, with one or two exceptions, the whole plan according to which the leaders of the rebellion now in arms are actually working, is detailed with a startling accuracy, almost forcing you to the belief that, instead of twenty-five years, its origin must have been within the last six months—no account whatsoever is taken of the subject of slavery. But this was only at the beginning. It was soon perceived by discerning eyes, where lay the true strength of sectional partisanship. Mr. Benton, in an address to which we listened five years ago, marked the precise date of the change in the disunion tactics. After describing in an eloquent manner the perilous position in which Mr. Calhoun found himself, when the Proclamation of General Jackson and the passage of the Force Bill, so nobly sustained by Mr. Webster in oblivion of all party differences, brought him suddenly to a stand, went on to relate, that, no sooner did the nullification leader find himself released from his dilemma, as he did by the passage of Mr. Clay's compromise bill, than he proceeded to address a letter to his political friends, in which he assured them it was, in his judgment, quite futile to attempt further to make a unit of the South on the question of the Tariff. They must adopt another, and he indicated, for that purpose, the question of *slavery*. Mr. Clay, said Mr. Benton, saw the letter, and taking alarm, wrote to Madison on the subject. And Madison replied that he had seen the letter, and augured from it *nothing but mischief*. Then and there, continued the veteran Democratic Senator, commenced a series of measures still in progress, hav-

ing in view the sectional unity of the South on the basis of that question—such as the employment of the press, the sending forth of lecturers or stump-orators, and the series of Southern conventions. Abolitionism, he added, made its appearance in the North just about the same time, and every extravagant thing that was said from pulpit or press, was carefully gathered up and reproduced in the South to make the people feel that the North were their enemies.

We have already expressed the opinion that there is and has been no prevailing animosity in the Northern mind towards the people of the South. The dislike and disapproval of slavery has never taken that shape, except sporadically, or in the heat of controversy. But we cannot say the same on the other hand. Left to themselves, we believe the Southern people would be generous and friendly. But under the influence of inflammatory demagogues, having for their object to "fire the Southern heart," animosity and prejudice have sometimes been excited to an astonishing pitch. We find an illustration of this as far back as 1838, in the Memoir of Hon. S. S. Prentiss, a man eminently devoted to every true and honorable interest of the South, while he never narrowed his mind to the exclusion of any section of his country from his generous patriotism. At a public dinner at Vicksburgh, to which he had been invited just after his return from a visit to the North, we find him speaking as follows: "It is the fashionable cant of the day to denounce the Whig party in the South, in the most unqualified terms, as leagued with the Abolitionists, traitors to their own interests, enemies to their own institutions, and with other such like phrases. Southern Democracy, it seems, consists in a general abuse of the rest of the Union, a denial of the existence of any common interest with the North, and a bitter denunciation of every man who has the independence to refuse to assent to these strange dogmas. Indeed, to such an extent is this brotherly hatred now carried by some, that a man cannot exchange ordinary courtesies or civilities with his fellow-citizens of the North, without rendering himself obnoxious to the charge of being an enemy to the South." Then, speaking of courtesies recently received by him during his

Northern visit, and which were offered, as he affirms, "chiefly as an expression of good feeling towards the State" he represented, he adds: "Yet have I been most bitterly abused for responding to these courtesies, for daring to break bread and eat salt with our Northern brethren, and, especially, for so far violating Southern policy as to have wickedly visited the cradle of liberty, and most sacrilegiously entered Faneuil Hall."

Thus it is, that, for a long series of years, the Southern mind has been poisoned. At every Presidential election the elements of the poison have been spread abroad most industriously; and Southern demagogues have then enjoyed the aid of Northern slanderers, who have shown no scruple in maligning the people of their own section. Thus has the mind of the South been prepared to acquiesce in almost any project, however desperate, which might promise to rid them of the power and influence of their hated neighbors. And thus have the people of the South been prepared to drink in, as if it were gospel, the infamous slander of Beauregard's proclamation, or the scarcely less infamous and false resolutions offered by Mr. Cobb in the recent Congress at Montgomery as the basis of a recommendation of a day of fasting and prayer.

Meanwhile, the plans of the conspirators were greatly favored, in the progress of events, by the vast increase of the cotton interest, which had become a necessity, not to a single country only, but to the world, and by the immensely enhanced value of slave property, as inseparably connected with its American culture. It was believed that cotton, and slavery as inseparable from cotton, might claim successfully to be the ruler of the world. The old dream of a confederacy or empire around the Gulf now assumed hues as gorgeous as those which once emblazoned the "Peacock Throne," and the gorgeous WEST, instead of the "gorgeous EAST," was expected soon to "shower on her kings barbaric pearls and gold." Texas had been secured to slavery, with four new States to be carved out of it as soon as they could be settled; and *fillibustering* expeditions to Mexico and Central America, sustained by Southern men and only nominally interfered with by a Southern Cabinet, were expected soon to extend the area of dominion to

indefinite limits. The reöpening of the slave-trade was indeed a necessary adjunct of the scheme, and that must be approached cautiously, since the sentiment of the South was not yet ripe for its adoption and the sentiment of the North and the world was utterly abhorrent to it. But tentative opinions had been put forth again and again bearing in that direction, and tentative expeditions had been fitted out and put in operation not unsuccessfully. A prominent politician of one of the Southern States, on retiring from office a few years ago, declared to his fellow-citizens, in the most emphatic terms, that, in his judgment, the reöpening of that traffic was absolutely essential to the occupation of new territory and the multiplication of Slave States; and that, though he was not prepared to advise the measure, the South must understand they had no alternative between its adoption and resting content with their existing boundaries. There is not, we think, the slightest doubt that, could Southern politicians have retained the general Government one or two terms more, the slave-trade would have been opened, and slave-ships, protected by American frigates, traversed the ocean with their human freight in defiance of the world.

Could this have been accomplished, and the Government secured permanently in the hands of Southern men, could Kansas have been gained to slavery, the Dred Scott Decision been acquiesced in as a finality, liberty obtained to carry slaves *in transitu* into any and all of the States, all restrictions upon slave extension removed from existing territories, or even from those below what was regarded as the line of profitable slave labor, and the Breckinridge clause of the Crittenden Compromise relating to *future* territory made the permanent law, there were those among them who, no doubt, would have been willing to let the Union remain unbroken, or at least try the experiment of pursuing their favorite plans a little longer under its banner. But failing in this, the resolution had been taken long ago, and had waited only for its opportunity, and for the pretext which should bring a sufficient portion of the Southern people to its support, to tear down the pillars of the Republic.

With these views and these extravagant hopes and d perate plans, the slave power, as it has been justly called, l came, in the hands of the conspirators and those who su ported them, fierce, insolent, defiant, and often violent to t utter contempt of law and principle. You could not approa it or make the slightest rustle of opposition without awakeni a hiss, nor put yourself in the way of its designs without fe ing a poisonous fang. Even the old friends and defenders the South, those who had borne the brunt of Abolitionism the North for a quarter of a century, found themselves amo the objects of its fierce denunciations hardly less than the G risons, Phillipses, and Lovejoys, whom they had strenuous opposed.

But we must hasten on to the closing acts of the terri drama. After a long struggle in Congress, through the pre and at the polls in successive Presidential campaigns; af the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which startled the b friends of the South and upset all their notions of Southe honor and good faith, and the fierce battle for liberty on t one hand and slavery on the other in the territory of Kans resulting, fortunately for the world, in the triumph of free stitutions—the success of the Republican party in the electi of Lincoln was accepted as the ripe occasion for breaking c into open rebellion. We need not detail the series of m sures which are yet but too fresh in the memory of Americ citizens. The fiction of *secession* we are constrained to belie was but a pretext to beguile unwary but scrupulous sou The repeated declaration that separation was to be a peaceal measure, and that all the South wanted was to be *let alone*, w but a convenient cover to a policy which the leaders in it m have known would lead sooner or later to blood. But the r had been carefully woven round the limbs of the nation, No as well as South; and the secret machinations of a band sworn desperadoes distributed through the country, the co plicity of members of two successive Presidential Cabine who had destroyed the defences of the country or transferr them to the custody or within reach of the seizure of the le ers of rebellion, the distribution in all the offices of the Go

ernment of men known to sympathize with the intended movement, and already prepared by accepting the pestilent heresy of *secession* to absolve themselves from the obligations of their sacred oaths, the thorough organization of the whole conspiracy and the maturity of its plans, seemed to make them sure of securing their victim. In the excitement of the hour, the Gulf States were first *precipitated* into rebellion with no fair opportunity for the expression of public opinion, and, forthwith, an armed resistance was prepared, and armed aggression on the property and fortifications of the United States initiated the measure of WAR.

We all remember, but too well, the fearful days and months of the winter of 1860–61, when a great nation lay prostrate and powerless, completely paralysed with astonishment, or *etherized* with the delusive cry of *compromise* and *no coercion*, while a REBELLION more foul, and a CONSPIRACY more desperate and malignant than that of Catiline was fingering at its throat, and pricking with its poisoned dagger at its jugular vein. American citizens can never forget the strange and utterly unparalleled sensations of those black months. Should they live fifty years, they will ever haunt them at times in their nightmare dreams. We were like men astounded by the fearful throes of a startling earthquake. The very ground we trod trembled beneath our feet, and the key-stone of the great arch of our government shook and swayed, threatening to crush us.

It has been said there was no design on the part of the rebellious States beyond their own independence. But we know better than that. The utter dissolution of the existing nation, that a new one might be constructed out of its most available fragments, was among their plainly avowed purposes. Says Hon. Robert H. Smith, of Alabama, in a speech, delivered at Mobile in March last: "I earnestly hope that, not only will the kindred States join us, but abide in confidence that some of the great North-Western States, watered by the Mississippi, will be drawn by the strong current of that mighty river and by the laws of trade, to swell the number and power of this Confederation, and that we shall receive them on such terms of their organic law as we ourselves may prescribe; and in doing

SO, GRASP THE POWER OF EMPIRE
announce to the startled North that
limit, and must spread, if spread it c
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Black Republican statesman now fe
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What the sympathies of neighborin
interest could not effect, was to be r
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What then was the plain and
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our government hesitated and talke
ed about coërcion, we came as nea
overthrow as was possible without a

God the booming of the cannon that shattered the walls and tore the flag of Fort Sumter, roused the nation from a dream that had well nigh proved its death. It was a glorious experience. Strangely, God seemed to give to the nation another heart. Patriotism that had so long slept, suddenly woke up in the breasts of twenty millions of freemen. The Government saw its duty, the sacred duty with which it had been charged, in behalf of the world and the generations, not by man only, but by God, and addressed itself with energy to its performance. The Church awoke too, and from all her pulpits sounded out the word of God, which declares, not in the Old Testament, but in the New, that the civil magistrate is "the minister of God, AN AVENGER TO EXECUTE WRATH on him that doeth evil," and "that he beareth not the SWORD in vain."

If ever there was a sacred cause on earth, we believe this is one. It is just the cause for which the New Testament explicitly commands the unsheathing of the sword in God's name. It is said we cannot carry it through. We reply, we did not take that question into the account when we entered on this struggle. It was a plain *duty* to undertake it. "Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish," we had no alternative. It was a case of life and death to the nation, and we must struggle until the power to do so no longer remained. Could we have met the judgment of the world, could we have met the judgment of posterity, could we have met the judgment of Almighty God, if we had suffered this great nation, this most benign government, freighted with the interests of millions and with the hopes of the Church, under God, as well as of the world, to be torn to pieces and its fragments scattered on the sea of anarchy, without a struggle? Peace is a blessing earnestly to be coveted. War is a fearful evil. But who supposes we could have had peace, had this foul conspiracy been suffered to triumph? What sort of peace could have been expected, when the Union was broken up and a new empire, under the name of a Republic, built up at our side on the sole basis of cotton and slavery? Mr. Stephens, the Vice-President of the so-called Confederacy, is not ordinarily an extravagant talker, yet he tells us, in vaunting terms, that the ideas

held by the fathers of the Republic on the subject of freedom and equality are wrong. "Our new government," he says, "is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas, its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that *the negro is not equal to the white man*, that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition. Thus our new government is the first in the world based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth." Who supposes we could have remained at peace with a nation based on such ideas close on our border, and no natural barrier between us? Suppose we had retained all the Northern States, what hope of concord could there be between nations based on principles so diametrically opposite? What hope from a Confederacy, starting, as this did, with the unscrupulous renunciation of the most solemn oaths and obligations? No, much as we love and long for peace, indeed just in proportion as we love and long for it, we believe the utter crushing of this fearful rebellion is the only hope of its permanent maintenance.

But if we did not count the cost at the beginning, we have, we believe, counted it since. This war will cause us an immense expenditure of blood and treasure. It may be a long and wearing, wasting process. But we can carry it through. The mischief is not, after all, so formidable as it seemed at first. If this rebellion were, in the proper sense of the word, an uprising of the people, we might despair of subjugating them. But it embraces only a faction of the Southern people, and has, to our eye, all the aspect of a foul CONSPIRACY. We protest against regarding the contest as a sectional one between the North and the South. In the name of Kentucky and Maryland, Delaware and Missouri, and of loyal multitudes in other Southern states, we protest against it. And though in several of the States vast numbers of the people have no doubt been made to feel that they are fighting for their homes, their liberties, and the safety and honor of their wives and daughters, we know they have been grossly deceived, and believe that under a change of circumstances they will see that they been so, and take a different position. Already, we see more than gleams of encouragement in that direction. Western Virginia is heartily and bravely with us. Eastern Tennessee is only

waiting for support to free herself from the toils that have been thrown around her. The whole mountain region, the home of those bold hardy mountaineers, on whose support the author of the *Partisan Leader* confidently relied, is on the side of the Union. North Carolina begins to give tokens of a loyal movement. And all over the South there is, or was, a loyal element which, if now dead and twice dead, may have a resurrection. It only wants firmness, perseverance, unanimity, and singleness of purpose on our part, and, with a reasonable share of energy and statesmanlike wisdom, we believe this great Union may once more stand before the world in its integrity, and the beautiful "Stars and Stripes," dear to us now as they never were before, wave their cheering folds over every mountain and valley of our extended territory. We have suffered some defeats thus far, but we needed them and they will do the nation good. We shall have more, if divine wisdom sees them requisite, either to abate our hurtful pride, or drive a deeper furrow in the fallow ground, to be broken up. But we shall triumph at last, if we trust in God and persevere regardless of self-sacrifice.

As to the question, What is to become of slavery? we are not careful to answer or inquire. The flagrant crime of rebellion against the best of governments has been committed on the part of the Southern faction, avowedly in its interest. The war, on the part of the nation, has been undertaken solely for the support of the Government; in other words, of "The Constitution, the Union, and the enforcement of the laws." If slavery falls in this contest, it will be its own fault. But God's good providence will decide.

We hear that Christians of the South are praying over the subject, and with professions of devout confidence, laying their cause before God. At this we rejoice. Their own judgment we may think most erroneous. But in God's judgment we have the utmost confidence. In laying the case before Him they help not the cause of rebellion, but the cause which is their *own true interest*, though they think it not, that of rightful government. To him the appeal must be made. Let us do our duty, cost what it may, and let the righteous God do what seemeth him good.

ART. V.—CALVINISM OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.*

IT is very certain that, during the whole of the long reign of Elizabeth, in many respects the most important and interesting period in the history of the Church of England, the great body of her divines, and of her ecclesiastical authorities, including every name of eminence to be found in her communion, were Calvinists. It is equally certain that, for the last two centuries, a decided majority of her clergy have been anti-Calvinists, while there has always been a respectable minority who adhered to the theology of Augustine and the Reformers. As the articles have continued unchanged for 300 years, while the theological views that prevailed in the church have varied so much, this has led at different times to a great deal of discussion as to what the articles really mean, or were intended to mean, and as to what subscription to them may be fairly held to imply. Calvinists generally have contended that the natural, obvious sense of the articles is Calvinism, moderate Calvinism indeed, cautiously and temperately expressed, that the great body of those who prepared the articles in Edward's time, as well as of those who adopted and established them in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, with very little change, and exactly as they now stand, were Calvinists, and that on all these grounds, Calvinists need have no hesitation in subscribing them. The more timid and charitable Calvinists have been disposed to admit, that there is an opening left for men subscribing the articles who had not embraced the peculiarities of Calvinism, while many of them profess their inability to conceive how this can be done, without putting the articles to

* The following article is taken, with some omissions, from the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*. The article is there entitled, "Melancthon and the Theology of the Church of England." We give that portion of it which relates to the literature of the controversy.

a degree of straining and torture that is unwarrantable and dangerous. The Arminians of course labor to show, that there is nothing in the articles to preclude them from subscribing them; and the more intelligent, conscientious, and modest among them, scarcely venture to take higher ground than this, not presuming to deny the perfect warrantableness of Calvinists entering the ministry of the Church of England, and undertaking all the obligations which this implies. Some of the more reckless among them, as for instance Bishop Tomline, alias Prettyman, Archdeacon Daubeny, and Archbishop Laurence, have ventured to assert that the articles explicitly contradict the Calvinistic doctrine, and of course should shut out all who adhere to it. But the more respectable Arminians have generally leant rather to the side of merely asking admission for themselves without pretending to exclude their opponents. Bishop Burnet was preëminently qualified to judge on such a question, both in its historical and theological aspects, and he, though himself a decided Arminian, has candidly admitted, that "the article seems to be framed according to St. Austin's doctrines;" that "it is very probable that those who penned it meant that the decree was absolute;" and that "the Calvinists have less occasion for scruple (in subscribing it than the Arminians) since the article does seem more plainly to favor them." (Exposition of Articles, art. 17, p. 165.)

Before proceeding to make some observations upon the subject of the theology of the Church of England, it may be proper to give some notices of the literature of the question, or of the leading features in the history of the very interesting controversial discussions which have been carried on regarding it.

That during the whole reign of Elizabeth, and the greater part of that of James, Calvinism prevailed almost universally among the men of ability and learning, of station and influence, in the Church of England, and was then generally regarded as being most fully accordant with its authorized symbols, has been incontrovertibly established, by evidence multifarious in kind and superabundant in degree. This is proved by the whole history of the proceedings connected with the Lambeth articles and the cases of Baro and Barret in 1595, the Irish

articles in 1615, and the Synod of Dort in 1618–19. The discussion of this topic as a subject of public controversy, seems to have commenced with the proceedings in the case of Dr. Richard Mountague, one of the leading agents of Archbishop Laud, in introducing Tractarianism and Arminianism. His work entitled *Appello-Cæsarem* was published in 1625. It was intended to defend himself against the charge, founded upon a previous work, of leaning towards Arminianism and Popery; and it attempted to show that the Arminian and semi-Popish views objected to, were not contradicted by any thing in the authorized formularies of the Church. The House of Commons, which at that time was very theological and very sound in its theology, passed a vote condemning his Appeal, as tending to bring in Popery and Arminianism, in opposition to the religion by law established. But what was of more importance, so far as the interests of truth are concerned, the work was formally and elaborately answered by Dr. George Carleton, then Bishop of Chichester, who had been a few years before the head of the English delegates sent to the Synod of Dort, and had proved himself fully worthy of so honorable a position. Dr. Carleton's work was published in 1626, and is entitled, *Examination of those things wherein the author of the late Appeal taketh the doctrines of the Pelagians and Arminians to be the doctrines of the Church of England.* The work is one of much interest and value, both from its author and the position it occupies in the controversy. It is remarkable, among other things, for the distinct assertion, that there had been, up till that time, no real difference in doctrinal matters between the Conformists and the Puritans. Carleton died in 1628, and through Laud's influence Mountague was appointed to succeed him in the see of Chichester.

Arminianism continued to advance, and, in 1630, Prynne, the famous lawyer, published his "Anti-Arminianism, or the Church of England's old antithesis to new Arminianism." This is a vast collection of documentary evidence to prove, that from the earliest times, and especially since the commencement of the Reformation in the time of Henry VIII., the Church of England had been decidedly opposed to Armi-

nian views, and had professed the great principles of Augustinian or Calvinistic doctrine. This work gave mortal offence to Laud and his faction, who were now all-powerful, and was understood to be the principal cause of the barbarous punishment which was soon after inflicted upon Prynne, though his Histriomastix was made the pretence for it. It is a remarkable instance of judicial providential retribution, that Prynne became ultimately the chief instrument of accomplishing "Canterbury's Doom," as he called one of his books against him, and bringing him to the scaffold. Prynne was a man of great research and industry, as well as thorough integrity. But he had not a well-balanced or discriminating mind. He had a much greater power of swallowing than of digesting. He was in the habit rather of numbering than weighing his proofs and testimonies. His "Anti-Arminianism," therefore, like his other works, contains a prodigious storehouse of materials, in the way of quotations and references, much more than sufficient in the gross to establish his leading position, but requiring some caution and sifting in the particular application of them. He declares that up till the time when he wrote he could mention only five men who had come forward publicly to defend Arminianism. These were Barret and Baro, whose cases were mixed up with the history of the Lambeth articles, and the proceedings against whom sufficiently proved that, in the last decade of the 16th century, the whole learning and influence of the Church of England were Calvinistic; Thompson, who, he says (p. 268), was "a dissolute, ebrious, profane, luxurious English-Dutchman," and who, in 1614, published a treatise against the perseverance of the saints, which was answered by Dr. Robert Abbot, Bishop of Salisbury; Mountague, already mentioned, successively Bishop of Chichester and Norwich, and Dr. Thomas Jackson, a man of a much higher class than any of them. Prynne's testimonies certainly require to be winnowed, but we have no doubt that he has produced and indicated materials, which, taken *in cumulo*, are amply sufficient to prove ten times over, that during the whole century intervening between the time when he wrote and the first dawning of the Reformation under Henry VIII., the prevail-

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boldness, and the work is in many r
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positions. Heylin had very much th
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did not hesitate to describe him as "
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Church came in question;" and that
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Coplestone, adds: "A modern write
as an authority, deserved to fall into
(Life of Melville, p. 333).

This work of Heylin was answered by Henry Hickman, one of the ministers ejected by the Bartholomew Act of 1662, and a man of very superior learning and ability. His reply was published in 1673, and entitled, "Historia Quinqu-Articularis Exarticulata, or Animadversiones on Dr. Heylin's Quinquarticular History." This work of Hickman's is a very masterly and effective exposure of Heylin's blundering and incompetency, especially in the more theological departments of the argument, and it contains within a short compass a large amount of accurate and important information, embodied in a very terse and vigorous, though unpolished, style. It ought to have deprived Heylin of all respect and influence, and must have done so if it had been read. But it does not seem to have ever attained any considerable circulation, and, in consequence, the great body of the English clergy continued, like Coplestone, to believe Heylin, and to "trust in him as an authority."

The next occasion on which the question of the Calvinism of the English articles was discussed, was when it was brought, somewhat incidentally, into the Arian controversy. In 1721, Dr. Waterland published a work entitled, "The Case of Arian Subscription Considered," in answer to the attempt which had been made by Dr. Samuel Clarke to show, that those who, like himself, denied the true and proper divinity of the Son, could honestly assent to the formularies of the Church. Dr. Sykes, who was one of Clarke's leading supporters, and who showed himself ever ready and willing to defend any bad cause that needed support, published a reply to this, called, "The Case of Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles considered." In this pamphlet he laid down the position, that the articles are, and were intended by their compilers to be, Calvinistic, and that Dr. Clarke and his friends could as clearly prove, that Arians could honestly subscribe them, as Dr. Waterland and his friends could prove, that Arminians could do so. This was rather galling as an *argumentum ad hominem*, and Waterland published a "Supplement to the Case of Arian Subscription," in which he attempted to answer this and the other arguments of Sykes, while Sykes rejoined in a Reply to the Supplement.

Waterland certainly has not made much of the point raised by Sykes about the Calvinism of the articles; he has done little more than give a brief summary of the materials collected by Heylin, and this was rather low work for a man of Waterland's high and well-merited reputation. Sykes, who was no more a Calvinist than a Trinitarian, has certainly not proved that an Arian subscriber can make out as plausible a case as an Arminian one; but he has proved — and in this he has defeated his antagonist, that the fathers and founders of the Church of England were Calvinists, and intended the articles to be taken in a Calvinistic sense. Waterland, indeed, in discussing this point, gives plain indications of not knowing well what to say, or where to plant his foot. He sets out with boldly averring: "For my own part I think it has been abundantly proved that our articles, liturgy, etc., are not Calvinistical." But after giving a summary of this *abundant* proof, and having had to face the 17th article, he winds up with this very lame and impotent conclusion—"the presumption rather lies against Calvinism"—"I am rather of opinion that the article leans to the anti-Calvinian persuasion." (Works by Bishop Van Mildert, vol. ii. pp. 341, 352–3.)

This is not very encouraging, but most who have since discussed this subject on the same side, have referred to and commended Waterland's pamphlet, apparently for the purpose of giving their cause the prestige of his well-earned reputation for great ability and learning, and for invaluable services to truth in defending the proper and supreme divinity of our Saviour.

About fifty years after this, a variety of causes led to the renewal of discussions concerning the meaning and object of the English articles, such as, the publication of Blackburne's Confessional, advocating very loose and unsound views on the general subject of creeds and confessions, but at the same time maintaining that Sykes had conclusively established against Waterland the Calvinism of the articles, the application to Parliament in 1772, by many clergymen to be released from the obligations of subscription, and the expulsion of the "Methodist" students from Oxford. Sir Richard Hill, brother of Rowland, defended the expelled students by showing that

their opinions on doctrinal subjects were the same as those of the founders of the Church of England, in a pamphlet entitled, "Pietas Oxoniensis;" and when Dr. Nowell published a reply to this, it called forth, in 1769, from Toplady, then a young man, but of very fine talents and of great promise, a crushing answer, entitled, "The Church of England vindicated from the charge of Arminianism, and the case of Arminian Subscription particularly considered." This he afterwards expanded into a regular treatise, which he published in 1774, in two volumes, entitled, "Historic Proof of the Doctrinal Calvinism of the Church of England." This work is highly creditable to his talents and learning, and is, perhaps, upon the whole, the most complete and satisfactory book we have, devoted to this subject. He is perfectly conclusive in discussing all the main topics that bear upon the settlement of the question, but he gets rather beyond his depth in dealing with what he calls the Arminianism of the Church of Rome, a subject with which he was evidently acquainted very imperfectly.

The only work of that period on the other side, which has attained to any standing, or is now known, is Dr. Winchester's "Dissertation on the 17th Article," published in 1773, a temperate and sensible work, though not displaying much either of strength or ingenuity in managing the cause. It was republished in 1803, both separately and in the *Churchman's Remembrancer.*

We have already had occasion to refer to the revival of the discussion about the historic Calvinism of the Church of England, in the end of the last century and the beginning of the present, in consequence of the great advance which then took place in Christian piety and orthodoxy. In reply to the numerous and virulent attacks then made on the evangelical clergy, Mr. Overton published, in 1801, a volume entitled, "The True Churchmen Ascertained, or an Apology for those of the regular clergy of the Establishment who are sometimes called Evangelical Ministers." This is an able and elaborate work, and certainly establishes satisfactorily that those of the evangelical Clergy who were moderate Calvinists held the same doctrinal views as the fathers and founders of the Church of

England. In 1803, Archdeacon Daubeny, some of whose statements in his previous publications had been refuted by Overton, produced a bulky reply to the "True Churchmen," in an octavo volume of nearly 500 pages, to which he gave a title, framed after a model which was common enough among the older controversialists, but which modern civilization has exploded. It was called "Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, in which some of the false reasonings, incorrect statements, and palpable misrepresentations, in a publication entitled, etc., are pointed out." Overton's "True Churchmen" is singularly free from "false reasonings, incorrect statements, and palpable misrepresentations," while Daubeny's Vindiciæ superabounds in these beauties, as was conclusively proved in two works published in 1805, the one entitled, "Candid Examination of Daubeny's Vindiciæ," republished from the *Christian Observer*, and the other by Mr. Overton, entitled, "Four Letters to the Editor of the *Christian Observer*."

In 1802, a pamphlet was published, chiefly occasioned by Overton's work, entitled, "The Articles of the Church of England proved not to be Calvinistic," by Dr. Kipling, Dean of Peterborough, and Deputy Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. This production has been very highly commended, but it is, we think, a singularly poor affair, in its general tone and spirit pretentious and insolent, and in its argument and knowledge of the subject "contemptible." Its leading feature is the adduction of statements and quotations, as anti-Calvinistic, which no intelligent Calvinist would hesitate to adopt. As this is really a prominent characteristic of most of the works on the same side, it may be proper to signalise it by quoting Overton's description of it as exhibited by Kipling, and in contrast with the applause with which his work was received.

"No reasoning can be more futile than that of Dr. Kipling upon this subject. It is capable of the fullest demonstration, that, by the same process, the learned Dean might prove the complete anti-Calvinism of Calvin himself. It is a fact, which nothing but the most perfect disingenuity or ignorance of the subject can controvert, that nine tenths at least of the arguments extracted from our Articles and Liturgy, by which the Dean endeavors to prove the

utter repugnancy of these forms to the theology of Calvin, may also be extracted from Calvin's own writings. Yet this reasoning of Dr. Kipling is continually represented as '*demonstrative and incontrovertible;*' as possessing '*uncommon merit;*' as '*invincible,*' and not less clear than '*mathematical demonstration itself;*' as having '*proved to demonstration*' the point he had to establish; as '*decisive*' on the question, and such as ought to '*set it at rest for ever.*' These verdicts, too, the reader will perceive, are pronounced by the professed guardians of truth and religion, by writers who highly extol each other as learned divines!!" (Four Letters. Let. ii. p. 29.)

All the expressions here quoted were actually applied to Dr. Kipling's paltry production by the reviewers and pamphleteers of the period.

The Bampton Lecture for 1804 was preached by Dr. Richard Laurence, then Regius Professor of Hebrew in Oxford, and afterwards Archbishop of Cashel, and it is entitled, "An Attempt to illustrate those Articles of the Church of England which the Calvinists improperly consider as Calvinistic." Dr. Laurence was a man of superior learning and ability; he has made some valuable contributions to our theological literature; his Bampton Lecture contains a great deal of interesting and valuable matter; it has been republished repeatedly, the fourth and last edition having come out in 1853, and it is now justly regarded as the standard work on the Arminian side. On these grounds it will be needful for us to notice it more fully. At present we merely mention it in its chronological order.

The controversy was renewed by the publication, in 1811, of Bishop Tomline's well-known work, "The Refutation of Calvinism." He had given in a previous work, "Elements of Christian Theology," the common Arminian interpretation of the articles; and in the Refutation he gives fully the argument against Calvinism, not only from Scripture and the Fathers, but also from the history and formularies of the Church of England. This work was at one time prodigiously commended. Indeed, we have a recollection of having once looked into a book by an Episcopalian clergyman, in which it was glorified as one among the four or five greatest works (Butler's Analogy being mentioned as one) the Church of England has produced. Such

folly could last only while Tomline lived and had benefices to bestow. The book has long since found its level, and is now regarded as a very mediocre production, displaying considerable diligence in the collection of materials, but an utter want either of ability or of fairness in the application of them. Scott's Remarks upon it are a full and conclusive, though, from the plan pursued of following his opponent step by step, a somewhat tedious exposure of the Refutation; and they establish the great superiority, in all respects, of the rector over his bishop, of the inmate of the humble parsonage of Aston Sandford over the occupant of the venerable palace of Buckden.

The "Inquiry into the Doctrines of the Reformation, and of the United Church of England and Ireland, respecting the Ruin and Recovery of Mankind," published in 1814, by the Rev. W. B. Mathias of Dublin, is a valuable compilation, consisting almost wholly of extracts, and turning to good account, so far as the "United Church" is concerned, the writings of its fathers and founders, which had been made accessible by Legh Richmond's work formerly referred to.

This brings us down to the present day, when the discussion about the theological views of the founders and the formularies of the Church of England has been renewed, and in a somewhat different aspect, in connection with the controversy about baptismal regeneration. Dr. Goode, now Dean of Ripon, to whose great learning and ability as an opponent of Tractarianism, and a defender of evangelical truth, we have repeatedly borne a cordial testimony, published in 1849, a most valuable and important work on this subject, entitled, "The Doctrine of the Church of England as to the effects of Baptism in the case of Infants," the great general object of which was to show, that those who rejected the Tractarian doctrine of baptismal regeneration, might conscientiously undertake all the obligations connected with the ministry of the Church, including, of course, the use of the baptismal service. One leading argument which he employs, in order to establish this general position, is in substance this: no one who embraces the Calvinistic system of theology can consistently believe the high church doctrine of baptismal regeneration; the great body of the fathers and found-

ers of the Church of England, the men who prepared her formularies, her articles and liturgy, in the reign of Edward, and established them, with scarcely any change and almost precisely as we now have them, in the reign of Elizabeth, were Calvinists; and, consequently, there can be no inconsistency between a reception of these formularies and a rejection of the Tractarian doctrine of baptismal regeneration.

The different positions which go to make up this argument, Dr. Goode has discussed with great talent and erudition. We are not called upon to express an opinion upon the question, whether he has fully established his general conclusion. We have not, indeed, examined the whole matter with sufficient care, to entitle us to pronounce a judgment upon the main question involved. But we have no doubt that he has conclusively established the position, that the great body of the leading English divines, both during the short reign of Edward and the long reign of Elizabeth, were Calvinists, and, of course, would not admit any thing into the public formularies of the church which was inconsistent with Calvinism. To the proof of that position, he has devoted the third chapter of his work, consisting of above one hundred pages, "on the school of theology to which our reformers and early divines belonged." He has not contented himself, as most controversialists on such questions do, with merely borrowing the materials provided by his predecessors, but has subjected the whole of the old materials to a fresh and independent examination, and has also turned to good account some very important new materials, furnished by the Zurich Letters, now, for the first time, published by the Parker Society. He has not spent much time in refuting the attempts of the Arminians to establish their position. He is occupied mainly with adducing the direct positive evidence on the other side; and that evidence is such as to be plainly and palpably unanswerable. With all competent and fair-minded men, it must now be held to be settled, that the reformers and the early divines of the Church of England belonged to the Calvinistic school of theology. It follows from this that there can be nothing in her formularies which does not admit, at least, of a Calvinistic interpretation, while it may still be a ques-

tion, to what extent they have introduced their Calvinism into the formularies, and thus, in a sense, imposed it upon the Church.

Archdeacon Wilberforce, who had not then joined the Church of Rome, published an answer to Dr. Goode's book, under the title of "The Doctrine of Holy Baptism," displaying, as all his works do, very considerable learning and ingenuity. He does not give much prominence to the consideration of the question, whether the founders of the Church of England were Calvinists or not. He, in a great measure, evades this question, and considers it his best policy to rest directly and immediately upon the position, that the formularies, as they stand, do clearly and certainly teach baptismal regeneration — teach it so clearly and certainly, that no indirect or collateral evidence can affect the proof of this doctrine being taught in them. He asserts, indeed, that the formularies of the Church of England were not drawn up by Calvinists; but for the proof of this, so far as the articles are concerned, he just refers to Laurence's Bampton Lectures; and in regard to the mass of conclusive evidence adduced by Dr. Goode on the other side, he can scarcely be said even to look at it. He protests "against the injustice with which Mr. Goode treats Archbishop Laurence" (p. 235), and opposes to his "hostile judgment" a high eulogium pronounced upon the Bampton Lectures by Dr. Stanley Faber, in his work on "Primitive Election." Our readers have had laid before them materials for judging whether, in this work, Mr. Faber has shown such a discriminating judgment, or such a full and comprehensive knowledge of the bearings and relations of the subject of which he treats, as to entitle his opinion, upon any topic involved in the discussion, to much respect. But still Laurence was a man of very superior learning and ability. His Bampton Lecture is the most learned and elaborate attempt that has ever been made to show that the articles of the Church of England are not Calvinistic, and it seems to be now generally regarded by the Arminians as their standard defence. In addition to the commendations of it by Faber and Wilberforce, it is represented as satisfactory and conclusive, along with Winchester's Dissertation on the 17th article, by one quite entitled to be ranked with

these men, the late Archdeacon Hardwicke, whose striking and premature death, a year or two ago, among the Pyrenees, was universally regarded as a great loss to our theological literature. (History of the Articles, p. 372.) On these accounts it will be proper to give a somewhat fuller notice of Laurence's work; and this will lead us into the merits of the subject which we proposed to consider.

The injustice with which Wilberforce alleges that Goode treated Laurence, is brought out in the following passage:

"I cannot but enter my humble protest against the remarkable partiality and superficial character of the work above referred to (Archbishop Laurence's Bampton Lectures), and, consequently, the erroneous nature of the view it gives of the subject of which it treats; and I trust that the few facts I am about to mention will be sufficient to put the reader on his guard against its statements." (Effects of Baptism, p. 55, 2d edit.)

We have room for only one specimen of the facts by which Goode has established the truth of this charge:

"And here, again, I must notice the remarkable partiality displayed by Archbishop Laurence in his Bampton Lectures. From a perusal of these Lectures, one might suppose that Melancthon was the only one of the foreign Reformers invited to this country by Cranmer, and the invitations addressed to *him* are very carefully recorded; while the fact is that, with this single exception, almost all, if not all, who were invited to this country by Cranmer, to aid him in the work of Reformation, were of the Reformed Churches, and therefore of Zwinglian or Calvinistic views." (P. 65.)

In addition to the facts adduced by Goode, we may mention some specimens of Laurence's mode of discussing this subject, which will convince most men that, to whatever cause it is to be ascribed, he was incapable of exercising common sense, or of manifesting ordinary fairness, when he had Calvin or Calvinism to deal with.

He thus announces his general opinion of Calvin, which will probably be received by most people as a novelty: "No man, perhaps, was ever less scrupulous in the adoption of general expressions, but perhaps no man ever adopted them with more mental reservations, than Calvin" (Sermon viii, note 4, p. 375). The man who could believe and assert this would assuredly scruple at nothing: "'Horribile quidem decretum

fateor!' were the precise expressions which he used when shud dering at his own favorite idea of irrespective reprobation (Ser. ii, p. 45). The quoting Calvin's words in order t convey to English readers the idea that he confessed that hi doctrine concerning the divine decree was *horrible* — when it notorious and unquestionable that he only intended to repr sent it as awful, fitted to call forth deep emotions of awe an solemnity, as an inscrutable and alarming mystery, just as h speaks of the "horribilis Dei majestas" (Inst. lib. iii, c. 20, s. 17 is merely an instance of the universal unfairness exhibited by th Anglican Arminians. There is not a man among them, from th highest to the lowest, who has been able to deny himself th pleasure and the triumph of quoting Calvin's alleged confes sion about the "horrible decree." Thus far Laurence stand on the same level with a crowd of associates — *defendit numerus;* but in the way in which he has brought out this point there is a special depth of baseness which has not often been equalled. His use of the word "shuddering," involves all th moral guilt of a lie; the use of the word "favorite," involve another lie; and the whole statement is a lie, for "irrespectiv reprobation" (an expression which of itself conveys a misrep resentation) is not the subject of which Calvin is speaking He is treating only of the implication of the human race i the penal consequences of Adam's first sin, and of the purpos and agency of God in relation to the fall and its results. It i surely time that anti-Calvinists, who profess any regard fo truth or decency, should drop this topic of the "horrible de cree," after having made it do duty for a couple of centuries.

In his destitution of solid proof to show that the compilers o the English articles did not embrace the theological views o Calvin, he has recourse to the following curious piece of evi dence: "If Calvin's system had been adopted by our Reform ers, *never surely* would they have inserted among our article that of Christ's descent into hell, which seems to have bee directly levelled against one of his peculiar opinions, and on which he thought important" (p. 245). What connection ther can be between the grounds for believing either that the Eng lish Reformers had, or that they had not, adopted Calvin's sys

tem of theology, and the mode in which they dealt with a topic so irrelevant and so unimportant, comparatively, as Christ's alleged descent into hell, it would puzzle most men of common sense to discover. But, besides, the statement of Laurence about the descent into hell, in its relation to Calvin's opinions, is quite inconsistent with the notorious facts of the case. The English article (the 3d) is simply an adoption of the article in what is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, which is just the creed of the Roman Church. This topic of the descent into hell did not find its way into the Roman creed till the fifth century, and it certainly ought never to have been introduced into any creed or confession. What tempted the compilers of the English articles to devote one of them to this topic, it is not easy to understand, even though there were some at the time who denied it. But Laurence's notion, that it is "directly levelled against one of Calvin's peculiar opinions," is simply preposterous. It is perfectly notorious that Calvin rejoiced and exulted in the article in the creed about the descent into hell, as explicitly sanctioning "one of his peculiar opinions;" and he even seems to have so far yielded to a common infirmity of human nature as to have been disposed, because of its containing this article, to think more favorably of the claim put forth by the Church of Rome on its behalf to an apostolic origin. (Inst. lib. ii, c. xvi, s. 8 and 18.)

Laurence takes great pains to make out, as affording a presumption against the English articles being Calvinistic, that in 1553, when they were first established, Calvin was not much known in England, that his peculiar theological system had not then attracted much notice, and was not generally received even in the continental Reformed Churches; and Faber has servilely followed him in this course of argument. (Laurence, pp. 44, 144, 236; Faber on Primitive Election, p. 356.) The alleged facts are greatly overstated; and though they were all true, they would not furnish even a presumption in favor of the conclusion deduced from them. Calvin had fully set forth his system of theology in the first edition of his Institutes in 1536; and from the time of his return to Geneva in 1541, he occupied a position of prominence and influence in the Protes-

tant world, certainly inferior to no one, instructing the churches every where by his writings, and guiding them by his counsels. Cranmer had repeatedly sought his advice, and urged him to correspond with King Edward In the beginning of 1552, before proceeding to draw up articles for the Church of England, Cranmer's mind was much set upon the preparation of a general confession of faith for the Protestant Churches, and with this view he invited to England, Calvin, Bullinger, and Melancthon. Calvin's great work, the Consensus Genevensis, or Treatise de Æterna Dei Predestinatione, was published in 1551, or very early in 1552, and we have direct and explicit evidence that it did exert an influence on the deliberations and consultations which were going on in England in the course of that year, in connection with the prepartion of the articles. It is but fair to mention, that this evidence was unknown to Laurence, having been published for the first time by the Parker Society, in 1846, in the third series of the Zurich Letters; but it affords a good illustration of the truth, that a just cause is always advanced by the progress of research and discovery. It is found in a letter of Traheron, Dean of Chichester, and Librarian to King Edward, written to Bullinger in September, 1552, while the articles were under consideration, and undergoing the revision of various parties, civil and ecclesiastical, but not yet published:

"THE GREATER NUMBER AMONG US, *of whom I own myself to be one, embrace the opinion of John Calvin*, as being perspicuous and most agreeable to Holy Scripture. And we truly thank God, that that excellent treatise of the very learned and excellent John Calvin, against Pighius and one Georgius Siculus, should have come forth at the very time when the question *began* to be agitated among us; for we confess that he has thrown much light upon the subject, or rather so handled it, as that we have never before seen any thing more learned or more plain." (Zurich Letters, 3d series, p. 325.)*

* Since writing this, we happened to notice that this, and some other extracts from Traheron's letters to Bullinger had been published by Hottinger, from the originals in Zurich, in his Hist. Eccles. tom. viii, p. 721–4; but they were certainly very little known in this country till published by the Parker Society. The apology for Laurence was suggested to us by a statement to the same effect, made by Wilberforce, in attempting to defend him against Goode, p. 237.

But, in truth, this discussion about Calvin is, to a considerable extent, irrelevant; at least the proof of the Calvinism of the English Reformers and their formularies is not dependent upon the settlement of this point, and, indeed, cannot be materially affected by it. No one ascribes the Calvinism of the English Reformers to the personal influence of Calvin and his writings. It is to be traced chiefly to the study of the Word of God and of the writings of Augustine. To the study of the writings of Augustine, is to be traced instrumentally a large proportion of the piety and orthodoxy that adorned the Church for above one thousand years before the Reformation. The great body of the Reformers on the continent embraced Calvinism, even those who published their views before Calvin's name was known, and almost all of them ascribed much influence to Augustine's works in the formation of their opinions. This holds true also of the earliest English Reformers. Tyndale, Frith, and Barnes, who suffered martyrdom in the time of Henry VIII., were evidently familiar with the writings of Augustine, and from the study of his works and of the word of God, they had become Calvinists. Calvinism, indeed, was not a new or unknown thing in England even before the Reformation. The three greatest men the Church of that country had produced were Anselm and Bradwardine, both Archbishops of Canterbury, and Wycliffe, professor of theology at Oxford; and these men were all Calvinists—Anselm, indeed, in a less developed form, but Bradwardine and Wycliffe most fully and explicitly. These things are all well known, and in this state of matters it is mere unworthy trifling to seek, as Laurence does, to find even a presumption bearing upon the subject of the Calvinism of the English Reformers, in a minute investigation of the question how far Calvin and his writings were known to them or consulted by them in the year 1552.

We have said enough, we think, to show that, on this question, at least, Archbishop Laurence is entitled to no respect or deference whatever; and that in point of accuracy of statement and solidity of argument, he has sunk to the level of the gene-

rality of those who, from Heylin downwards, have undertaken the defence of the same cause.

But it is quite possible, notwithstanding all we have seen, that the book may contain sufficient materials to prove that the articles are not Calvinistic. The leading feature of the book, determining, however, rather the form into which the materials are thrown than the substance of the materials themselves, is, that it professes to bring out fully and precisely the doctrines that generally prevailed in the Church of Rome before the Reformation, and since the doctrines of the articles were very much directed against the errors that prevailed, to employ a knowledge of the errors for ascertaining the precise import of the correctives applied. This process is in its general character fair and reasonable, but it requires a more thorough knowledge of the whole subject, and a larger amount both of ability and candor, than Laurence possessed, to turn it to good account, and to bring out of its application results that can be relied upon. The way in which he applies his general principle is to this effect. He brings out fully the thoroughly unsound and Pelagian character of the views which generally prevailed in the Church, and especially among the schoolmen, the leading divines of the period, on the subjects of original sin, free-will, merit, justification, and predestination. He then assumes, that from the extreme unsoundness of the Popish doctrine, no very large amount of soundness, nothing of an Augustinian or Calvinistic character in the Protestant corrections of it, need be supposed to be necessary or even probable, that there might probably be a full and ample repudiation of the Popish error without any leaning towards the other extreme. The practical application he makes of this notion, is to establish it as a sort of general rule, that there is a presumption in favor of the lowest and most moderate interpretation of the doctrinal statements of the Reformers, provided they are still held so sound and evangelical as to convey a condemnation of the grossly Pelagian views which generally prevailed before the Reformation. But there is really no weight in all this. The general position, that a knowledge of the precise opinions which

prevailed before the Reformation may be usefully applied in ascertaining the exact import and bearing of the statements adopted by the Reformers upon the same points, is certainly well founded. But there is no ground for the notion which constitutes Laurence's peculiar principle, namely, that there is a general presumption in favor of the Protestant deviation from ante-Reformation Pelagianism being the smallest which the words used will admit of. We know of no ground for any such presumption, and we cannot admit it. Our conviction is that the great glory of the Reformation, in a doctrinal point of view, is that the Reformers, and especially Calvin, saw and proclaimed that it was necessary, as the only thorough and permanent counteractive to the gross Pelagianism of the Church of Rome and to all the practices based upon it, to go back, decidedly and avowedly, even above and beyond the Calvinism of Augustine to the Calvinism of the New Testament. This certainly was the ground taken by the great body of the continental Reformers, though Melancthon, whose weaknesses and infirmities were so great and palpable, partially abandoned it. And if it is alleged that the Reformers of England took lower and narrower ground than this, and contented themselves with merely condemning and lopping off some of the grosser and more offensive developments of the prevailing Pelagianism, this must be established, not by vague and baseless presumptions, but by direct and positive proof, by a deliberate and detailed examination of the actual doctrines they have propounded on every topic of importance. Laurence has no difficulty in showing that the doctrines which generally prevailed before the Reformation on the subjects of original sin, free-will, justification, and merit, were of a thoroughly Pelagian complexion, and, of course, might have been contradicted and excluded by statements, upon the part of the Reformers, which did not go beyond the standard of what might now be called Arminianism. But this is of no real value in proving that they stopped there, and did not go on to bring out, as the only complete and effectual antidote to the Pelagianism of the schoolmen, at least the whole Calvinism of Augustine.

Theological and Literary Intelligence.

The Oxford Essays and Reviews.—The following report was presented to the Convocation of Canterbury (Lower House) by Archdeacon Denison:

"We have carefully examined the book, and we consider the following to be its leading principles:

"(1.) That the present advanced knowledge possessed by the world in its 'manhood' is the standard whereby the educated intellect of the individual man, guided and governed by conscience, is to measure and determine the truth of the Bible.

"(2.) That, where the Bible is assumed to be at variance with the conclusions of such educated intellect, the Bible must be taken in such cases to have no divine authority, but to be only a 'human utterance.'

"(3.) That the principles of interpretation of the Bible hitherto universally received in the Christian Church are untenable; and that new principles of interpretation must now be substituted if the credit and authority of the Holy Scriptures are to be maintained.

"We find that—

"I. In many parts of the volume, statements and doctrines of the Holy Scriptures are denied, called in question, or disparaged; for example—

"(*a.*) The reality of Miracles; including the idea of 'creation' as presented to us in the Bible; (*b.*) Predictive prophecy, especially predictions concerning the Incarnation, Person, and Offices of our Lord; (*c.*) The descent of all mankind from Adam; (*d.*) The Fall of Man and Original Sin; (*e.*) The Divine command to sacrifice Isaac; (*f.*) The Incarnation of our Lord; (*g.*) Salvation through the blood of Christ; (*h.*) The Personality of the Holy Spirit; (*i.*) Special or Supernatural Inspiration; (*k.*) Historical facts of the Old Testament, including some referred to by our blessed Lord himself.

"II. It is urged that many passages of the Holy Scriptures may be understood and explained upon the principle called 'ideology,' by which is meant that the reader is at liberty to accept the idea of characters and facts described in the Holy Scriptures, instead of believing in the reality of those characters and facts.

"III. It is maintained that the creeds of the Church, whether regarded as confessions of faith or as 'instruments for the interpretation of Scripture,' may now be put aside as no longer suitable to the present advanced intellectual condition of the world.

"IV. Liberty is claimed for the clergy and candidates for the holy orders to subscribe articles of religion, and to use formularies in public worship, without believing them according to their plain and natural meaning.

"V. Attempts are made to separate Christian holiness of life from Christian doctrine."

In his subsequent remarks, the Archdeacon said that the Committee had sat twelve days, and the sitting extended over seventy hours, to say nothing of the vast labor given to the examination by sub-committees and by private hands.

Motion for a Synodical Judgment on the Book. At the conclusion of his report, Archdeacon Denison offered the following resolution:

"That in the opinion of this House there are sufficient grounds for proceeding to a Synodical judgment on the book entitled *Essays and Reviews*, and that the above resolution be communicated to the Upper House together with a copy of the report of the Committee.

On Friday, June 21st, the debate on Archdeacon Denison's motion was resumed and continued with great pertinacity and spirit on the part of a very small minority. At last, however, every amendment was voted down, and Archdeacon Denison's resolution passed by a vote of thirty-one to eight, nearly *three to one.*

The House of Bishops, however adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas, since the House formerly considered this question, a suit has been commenced against one of the writers of the said book for his contribution thereto; and whereas his grace the President of this Synod, and other bishops, privy councillors, may in the course of an appeal, be called to decide on the said suit judicially; and whereas, it appears to this house to be inexpedient either to proceed with the consideration of this subject in the absence of the President and such other members of this house, or to embarrass them as to their hereafter sitting as judges in the pending suit by their joining in a Synodical condemnation of the book, it is expedient to adjourn the further consideration of this subject pending the course of such suit."

The suit here referred to is the following:

On Friday, July 26th, in the Court of Arches, before Dr. Lushington, Surrogate, the first formal proceedings in the case of the Bishop of Salisbury *v.* Dr. Williams were taken. The proceedings are taken against Dr. Williams as the writer of the article in *Essays and Reviews*, entitled "Bunsen's Biblical Researches," and it is alleged in the citation with which he has been served, and the articles which will be filed, that he has thrown contempt upon the prophetical books of the Old Testament, and otherwise depraved the Scriptures. It is generally understood that the defence of Dr. Williams will be, that in the article complained of he has merely set forth in detail the leading views of Baron Bunsen, as expressed in his leading theological writings, especially in his *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, and his *Gott in der Geschichte*, and that in his own commentaries upon these he has not laid himself open to any charge which will subject him to ecclesiastical punishment. The cost of this prosecution is estimated at £5000.

Two counter volumes of Essays are to be published. Mr. Murray publishes one. Among the contributors are the Bishop of Cork, Dr. Thomson, the Bishop of Oxford, the Rev. G. Rawlinson, Professors Ellicott and Mansel. Another work on the subject will shortly appear, with a preface by the Bishop of London, and contributions from Rev. Dr. Goulburn, Rev. Dr. Heurtley, Rev. Dr. Irons, Rev. H. J. Rose, and the Rev. Dr. Wordsworth.

GERMANY.

H. Voigt has enlarged his article on Athanasius and the Immanent Trinity, (published in the Jahrb. f. deutsche Theologie, 1858), into a volume on the Doctrine of Athanasius, giving a full account of his dogmatic system in comparison with the heretical tendencies of his times.

The *Studien und Kritiken*, parts 3, 4, contain two admirable articles by *Lübker* on the theological opinions of classical antiquity; Piper on some new monuments and manuscripts; Gerlach on the imprisonment of Manasseh;

Schneckenburger on portions of the Ep. to the Hebrews; Weiss, the origin of the synoptical Gospels; Schultz on Immanuel in Isaiah, vii, 14; Graf on Luke xxiii, 34; Zyro on James iv, 5, 6; and reviews of new works.

The *Zeitschrift f. lutherische Theologie*, Heft 3, has a long article by Köhler in opposition to Millenarianism; an account of the recent revivals in America, Ireland, etc., by Dieckmann; and the usual full bibliography.

The death of Dr. Friedrich Julius Stahl, of Berlin, the eminent jurist, and leader of the High Church Lutherans, is announced. He was born in 1802, of Jewish extraction. His Philosophy of the Law, and works on the Union, have given him a high position.

Friedrich Mone's Systematic Development of the Laws of Society, National Economy, and Culture of the Greek Nation, second edition, pp. 916, Berlin, is an attempt to do for Grecian history what Mommsen has done for Rome—to trace the social and economical laws which shaped that history, to the end of the Achaian League. The political economist, Max Wirth, praises both of these works highly, as opening new points of view in ancient history.

In the *Deutsche Zeitschrift* for April, Dr. Hoffmann, of Berlin, has an able and thoughtful essay on the Return of Science from its Hostility to Revelation, showing that the tendency of investigation in all the higher departments of science and thought is towards a reconciliation with Christianity, and that this is manifest in the practical as well as the metaphysical spheres of inquiry.

We give the following for what it is worth: "A rumor prevails in European literary circles that the manuscript now publishing by the Russian Government, under the direction of M. Tischendorf, purporting to be a MS. Bible of the fourth century, is not an ancient manuscript, but is an entirely modern production, written by a gentleman now alive, who will shortly take measures to establish his claim to the authorship."

Theologische Quartalschrift (Rom. Cath.) Heft 2, 1861, contains Hefele on the Concordat of Sutri and its Rupture by Henry V., in 1111, which is clear and able, like all of Hefele's productions; Gams on the most Ancient Church History of Spain, adopting much legendary matter; besides reviews of late works.

The first article in the third part of Niedner's *Zeitschrift f. d. historische Theologie*, 1861, is one of great interest and research by Heinrich von Stein, Privatdocent in Göttingen, reviewing the whole controversy about the alleged Platonism of the Fathers of the Church, from the publication of Souverain's famous work (Le Platonisme devoilé) to the close of the last century. It does more than any other treatise in the modern histories of theology and philosophy to set forth the origin and history of this view, and the unhistorical assumptions made on both sides. Particular praise is given to Cudworth's treatment of some of the points in his Intellectual System. The only other article of the number is by Johannsen on the Palgrave, John Casimir, and his opposition to the Lutheran Formula Concordiae. The fourth part has a long and curious account, by Herzog, of an old Waldensian translation of the Canticles, and thirty unpublished letters of Luther, Melancthon, and others.

The new part (12th of New Test.) of Lange's excellent Bible-Work, contains Superintendent Moll on the Epistle to the Hebrews. A translation of the whole work has begun to be published in Edinburgh.

The following is the distribution of students in the German universities: Vienna 2,250, Berlin 1,542, Munich 1,280, Leipsic 887, Breslau 850, Bonn 836, Göttingen 751, Halle 720, Tübingen 719, Wurzburg 651, Heidelberg 588, Erlangen 583, Jena 454, Königsberg 419, Giessen 335, Friberg 318, Greifswald 293, Marburg 254, and Kiel 178.

FRANCE.

The *Revue Chrétienne*, edited by de Pressensé, is now in its seventh year, and assumes a higher tone. It contributes to unite the literary energies of Protestants, and commands the respect of others. Among the articles published this year are, de Pressensé on Montalembert's Monasticism; de Guerle on Milton and his Works; two articles by Godet on the Song of Songs—a valuable criticism of Renan's work; de Guerle on Lacordaire; the admirable essay of Rosseeuw St. Hilaire on What France Needs; two articles on Margaret of Valois, giving a full account of her life, character and works; an earnest appeal for Italian Evangelization, by Léon Pilatte. The *Revue de Moïs*, which accompanies each number, gives a good insight into matters of current interest. The sympathy of the Review with the North in our present struggle is outspoken and earnest. A quarterly Theological Supplement has been added to the Review this year, devoted to essays, and a "Theological Bulletin," giving an account of noted works in England, France and Germany. Among the essays are, de Pressensé on the Task of Evangelical Theology in France; Sardinoux on the School of Tübingen; Godet, Christ died for our Sins according to the Scriptures.

H. de Valroger has published in two vols. an Introduction to the Books of the New Testament, translated from the German works of Reithmayr, Hug and Tholuck, with notes: 12 francs.

Two new translations from the Sanskrit have appeared: Ph. Ed. Foucaux, Episode du Mahabhrata, légende d'Ilvala et Valapi; and Un Tétrade, ou drame, hymne, roman et poëme, by H. Fauche.

Two new works on Æsthetics have been published: Chs. Levêque, La Science du Beau, 2 Tomes (crowned by the Academy); and A. E. Chaignet, Les Principes de la Science du Beau, one vol. of 684 pages.

E. P. Dubois-Guchan has published a work in two large volumes on Tacitus and his Age; or the Roman Imperial Society from Augustus to the Antonines in its Relations to Modern Society. The first volume is on the Social Order and the Cæsars; the second, the Literary Order and Tacitus.

A project has been started of reproducing the Parthenon of Athens, in its pristine form, upon the heights of Montmartre—the expenses to be met by a national subscription.

The French Academy having given to M. Thiers the 20,000 francs, which the Emperor put at their disposal, for the best literary work of the times, the Emperor is said to have offered the same sum to (Mdme.) Geo. Sand, who replied "that she had neither wish nor want of recompense or distinction from any government whatever." M. Thiers has made over his prize anew to the disposal of the Academy.

M. August Jal about a year ago was called upon by Napoleon to tell him all he knew about ancient ships (for his Life of Cæsar); but he did not then know anything. Having since studied the matter, he has published a work entitled La Flotte de César, and the Emperor has had a galley made. The publication of the work of Napoleon is to be deferred, it is reported, for two years more.

Several pamphlets in the interest of the Southern Confederacy have been published at Paris: Bellot des Minières, The American Question; Milleroux, The American Confederation; The American Revolution Unveiled, ascribed to a diplomatist.

M. Augustus Cochin has written a work in two volumes, on the Abolition of Slavery, first, from the economical standpoint, and then, in its

moral aspects, exhibiting the grievous influence of the system as now seen in Cuba, Brazil, and the Southern States.

A new political journal, *L'Impartial Dauphinois*, has appeared at Grenoble, in France. It unfurls the flag of democratic France and the principles of 1789.

In the Paris *Journal des Débats*, M. Babinet, speaking of England's ingratitude to Newton in having never raised a monument to her famous son, asks if that country does not fear lest universal humanity should forestall her by an obelisk bearing this inscription: "To Newton, an Englishman, by all the nations except ungrateful England."

The speech delivered by M. Guizot, at the meeting of the Protestant Primary Instruction Society, has caused great and painful surprise. After speaking in terms of high encomium of the useful labors of the Society, M. Guizot suddenly turned away from that subject to refer to what he considered (and he was careful to say that he was merely speaking in his own name) "the deplorable perturbation which is now affecting and distressing a considerable portion of the great and general Christian Church." For a Protestant to express himself thus in a Protestant temple, and in a meeting of a Protestant Society, with respect to the great religious revolution now going on in Italy, naturally caused at the time much surprise, and has since called forth the liveliest animadversion among men of all shades of opinion in the Protestant Church of France.

ENGLAND.

The *British Quarterly Review*, July, has articles on, 1. Vocation of the Church: 2. Schleswig; the German-Danish Question: 3. Revolutions in English History (Vaughan's): 4. Flower Life: 5. The Marriage Law of Great Britain: 6. Helps's Spanish Conquests in America: 7. The Government Machine: 8. The Civil War in America: 9. National Education: 10. Count Cavour. The first article gives incidentally a valuable collection of the testimony of the Fathers as to Inspiration, and Justification. The article on our country defends the neutrality policy of Great Britain, and is very severe upon our animadversions about the course of the English press and government, while it also claims that its sympathies are all against slavery. It thinks that if we had remained subject to Great Britain, slavery would have been long ago abolished.

The *Journal of Sacred Literature*, July. The Two Records of our Lord's Temptation—Character of their Inspiration. On the Epistles of St. Peter. The History of the World, as foretold in the Book of Genesis. The Genealogy of Christ (both genealogies of Joseph). New Translation of Book of Job. Correspondence, Intelligence, etc. The essay on Peter gives the internal evidence of the genuineness of the second Epistle, with remarks on the apocryphal writings ascribed to that Apostle. The prophecy referred to in the 3d article is that respecting Canaan, Shem and Japheth (Gen. ix, 23-27), showing its remarkable fulfilment through the whole course of human history. In the Correspondence, Rev. Ed. W. Grinfield, in reference to Prof. Jowett's statement in the *Essays and Reviews* about citations from the Septuagint, recurs to his old theme of a sanction of that version, as quasi-inspired, since it was so frequently used by the apostles, showing "a supernatural recollection of the words and phrases of the Greek version." The essay of Mr. Churton, recently published, runs in the same line. The so-called Hebraisms are Hellenisms.

As Prof. Blunt said, "the Septuagint is the viaduct from the Old to the New Testament." For the first three centuries not one of the fathers, excepting Origen, is known to have used the Hebrew text.

The *Eclectic Review* (London) commences with July a New Series, at the low rate of one shilling for each monthly part. The July number has articles on John Angell James; Thomas Carlyle and his Critics; the Doctrine of the Skull; Kelly on the Covenants—the Congregational Lecture for 1861—denying any real covenant with Adam. This work of Mr. Kelly is the only one on the subject in English literature for a long time: a small work by Rev. John Eagleston of Hudderfield was published in 1829. The other articles are on Congregational Chapel Extension; Lays and Legends of Cromwell and the Nonconformist Heroes—an ordinary work on a great theme; and Church Fiction.

The *London Review* for July (the Wesleyan periodical) discusses Novels and Novelists; the Benedictines in England; Marnix de St. Aldegonde; Dixon's Bacon; Recent Poetry; the Elder Pliny; the Government Machine; Theology of the Ascension; Froude's Henry VIII.; and Popular Education.

Sir Francis Palgrave died July 6, 1861. He was a convert from Judaism, and had the post of Assistant Keeper of the Public Records. He is best known by his learned work on the History of Normandy and England. Of his earliest work, privately printed in French, 1797, on La Guerre des grenouilles et des souris d'Homère, a curious account is given by Mr. Bolton Corney in the Notes and Queries for July 27, 1861.

The *Westminster Review* for July opens with an interesting, though somewhat ambitious Sketch of Schleiermacher's Life, on the basis of Rowan's recent translation of his Autobiography and Letters: his theological and philosophical position is not very clearly defined. The anti-orthodox article of the number is on Christian Creeds and their Defenders—rather a weak and loose affair. The Critical Theory and Writings of Taine are presented in an interesting light. A very good account is given of Mr. Mill's Representative Government. Buckle's History of Civilization is of course lauded in its main scope. An interesting sketch is given of the life of the Countess of Albany, wife of the Pretender, and mistress successively of Alfieri and of M. Fabre, a French painter.

The *Westminster Review* says, that there is a rumor that John Stuart Mill is engaged on a comprehensive review of all the sociological and ethical theories of the time: that his works on Political Economy, Representative Government, Parliamentary Reform, and his Essay on Liberty are preparatory to this, his chief philosophical work.

Thos. Ellison, F.S.S., has published a volume on Slavery and Secession in the United States, 12mo, pp. 371, contrasting the North and the South, tracing all our troubles to Slavery, and vindicating the position of the General Government. *Fraser's Magazine* for August has an article on the Causes of the Disruption of the American Union; and *Bentley's Miscellany* one on America under Arms.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The *Evangelical Review*, Gettysburg, commences its 13th vol. with the July number, edited by W. M. Reynolds and M. L. Stoever; Dr. C. P. Krauth, the chief Editor for twelve years, retires from his post. The July number contains a valuable historical article by Dr. Reynolds on the Ger-

man Emigration to North America, as introductory to the History of the Lutheran Church among the Germans: an account of the Octavius of Minucius Felix; Harnack's Theses on the Church, translated by Prof. F. A. Muhlenberg, etc.

The *American Quarterly Church Review* is to be published hereafter in New York. The July No. has twenty pages of "Interesting and Curious Facts about Bishops;" on Brothers, Fathers and Sons, Uncles and Nephews, and other Kin, in the Episcopate; besides "other interesting facts!"

In the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July Prof. Robbins advocates at length the Pauline Origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The Sketch of Hindoo Philosophy by Rev. David C. Scudder is a very valuable paper, correcting some mistakes of Barthelemy St. Hilaire and other writers.

The *New Englander* for July has among other articles an elaborate and ingenious discussion of the First Document of Genesis (adopting in the main the views of Dr. Tayler Lewis as to the meaning of the word *day*), by Rev. E. A. Walker: a dissent by Prof. Fisher from Prof. Park's interpretation of some of Dr. Emmons' theological opinions; an examination of Secession by President Woolsey; and a reply to the *Methodist Quarterly* on the Theology of Wesley, trying to convict Wesley of holding to the old Hopkinsian doctrine about the permission of sin, because he used forms of statement, which sound marvellously like those of the apostle Paul.

The *Mercersburg Review* for July has an admirable disquisition by Dr. Philip Schaff on the Moral Character of Jesus Christ, or, the Perfection of Christ's Humanity a Proof of His Divinity: the Divining Rod, by L. H. Steiner, on the basis of Figuier; Liturgical Worship, from the German of Kessler, by C. V. Mayo; Adler on the Agamemnon of Æschylus; Religious Thinking, by D. Y. Heisler; Dr. Gerhart on the National Question.

The Life of Prince Demetrius Augustine Gallitzen, famous in the Catholic Missions of this country, has been written by a German, H. Lemcke, in a vol. of 380 pages, published at Münster. His miraculous cures and conversions are detailed at length. He died in 1840. He wrote a Defence of Catholic Principles, an Appeal, etc.

Henri de Courcy de la Roche Heron, a resident in New York for several years, died at Cannes, France, May 14. While here he published a History of the Catholic Church in the United States, 1856; also a small work on the Female Convents of Canada.

Henry Spelman's Relation of Virginia has been published in London from the manuscript. He was in Va. in 1609. Freneau's Poems have been reprinted in England from the Philadelphia edition of 1786.

Literary and Critical Notices of Books.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

Philosophy of the Infinite; a Treatise on Man's Knowledge of the Infinite Being. By Rev. HENRY CALDERWOOD. Second edition. Macmillan & Co. Cambridge. 8vo, pp. 520. The first edition of this work was published in 1854, and it contained the first full examination of Hamilton's doctrine of the Infinite. This new edition is greatly enlarged and improved, and includes a detailed reply to Mansel's Bampton Lectures, as well as a revision of some of the author's earlier statements, particularly in respect to the application of the infinite to space and time. It also contains a reply to Hamilton's letters to the author. The work is well worthy of study. It is in every respect an improvement on the somewhat immature statements of the earlier edition. We hope to recur to it soon again, in connection with an examination of the mooted problems.

Philosophia Ultima. CHARLES WOODRUFF SHIELDS. Philadelphia. 1861. Pp. 96. This a new project of an Ultimate Philosophy, to reconcile faith and science. The scheme includes three parts: I. Science of the Sciences. II. Art of the Sciences. III. Science of the Arts. 1. Rational and Revealed Astronomy. 2. Rational and Revealed Geology. 3. Rational and Revealed Anthropology. 4. Rational and Revealed Psychology. 5. Rational and Revealed Sociology. 6. Rational and Revealed Theology. The end is "the universal millennium of celestial sciences and arts." While much remains to be done before this can be realized, all such vigorous, thoughtful, and independent attempts may contribute to this desirable issue.

A Grammar of the Hebrew Language. By WILLIAM HENRY GREEN. New York: John Wiley. 1861. Pp. 322. Professor Green of the Princeton Theological Seminary, has prepared an excellent Hebrew Grammar, which will doubtless come into very general use. Based upon the labors of Gesenius, Ewald, and Nordheimer, it has also merits of its own, and shows the fruit of careful and laborious study. The general arrangement is clear and simple. The introduction of the accent, after the example of Ewald, will be found of use to learners. The declension of nouns is very much simplified, as compared with the artificial rules of Gesenius. The whole work is in a high degree creditable to American scholarship. The typographical execution, from Trow's press, is unexceptionable.

Theologie de la Religion Naturelle. Par VIDAL. Pp. 200. 12mo. Paris: 1859. The general character of this work is indicated by the remark that under the title of the *Theology* of Natural Religion, the author publishes a treatise chiefly devoted to *Ethics*. A brief introduction states the sources of evidence, and the work is then divided into two parts—*Doctrine and Morals*. The latter division occupies nearly half of the book, and treats of Practical

Ethics. The style is clear and graceful, and the arrangement of topics natural. The chief and a very serious defect of this treatise is the want of a just conception of moral government. Natural Theology should leave us sensible of our need of a higher revelation. Our author gives no hint of this. He does not seem to us to add anything to the literature of this important subject.—E. C. S.

HISTORY.

Carthage and her Remains; being an Account of the Excavations and Researches on the Site of the Phœnician Metropolis in Africa, etc. By Dr. N. Davis, F.R.G.S., etc. With Illustrations. New York: Harpers. 1861. 8vo, pp. 504. Dr. Davis, "under the auspices of Her Majesty's Government," has produced a work full of novelty and interest, despite its careless style and method. The most entertaining portions are the descriptions of the author's personal adventures in making the excavations. Some striking and remarkable discoveries were the result of his labors, though the French authorities differ from Dr. Davis on the question of their Punic or Roman origin. The various exhumed objects are described with great minuteness, and reproduced in abundant and excellent illustrations. The work also gives an epitome of the history, religion, and culture of the great rival of Rome, as well as a description of its present ruins and verifications of important sites (the Cothon, etc.). Its history illustrates the great fact, that a people devoted exclusively to commerce and war, and harboring a barbarous faith, leaves no permanent impression upon the character and progress of the human race. The work is indispensable to the scholar and antiquarian, as well as highly interesting to the general reader. It is published in excellent style.

Singularités historiques et littéraires. Par B. Hauréau. Paris. 1861. Pp. 324. The author of the best French history of the scholastic philosophy, and the editor of the continuation of the Gallia Christiana, in this little volume rescues some names from oblivion, and gives new details about others. All the ten articles are valuable and well written. The subjects are: The Schools of Ireland; Theodulph, Bishop of Orleans; Smaragdus, Abbot of Castellion—new materials; Odo of Cluny; Anselm, the Peripatetic—also containing much new matter; Gaunilo, Monk of Marmontiers and Philosopher; new documents on Roscelin, the Nominalist—a valuable contribution to the controversy; William of Conchis; Ideas-Images—an investigation of the introduction of this notion into the scholastic systems; a curious account of Abbé Jean Aymon, of Riswyck.

Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Boston. 1861. Pp. 462. Besides the account of the jubilee celebration, and the admirable Historical Discourse of President Hopkins, this volume contains a full history of our oldest and best Board of Missions, its principles and policy, prepared by Dr. Rufus Anderson, who has so long guided its complicated affairs with unrivalled wisdom and success. It was fitting that he should prepare this memorial, and it could not be better done. Dr. Sprague also contributes excellent sketches of the founders of the Board; and Dr. Joseph Tracy, a philosophical analysis of the literature of the Board and its Missions. Under many aspects this volume is worthy of careful study, but especially in respect to the general theory of Protestant Missions and Missionary Socie-

ties. No work with which we are acquainted contains such valuable materials for this object. It is worthy of the high reputation of its author, whose services are held in grateful remembrance in all parts of the world. It ought to be in the hands of all interested in the work of missions.

The Uprising of a Great People. The United States in 1861. From the French of Count AGENOR DE GASPARIN, by *Mary L. Booth.* New-York: Chas. Scribner. 1861. 12mo, pp. 263. Count de Gasparin has for years felt a deep interest in this country, being attracted to it by the strength of his political, moral and religious sympathies. This sympathy inspired him with an almost prophetic vision, as to our present national crisis and its probable issue. His work was written before the struggle of arms began, and it contains, without doubt, the most intelligent and inspiring view of our national struggle which any foreigner has yet expressed. Not as philosophical as the work of De Tocqueville on our democracy, it enters more thoroughly into the true springs of our national life and progress. To the doubting and desponding among ourselves, it may give a needful stimulus, and encouragement to all. Minor inaccuracies of detail (which the translator might have corrected) are slight things, in comparison with the cheering vision which this enthusiastic and eloquent Frenchman holds up for our encouragement in this great conflict. We owe Count de Gasparin a debt of profound gratitude.

In this connection we may also refer to a Sermon by Prof. *Egbert C. Smyth*, of Bowdoin College, on the theme, "Our Country not Forsaken of God," a lucid and forcible exhibition of the elements of our present conflict; and an original, eloquent and philosophical Fourth of July Oration by *Henry James*, on the Social Significance of our Institutions.

GEOGRAPHY AND TRAVELS.

Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa. By PAUL B. DU CHAILLU. New York: Harpers. 1861. None who met Du Chaillu while in this country, will readily forget his modest and self-possessed ways, or give credence to the doubts thrown on his credibility. His book is the most interesting, simple and exciting record of travels and adventure, that has been published for years. It is not written as a scientific, or even as a literary man, would have drawn up the narrative; but it absorbs the attention by its unvarnished, graphic and truthful method. Like every body else, h has doubtless made use of previously published prints and maps; but he has also added very much to the stock of information in geography, natural history, and the habits and customs of unvisited tribes. Some twenty new quadrupeds are here described. The region between Barth's and Livingstone's explorations (2° N. and 6° S. latitude) is for the first time described, including 350 miles of the river Agobay. Some of his accounts of folk-lore and popular mythology are new and of great interest. Professor Owen says, "that his collection is the most interesting illustration of the lower creation that has ever reached Europe." The fierce gorilla, the docile nshiego, and the kooloo-kamba, so nearly like man, are admirably depicted. The result of these researches confirms anew the position of an impassable gulf between animal and man; thirteen adult gorillas had an average of twenty-nine cubic inches of brain—the lowest negroes and Australians have seventy-five. And the gorilla, says Owen, like the ape, has no posterior lobe to the brain. We had meant to make various extracts on the gorilla, the nest-making ape,

the horrible cannibalism of the Fans (which we should be glad to disbelieve), and the wonderful armies of the ants; but our space is restricted, and the book is, or ought to be, in the hands of our readers.

Seasons with the Sea-Horses; or, Sporting Adventures in the Northern Seas. By JAMES LAMONT, Esq. New York: Harpers. 1861. Pp. 282—with many spirited illustrations and maps. In pursuit of adventure, Mr. Lamont, in company with another keen sportsman, Lord David Kennedy, went in a sloop to Spitzbergen, and killed 46 walruses, 88 seals, 8 polar bears, one white bear, and 61 poor reindeer. The account of the chase and capture of this unusual game for sportsmen will interest all lovers of hardy life and perilous expeditions.

Life and Adventures in the South Pacific. By a Roving Printer. New York: Harpers. 1861. 12mo, pp. 361. Illustrated. In an unadorned narrative, this volume gives the personal experience of the writer in a long and successful whaling voyage, full of the customary adventures and hair-breadth 'scapes. Its straightforward, simple, honest style, will recommend it to the youthful admirers of a roving life.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Recreations of a Country Parson. Second Series. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1861. Pp. 430. This is every way a charming book—paper, type, style and contents. The Recreations consist of meditations or essays upon familiar themes, in a thougthful, earnest, yet often playful, and natural style, with abundance of felicitous allusions and illustrations. No better book can be had for fireside reading, or for enlivening a solitary hour. The themes are handled in a spirit which is at once devout and practical. The higher regions of speculation are also visited, as in the severe and just review of Buckle, in the essay on Man and his Dwelling-place—coming to the heart of the matter without pretence or pedantry. The Pulpit in Scotland has shrewd advice for ministers. Concerning Scylla and Charybdis, and Concerning Screws, combine sense and humor. Wise counsels, in fine veins of thought, pervade the meditations on Disappointment and Success, on Churchyards, on Summer Days, on Solitary Days, and on Future Years. The conclusion gives a warm and touching greeting to the author's friends on this side of the Atlantic.

Edwin of Deira. By ALEXANDER SMITH. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861. Pp. 191. Besides the main poem, this beautiful volume also contains two others—Torquil and Oona, and Blaavin. A finely drawn likeness of the author has an earnest and thoughtful, but hardly a poetical cast of features. The scene of the chief poem is in England, at the time of the introduction of Christianity under Roman auspices. The struggles between the Pagan and Christian elements are partially reproduced, though without any high dramatic vigor and effect, such as might be expected from a more objective poet. The epic is in fact merged in the lyrical; the objective in the subjective. Apart from this, however, the poem has sufficient sources of attraction and even of fascination in its profuse and delicate imagery, its felicities of allusion and expression, the melodious flow of its verse, its tender descriptions of sentiment, and its vivid images of scenes in the natural world. It is wrought out with a grace of diction, and a chastened imagination, which show the result of culture in repressing the ardor of the poet's

earlier productions. The author may be thought to have surrendered himself too unreservedly to the influence of Tennyson and his school. But he shows such decided poetic talent, that this may be taken as only a transient stage in his career as a poet. He is capable of a much higher range. We can give only one short extract in illustration of the exquisite tenderness strewed through the poem.

"And ere they went,
In Bertha's fragrant bosom lay asleep
The sweetest babe that ever mother blest,—
A helpless thing, omnipotently weak;
Naked, yet stronger than a man in mail—
That, with its new-born struggling sob and cry,
Softened the childless palace, and unsealed
Fountains of love undreamed of. Tenderness
Made every arm a cradle, every voice
Soft as a cradle-song."

"And Bertha hung
Over its slumber all the livelong day,
As moveless as a willow that o'erdroops
A well, the while there is in all the world
Not wind enough to turn a silvered leaf."

Framley Parsonage. By ANTHONY TROLLOPE. With Illustrations. Harpers. 1861. Pp. 530. Without any rare or exciting incidents, the interest of the reader in this new volume of Mr. Trollope, is kept up by the accurate delineation of the characters, the simple and regular movement of the story, and the naturalness and vivacity of the dialogue. The descriptions of scenes and events are uniformly good. It is a book that may be safely recommended, especially to young clergymen, who are solicited to indorse the notes of friends in an emergency.

The House on the Moor. By the Author of "Margaret Maitland," etc. New York: Harpers. 1861. Pp. 405. The interest of this work is derived from its startling contrasts of characters—the extremes of light and shade being skilfully played off against each other. Through a large variety of scenes and personages, the plot moves on undisturbed, so that poetic justice is at last rendered to all the actors. The darker shades of character and life are drawn with the most vigor. The moral tone of the book is unexceptionable.

Harper's Monthly Magazine seems to aim at a still higher standard, with each new year. In variety of topics, fertility of illustrations, and cheapness of price, it surpasses all the others. The October number contains, in full, Alexander Smith's new poem, Edwin of Deira, besides an abundance of other interesting matter.

Mr. Bidwell's *Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature*, for September, has an admirable likeness of Thorwaldsen; and our historian Motley appears for the first time in the October number. The selections of this invaluable miscellany are made with a wise adaptation to all classes of readers.

The *National Preacher*, in some of its later numbers, contains instructive discourses by Dr. Todd, Dr. Nelson, of St. Louis; Rev. S. G. Buckingham, Rev. S. D. Phelps, D.D., and others, well fitted for the supply of vacant pulpits.

SCIENCE AND EDUCATION.

The Chemical History of a Candle. By MICHAEL FARADAY, D.C.L., F.R.S. Edited by W. Crookers. Harpers. 1861. Pp. 223. These six lectures, delivered before a juvenile auditory, are among the best possible examples of the highest scientific truths taught in the simplest and most attractive manner. Children can understand them, and they contain instruction for all. A lecture on Platinum is added. Numerous illustrations make every point plain.

Primary Object Lessons for a Graduated Course of Development. By N. A. CALKINS. New York: Harpers. Pp. 362. This manual is constructed on the plan of a gradual and harmonious development of the faculties of children, through converse with objects. It requires, and we think rightly, incessant effort and study on the part of the teacher, and gives many admirable instructions and examples as to the best method of training. Actual experience can alone test the practicability of the system; but it seems to be at once natural and philosophical.

Harper's School and Family Readers. The Fifth Reader of the School and Family Series. By MARCIUS WILLSON. 1861. Pp. 540. The plan of this admirable series combines systematic instruction in science, history and literature, with reading lessons. It is profusely illustrated. This series surpasses any other with which we are acquainted. It is a carrying out of the principle that the senses are first developed. The lessons draw out, in succession, the ideas of form, color, (very fully and ingeniously,) number, weight, size, sound, of the human body, of place, etc. We commend the volume to parents and teachers.

Latin Accidence and Primary Lesson Book. By GEORGE W. COLLORD. New York: Harpers. 1861. Pp. 347. This volume was prepared to accompany McClintock's First Book in Latin. It is a well-arranged; an excellent and sufficient introduction to the language. The second part consists of reading lessons and syntax, with a vocabulary. A pupil needs no other book to get a good start in the Latin tongue.

INDEX TO VOLUME III.—1861.

Ackermann's Plato, 571.
Adams, N., Evenings with, on Doctrines, 408.
Alexander, J. A., on Matthew, 401; Notes, etc., 410; J. W., on Preaching, 407.
Alexandrian Codex, 196, 393, 495–511.
Allen's Hebrews, 561.
Allen, Judge, on Sunday Laws, 698–710.
American Board, Memorial Volume, 762.
Anniversaries in United States, 583; England, 591; France, 596.
Ante-Nicene Trinitarianism, 161–177, 512–527.
Antiquity of Race, 179.
Aquinas, 81–93.
American Mission, 421.
Arnold on Communion, 197.
Astié, on Jourdain, 81–93.
Atkinson's Amoor, 268.
Australia, 418.
Austria, 418.
Baptists, 206, 211.
Baur, 375, 589.
Bausman's Sinai, 413.
Bay Psalm Book, 191.
Bengel's Gnomon, 399.
Berg's Second Advent, 408.
Bernstein, 184.
Births and Deaths in Europe, 589.
Bodemeyer, Kenosis, 555.
Bohemia, 214.
Bologna, 212.
Bulgaria, 214, 418.
Bunsen, 375, 401, 589.
Bushnell's Christian Nurture, 405.
Buxtorf, 378.
Calderwood's Infinite, 761.
Calkins' Object Lessons, 766.
Calvinism of Church of England, 788.
Canada, 207, 587.
Candlish, Commandments, 406.
Cardross Case, 598.
Carlyle, Autobiography, 409.
Catlin on Respiration, 578.
Chaillu, see Du Chaillu.
Chambers's Encyclopædia, 418.
China, 420.
Chowlson's Babylonian Literature, 180; Tammuz, 562.
Churchman's Calendar, 568.
Church Rates, 592.
Clark, S. D., on Zeal, 891; God's Purposes, 197.
Codex Alexandrinus, 196, 393, 495–511; Sinaiticus, 357–75.
Coles's Divine Sovereignty, 408.
Collord's Accidence, 766.
Convocation, 589.
Crosby, H., Criticism of Texts, 472–9.
Curtis, Trumps, 577.
Da Costa, 181.
Dahlman, 540.
Davis, Carthage, 762.
Demerara, 587.
Denmark, 181, 544.
Dixon, Lord Bacon, 408.
Dressel's Prudentius, 201.
Du Chaillu, Africa, 768.
Dutch Reformed, 205.
Ebrard's John, 401.
Eclectic Magazine, 765.
Education in France, 594.
Edwards and his School, 36–68.
Emerson's Conduct of Life, 412.
Emmons, Life, etc., 632–669.
England, Literature, 187, 388, 584, 754, 768; News, 208, 589.
English Tongue, a New Speech, 18–35.
Essays and Reviews, (Oxford,) 312–357, 527, 754.
Faraday's Chemistry of a Candle, 766.
Fisher's Addresses, 486–95.
France, Literature, 182, 385, 546, 757; News, 213, 416, 594.
Gasparin's United States, 762.
German Reformed, 204.
Germany, Literature, 183, 375, 589, 755; News, 214, 417.
Goodwin, D. R., on Powell, 438–457.
Graul, Irenæus, 560.
Greece, 181, 381.
Green's Hebrew Grammar, 761.
Guizot, 546, 758.
Hagenbach's History of Doctrines, 558.
Hague Society, 543.
Hall's Contemplations, 405.
Hamilton's Theory of Knowledge, 124–161.
Hare, Guesses, etc., 412.
Harper's Greek and Latin Texts, 576 Magazine, 765.
Hayti, 587.
Hauréau, Singularités, 769.
Hebrew Slavery, see Mielziner.
Heiberg, 181.
Herzog's Encyclopædia, 411.
Hickok's Psychology, 570.
Hitchcock, R. D., Ante-Nicene Trinitarianism, 161–177, 512–527; Dressel's Carmina, 200–202.
Hodge's Outlines, 192.
Holland, 181, 543.
Holyoake's Speaking, 572.
Homeric Doctrine of the Gods, 599–632.
Homer's Odyssey, 413.
Horne on Psalms, 405.
House on the Moor, 765.
Huber, Philosophy of Fathers, 197.
Hymns and Choirs, 408.
India, 418.
Ireland, 210, 593.
Italy, 211, 387, 545, 596.
Jamaica, 587.
Jameson's Legends, 561.
Jesuits, 597.
Jews, 416.
Jost, 589.
Jourdain's Aquinas, 81–93.
Journal des Savants, 384.
Julian the Apostate, 1–17.
Kingsley on History, 572.
Kurtz, Church History, 199.
Lamson's First Three Centuries, 161.
Lamont's Sea-Horses, 764.
Lange Bibelwerk, 197, 401, 555.
La Peyrere, Præadamites, 68–81.

Latitudinarians, New, 312–357.
Lawrence, E. A., on New England Theology, 36–68.
Libraries, India House, 392; in Rome, 545; United States, 552.
Little, Geo. B., 576.
Litton's Church of Christ, 405.
Lutherans, 581.
Lutterbeck, 880.
Macaulay's Essays, 202; England, 564.
Macduff, 407.
Maclaurin's Works, 402.
Maclay's Chinese, 569.
Mann's Sermons, 573.
March, F. A., The English Tongue, 18–35.
Martin, Christ's Presence, 406.
Matthes, Chronik, 568.
Melancthon, by Rothe, 261–283; tercentenary, 183.
Mielziner on Hebrew Slavery, 232–261, 423–438.
Milman's Latin Christianity, 199, 565.
Moore's Digest, 563.
Moral Aspects of the Present War, 710.
Moravia, 214.
Mormons, 582.
Motley's Netherlands, 566.
Müller's Life of Trust, 574.
Naples, 211, 597.
National Preacher, 765.
New England Theology, 36–68.
Northern Antiquaries, Society, 179.
Oersted, 181.
Old Testament in New, 283.
Olshausen on New Probation, 93–124.
Oriental Society, American, 190.
Palearlo, 196.
Palgrave, 759.
Park, E. A., Life of Emmons, 632.
Parkerism, 197.
Parker's Handbook, 563.
Paya, Papauté, 199.
Periodicals, German, 185, 377, 540, 755; English, 186, 388, 534, 758; French, 384, 547, 757; American, 396, 550, 759.
Polynesia, 420.
Pond, E., on Annihilation, 215–282; on Emmons, 632–669.
Population of United States, 579; of Europe, 583; of France, 593; of Italy, 596.
Porter's Common-Place Book, 202.
Portugal, 598.
Powell on Evidences, 438–457.
Præadamites, 68–91.
Presbyterian Assemblies in U. S., 584–6.
Presbyterian Digest, 563.
Presbyterians in Ireland, 211; in England, 598.
Prime's Coins, 412.
Primitive Methodists, 591.
Probation, New, 93–124.
Propagation Society, 208.
Protestants in France, 595; in Italy, 598.
Prudentius, Carmina, 201.
Pryce, Is it not written? 197.
Pusey on Essays, 530.
Ragged Schools, 209, 591.
Ramsey, Scottish Life, 410.
Recreations of a Country Parson, 764.
Renan on Job, Canticles, 478–86.
Rice, Quotations, 203.
Robertson, 395.
Roman Catholics in United States, 581; in England, 209, 592; France, 594.
Rothe on Melancthon, 261–283.
Russia, 417, 544.
Samuel Mowrat College, 182.
Sandwich Islands, 419.
Schaff, P., on Julian, 1–17.
Schmid, Dogmengeschichte, 560.
Schopenhauer, 184.
Scotland, 210, 395, 593.
Sewell's Free Labor, 569.
Shield's Philosophy, 761.
Silas Marner, 577.
Sinaitic Codex, 179, 357–375.
Slavery, Hebrew, see Mielziner: Statistics of, 579.
Smith's Dictionary of Bible, 553.
Smith's Edwin of Deira, 764.
Smith, H. B., on Hamilton, 124–161; New Latitudinarians, 312–317; Translation of Mielziner, 232–261, 423–438; Theological Intelligence, 178–191, 375–398, 527–553, 754–; Notices of Books, 192–208, 398–415, 555–57[illegible], 761–66; News of Churches, 204–214, 415–42[illegible], 579–598.
Smith, W., Sermons, 574.
Smyth, E. C., Notice of Thompson, 556; Sermon, 763.
South America, 207.
South Pacific, Life in, 764.
Spain, 387, 416.
Stahl, 756.
Stearns, J. F., The Present Struggle, 710–756.
Stubach's Primitive Religion, 548.
Studien und Kritiken, 185, 379, 540.
Sunday Laws, 693–710.
Sweden, 214, 383, 417.
Swedenborgians, 208.
Switzerland, 213, 388, 545.
Syria, 420.
Teft, Methodism, 199.
Theiner, 377.
Tholuck's Sermon on Mount, 196.
Thompson's Natural Theology, 556.
Thornton's American Pulpit, 200.
Tischendorf, 179, 357, 377.
Trollope's Framley Parsonage, 765.
True's Logic, 572.
Turkey, 420.
Tyler, W. S., Homeric Doctrine of the Gods, 599–632.
United States, Literature, 191, 396, 549, 759. News, 204, 415, 579; Statistics, 579.
United Brethren in Christ, 587.
United Presbyterians, 593.
Unity of Race, 457–472.
Universities of Germany, 184, 543, 756.
Vidal, Natural Theology, 761.
Vincent's Footprints, 576.
Waldenses, 212.
Wales, 593.
Wappaeus on Population, 589.
Watson, Prayers, 407.
Wesleyan Statistics, 208, 591.
Wessenberg, 377.
Wharton, Wits, etc., 577.
White, E. N., Translation of Rothe, 261.
Whiting, L., on Old Testament in New, 283.
Willson's Reader, 766.
Wilson, J. G., on Unity of Race, 457.
Woodbridge, J., on Olshausen, 93–124; Sermons, 574.
Wurtemberg Summaries, 542.
Zeal, Christian, 891.





